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गुरुकुल कांगड़ी विश्वविद्यालय, हरिद्वार
पुस्तकालय

विषय संख्या July to December
पुस्तक संख्या 1939
आगत पंजिका संख्या

पुस्तक पर किसी प्रकार का निशान लगाना वर्जित है। कृपया १५ दिन से अधिक समय तक पुस्तक अपने पास न रखें।

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THE MODERN REVIEW

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JULY

THE MODERN REVIEW

EDITOR

RAMANANDA CHATTERJEE

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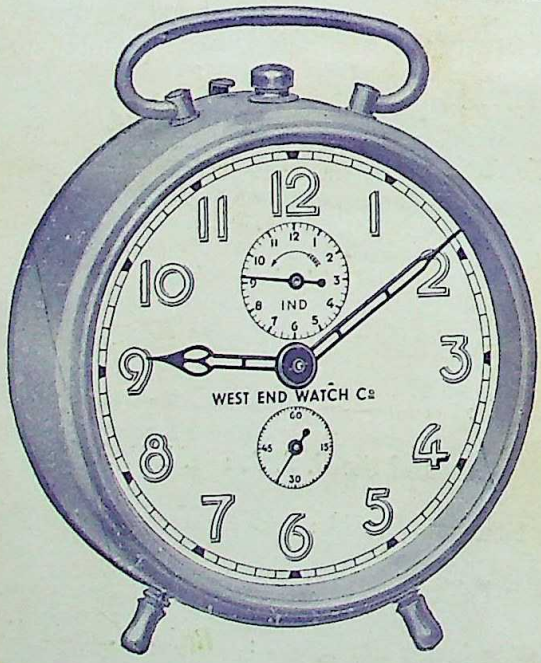

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THE MODERN REVIEW

JULY 1939

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NOTES

"The Desire of the Most Fervent Indian Nationalist"

In the course of a speech which Lord Halifax (who was Lord Irwin when Viceroy in India) made at a dinner in his honour in London on June 21 last, he said :

> "I often think that much that is going on in the world today must give them furiously to think in India. The desire of the most fervent Indian nationalist is to secure liberty in India, but on every side in Europe and Asia he sees a conflict between philosophies, often in a very menacing form and he cannot, I think, have much doubt which of these two philosophies is more favourable to what he understands by liberty, and it may well be that in the light of these events, the British Empire will appear to the Indian nationalist in a different guise to what he has sometimes seen it in."

It is quite true that the desire of the most fervent Indian nationalist is to secure liberty in and for India. It is also true that on every side in Europe and Asia the Indian nationalist sees a conflict between political philosophies, often in a very menacing form. He has no doubt which of these philosophies is more favourable to what he understands by liberty. Britishers profess to be democratic in their political philosophy. If that philosophy were given effect to in India it would make for liberty, but not otherwise. So long as a slave is treated as a slave, what does it matter to him practically that the slave-holder's political philosophy is democratic in the abstract ?

The Indian nationalist knows what the actual British rule has been and is and what a possible Nazi or a possible Fascist or a possible Nipponic rule may be. But he is not out to make a choice between different shades of despotism and slavery. He is out to free himself. If the angelic British imperialist will not allow him to be free, if Indians are to be discriminated against in and sought to be hounded out of all dominions, colonies and protectorates where the British flag flies, any endeavour made to make them love the British empire is labour lost. In Bengal British imperialism appears in a particularly sinister guise. The alleged fact that German Nazism or Italian Fascism or Japanese militarism is more sinister than British imperialism, does not prove that the last is seraphic. A deeper black does not whiten what is less black or what is grey.

British imperialists may rest assured that in the event of war Indian nationalists will not help the enemies of Britain for the fun of it or merely because they hate Britain. But neither will they help Britain to be more imperialistic and despotic and to forge stronger chains for them like the post-war Rowlatt Act or the later Government of India Act.

Division of Appointments in Public Services According to Communities

The welfare of all communities inhabiting a country depends on the integrity and efficiency of the officers or servants of the Government in all its various departments—so far of course as such welfare can be promoted by the State. In order that the most efficient and

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honest officers can be obtained, enlightened governments of the world appoint the fittest and best men available, irrespective of their creed or caste. The British Government in India do not follow this principle. Some years ago the Government of India decided to reserve 25 per cent. of posts under it for Muslims and some other definite proportions for other minorities.

This decision continues to be given effect to. These reservations were for All-India minority communities. In Bengal, for years past, a large proportion of posts have been reserved for the Muslims, who form the majority here. The proportion of posts reserved for them has been recently increased.

We have never supported the reservation of posts even for any minority community. The reservation of posts for a majority community is an absurdity and iniquity combined.

It is desirable, no doubt, that members of all communities should be enabled to join the public services and share in the work of the State. But they should be enabled to do so by giving them all possible educational facilities for increasing their qualifications and by making all posts accessible to them as to others on the results of competitive examinations.

The reservation of posts on a communal basis is anti-national, on account of the falsity of its underlying assumptions that the large and small communities constituting the nation have separate interests, that the members of one community in State employ cannot and do not look to the interests of and do justice to all communities, and that the interests of any particular community are safe only in the hands of members of that community. Underlying such reservation is also the additional false assumption that it is better for any community that some of its members, including many who do not possess adequate qualifications, should get posts in the public services to the exclusion of better qualified men belonging to other communities, than that the public services should be manned by the fittest men, irrespective of creed or caste, in order that the work in all departments of the State may be carried on with the greatest efficiency to the benefit of all communities.

Governments are not poor-relief organizations for distributing the revenues of the State among all communities in proportion to their numerical strength, thus ensuring that the groups containing the largest number of paupers and beggars should get the biggest total dole. But if it were assumed that governments were above all organizations for distributing the revenues of the State among the people, it would be but bare justice that the community which made the largest contribution to the public exchequer, *e.g.*, the Hindus in Bengal, should get the largest total amount in doles.

As a matter of fact the Hindus do get the largest fraction of the total amount paid to Government servants in Bengal. But they do so, not as beggars, or by the favour of anybody, but by their superior merits.

One great evil of the system of apportionment of posts on a communal basis is that the men who get appointments according to it cannot but look upon themselves primarily as members of a community instead of regarding themselves as members of the nation. Thus a communal outlook, instead of a national outlook, is induced and promoted in them; for as they are indebted for their bread to the fact of their belonging to a particular community, they cannot but be more loyal to the communalism of that community than to nationalism.

Another great evil of the system is that it encourages men to attach less importance to high qualifications than to membership of particular communities. The favoured communities thus lose an incentive to self-improvement.

The democratic idea is that the inhabitants of a country are citizens of the State—equal citizens, irrespective of their creed or colour or caste. The State in its dealings with them treats them as citizens, not as Hindus or Buddhists or Christians or Muslims,....not as Brahmins or Sudras, or as white or brown or black. A man is a better or a worse member or agent of the State not because of the religion he professes or the caste to which he belongs, but because of his moral, intellectual and physical qualifications and capacity. These and other similar considerations show that the reservation of posts on a communal basis is anti-democratic.

India is inhabited by many different religious communities and in addition by numerous aboriginal tribes. This is true, more or less, of all the provinces which are the component parts of the country. The smaller the religious community or the tribe, the greater the chance of inattention to its interests. Therefore, if it be assumed that fixing the shares of posts in the public services for different communities is a commendable principle (which we do not admit), then it is the smaller communities above all whose shares require to be fixed definitely, not the biggest or bigger communities. But what has been done in Bengal is that the share of the biggest community has been

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so stated that its members are sure to get the majority of the posts in every department, whereas the shares of the other communities have not been placed beyond probabilities of reduction. This will appear from the first three paragraphs of the official *communique* on the subject.

Communal Apportionment of Posts

The Bengal Government *communique* on the reservation of posts in the public services of Bengal states :

"The Government of Bengal have decided that, apart from the posts which for one reason or another are filled by non-Indians, the policy of future recruitment to the public services of the province will be directed to the attainment and maintenance as far as possible of parity in each of those services between the Muslim and non-Muslim communities in the province.

"It follows that the basic percentage of reservation for Muslim in direct recruitment will be 50 per cent. Government have further accepted the principle that, provided that qualified candidates are available, 15 per cent. of appointments by direct recruitment shall be reserved for the scheduled castes, but such reservation shall not exceed thirty per cent. of non-Muslim direct appointments.

"Government have come to the conclusion that it would be impracticable to reserve a definite percentage of posts, such, for example, as five per cent. for other minorities, for example, Anglo-Indians, Indian Christians and Buddhists, but, as heretofore, special consideration will be given to such communities, provided that qualified candidates are available."

The Bengal ministry dare not touch posts which are filled by non-Indians; for, as they have to depend on the votes of the British members of the provincial legislature to keep themselves in power, it would be imprudent to poach on the preserve of the kith and kin of these members. Some branches of the public service have no doubt been placed by the Government of India Act beyond the jurisdiction of provincial ministers. But some posts outside these services are practically monopolized by non-Indians. What but "discretion" (the better part of valour) prevented the Bengal ministers from reserving 50 per cent. of them for Muslims and the rest for other countrymen of theirs ? As regards the All-India services, filled mostly by non-Indians, the ministries of some provinces outside Bengal have been trying to provincialize all posts in their respective provinces. The Bengal ministers cannot afford to lose the favour of their British patrons by making similar efforts.

Fifty per cent. reservation for Muslims is not subject to the proviso, "provided that qualified candidates are available." In the case of the scheduled castes, however, 15 per cent. are reserved provided that qualified candidates are available. In the case of Anglo-Indians, etc., also, a similar proviso has been added. It has been taken for granted that qualified Muslim candidates will be available for 50 per cent. of the posts in all services. It is a fact, however, that in some departments requiring special knowledge and training, appointments have been delayed owing to there being no Mussalman candidates. In the case of some District Board appointments, Mussalmans have been imported from outside Bengal to fill them, though there were many very well qualified Hindu candidates.

This is not surprising. According to Sir N. N. Sircar (*Sir N. N. Sircar's Speeches and Pamphlets*), in medical institutions 12.1 per cent of the students are Mahomedan and 86.2 Hindu, and 17 per cent. of the members of the medical profession are Mahomedan, 79.7 Hindu, and 2.4 European and Indian Christians and others. As regards Engineering and allied institutions, 13 per cent. of their students are Mahomedan and 85.5 Hindu.

In the legal profession 11.6 per cent. of the members are Mahomedan and 87.6 Hindu. The numbers of Mahomedan and Hindu students in different classes of institutions and stages of education are shown below.

Institutions and Classes.	Muslims.	Hindus.
High Schools ..	17.9 per cent.	79.6 per cent.
Intermediate Colleges and Classes ..	13.6 „	83.6 „
Degree Classes ..	14.2 „	82.8 „
Post-graduate and Research Classes ..	13 „	85.7 „

Most of the Hindu students belong to other than scheduled castes.

The statistics given above in relation to some professions and institutions for professional training, as also the percentages of Hindu and Muslim students in institutions for general education, make it evident that among the persons best qualified by education the vast majority belong to the Hindu community and to that section of the Hindu community which consists of those who have been styled "caste Hindus," and a small minority of the best qualified belong to the Mohamedan Community. Yet, from 50 per cent. (reserved for Muslims) and from 15 per cent. (reserved for the scheduled castes), that is from 65 per cent. of appointments in the public services, this vast majority of the best qualified candidates are excluded. It is not that they will get even the remaining 35 per cent. No. They are to share this 35 per cent. with the Anglo-Indians, the Indian Christians, the Buddhists, the Jainas (not even mentioned in the *communique*), the

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aborigines (not even mentioned in the *communique*), and others. It is the Muslim community possessing the minority of the best qualified men who will get at least 50 per cent. of the posts.

That the Mahomedans will get 50 per cent. of the posts is certain. But they will get many more in two other ways. One is this: Scheduled caste men are to get 15 per cent. provided there is a sufficient number of them duly qualified.

"....if candidates of a particular community possessing the required qualifications do not come forward in any one year in sufficient numbers to fill all the posts reserved for that community, the reserved vacancies thus left unfilled shall be filled irrespective of community on the results of competition or selection and no deduction will be made on that account from the quota of posts available for open competition in subsequent years or in other services."

It will not be difficult in any year, or at least sometimes, for the heads of departments to declare that qualified candidates from the scheduled castes for some posts have not been forthcoming and to fill them by appointing men from other communities. As the Muslims form the majority and the favoured community, most or at least many of these posts will go to them.

Another way in which Muslims will get more than 50 per cent. of posts will be evident from the following passage of the *communique*:

If however no additional provisions were made for Muslim reservation in direct recruitment the due attainment of parity would be delayed in the case of some services which are filled partly by direct recruitment and partly by promotion. The reasons for this are (1) that owing to the present composition of some of the lower services the number of Muslims in them eligible for promotion must for some years be necessarily less than the number of non-Muslims and (2) that no communal reservation can be applied to promotions. Government have therefore decided that any excess over fifty per cent. obtained by non-Muslims in the matter of promotions shall be counter-balanced by additional reservation for Muslims over and above fifty per cent. in direct appointments to that service until parity in that service in reached when future policy in recruitment will be directed to maintaining parity. The additional reservation will be to the extent of one half of the excess promotions above referred to, since a direct recruit serves for at least twice as long as a promoted man. The same principle of counter-balance by additional reservation in direct recruitment will be applied in the case of non-Muslims in relation to any service in which Muslims may be found to predominate.

The last sentence quoted above, perhaps inserted in the *communique* by way of show of impartiality, will bring little solace to the Hindu community, as at present Muslims owing to their educational backwardness do not preponderate in most services. As the Hindus do so in many services, Muslims will benefit by the rule of additional reservations more than the Hindus.

The words, "due attainment of parity would be delayed," show that the ministry are in a hurry to establish parity at once in the place of the disparity which has grown up in the course of many generations.

Is parity between the fit and the unfit, or between the more fit and the less fit, a law of nature?

There are various industrial, economic and other causes which have compelled many classes of people in many countries in some ages to change their occupations and adjust themselves to new conditions. But such change of occupations and adjustment to new conditions have been gradual. They have nowhere been abrupt and due to the fiat of the leading representatives of a majority community artificially invested with power by an alien ruling people in order to reduce to impotence a community whose members have been the stoutest opponents of these aliens.

"Reward of Merit" Nullified in Part

The *communique* on the communal reservation of posts would obviously claim credit for the following paragraph:

Government reaffirmed the principle that in the selection of individuals already in Government service for promotion from one service to another there can be no question of communal interests and promotions must be made on merit alone with due regard to seniority.

But this would be nullified in great part by the additional reservation of posts to counterbalance any excess over fifty per cent. obtained in the matter of promotions.

"Adequate Standards of Qualifications"

The *communique* states further:

Government fully recognise also the necessity of maintaining adequate standards of qualifications for entry into the various services and in implementing their policy will take steps to ensure with the assistance of the Public Service Commission that these standards will in no way be impaired.

This is very vague.

As at least 50 per cent. of posts in *every* service must be given to Muslims, the standards of qualifications can at the best be very low. They can never be adequate. It may even be that in some services Muslim candidates possessed of even the minimum qualifications may not be available as soon as vacancies occur-

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Competitive Examinations

As regards competitive examinations, it is stated in the *communique* :

> The system of competitive examination will be progressively extended as far as circumstances permit to as many branches of the public service as possible with a view to selection being made from among the qualified candidates of each communal group in the order of merit within each group.

This is beautifully non-committal. But one must be thankful for small mercies. That the Bengal ministers have recognized the value of competitive examinations at all, though they are to be held separately for each communal group, must be considered encouragingly democratic !

Exceptions to Communal Reservation of Posts in Bengal

The *communique* on communal reservation of posts in Bengal states :

> It is also recognised in this connection that it may be impracticable to apply reservation for particular communities to branches of the public service for which membership of a particular community is itself in practice a necessary qualification, for example, the Eastern Frontier Rifles or the crew of Government launches. Similarly, the policy of reservation as adopted for the province as a whole cannot apply to the district of Darjeeling where the needs of the population require special treatment.

Of course, as "the crew of Government launches" are Muslims, Hindus cannot be given a share of their humble jobs—"practice" stands in the way ! But Muslims can certainly fill at least 50 per cent. of all the offices, high and low, which are at present held "in practice" by the Hindus. That is plain. But why cannot the Muslim League lions and tigers combined do at least 50 per cent. of the work of the Eastern Frontier Rifles ?

Hindus vis-a-vis the Communal "Award" and the Communal Reservation of Posts

So far as the Hindus are concerned, the effect of the communal "award" and the communal reservation of posts is the same. The "award" gives weightage to Muslims wherever they are in a minority, but where, as in Bengal, Hindus are in a minority, far from getting weightage, they do not get even bare justice. Posts are reserved for Muslims in Bengal, though they are the majority community here. But posts are not reserved for the Hindus in the seven provinces where they form the majority. On the contrary, the Muslims there hold more posts than their numbers or comparative educational standing would justify.

Hindus must stand to lose in all arrangements, circumstances and decisions. That is not the only evil. Such communal arrangements go against the forces making for national freedom. They are a weapon in the hands of the enemies of freedom.

"Why All This Bother About Loaves And Fishes ?"

We have written much about the communal reservation of posts in Bengal, and much more could and should have been written. The question may be asked : "Why all this bother about mere loaves and fishes of office ?" The reply is, we are not worrying merely about the loaves and fishes of office, though these are not at all negligible as means of livelihood. If all the posts in the public services were honorary and if the best educated section of the public were excluded from by far the largest number of them, we should and would protest against such an arrangement equally strongly.

By the communal "award," as embodied in the Government of India Act, the best educated and the most public-spirited section of the people of Bengal have been made powerless in the legislature. They are going to be made powerless first in the Calcutta Municipality and afterwards in the mofussil municipalities. The officers employed in public services in the various departments of the Government can serve the country in their various capacities. The more posts in these services are reserved for non-Hindu communities the greater are the obstacles placed in the way of the best qualified men to serve the country. Why should they be deprived of the opportunity for serving the country ? Such reservation cannot but lead also to deterioration in the services, in addition to working against national solidarity. It is this apprehended certain deterioration that troubles us greatly.

A Muslim is not inefficient because he is a Muslim, nor is a Hindu efficient because he is a Hindu. If all or most of the posts were filled by Muslims by virtue of their superior qualifications, that would not be objectionable. On the other hand, we would certainly object if all or most or any portion of the posts were reserved for Hindus as Hindus.

A Prominent Turk on Muslim Communalism in India

The London correspondent of the *Mahratta* of Poona had an interview with

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Bey Burhan Belge, Director of the Press Department in the Turkish Foreign Office, on the 6th June last. The correspondent writes :

My first question to him was as to what he thought of the Indian Moslems and their activities.

His answer came in a flash. He said :

"Let me be frank with you. We in Turkey do not recognise India in terms of Hindus and Moslems. We have great respect for Indians and we sympathise with them as they sympathise with us. But I refuse to admit that the Moslems of India have any special claims on our sympathies and support because Turkey happens to be a Moslem country."

He added :

"You must remember that the Turkish Government has abolished theocracy and religious rule of the Mullas and Moulavis long time ago. Of course there are mosques in Turkey and they are open for all to pray and to worship. Anybody can go in and pray at any time; but it must be done inside the mosque. Nobody is allowed to practise religion on the streets. The priests may lead people in their prayers and don themselves in venerable togas; but they cannot walk in the streets with their religious garments. They can come into the public streets only in their civil dress."

This led the Poona paper's correspondent to ask him what he thought about the Indian Moslems' attitude as regards music being played before mosques.

For a minute or two he could not fully appreciate the significance of the correspondent's question. He exclaimed with obvious amazement :

"What has music to do with mosques and prayers ?" I had to explain to him that the Moslems in India take strong exception to any music being played before their mosques [by Hindus]. They regard it as causing disturbance and distraction.

The Turkish gentleman exclaimed :

"How silly ! I don't see any sense in their objection to music being played on the streets if the mosque happens to be situated in a public thoroughfare. The street belongs to the people and they have every right to use it. I had never heard such absurd things in my life."

He observed further :

"I fail to understand also how prayers could be disturbed by outside music. No prayer can give us that spiritual and moral sublimity of mind unless we are able to concentrate inwardly. And a truly prayerful attitude need entertain no fears of outward distraction. If you are disturbed in your prayers, it must only mean that your mind was wondering on material things outside and was not concentrating on spiritual things inside."

This was a quite reasonable view.

Travelling Government

The Hitavada writes :

A novel feature of the administrative reform contemplated by the Government formed under the new constitution in the Aundh State, will be the system of a Travelling Government. In this system the Ministers with their office, will move from taluka to taluka and from village to village according to pre-arranged schedule and all matters will be dispatched on the spot avoiding all correspondence and collection of information. The Prime Minister of Aundh who put forward the scheme was of the opinion that this system will make it possible to keep a constant and intimate touch with the villages, and give a close insight into 'the troubles and difficulties of the villagers and thus will make the Government truly of people.' As a sincere attempt to avoid the cumbersome nature of the administration machine, this scheme deserves serious consideration. It is also claimed on behalf of the scheme that it will cheapen the cost of administration. It is posible to express doubts about the practical working of the scheme but there will be no two opinions about giving the scheme a fair trial.

The scheme may succeed in small States and may be very useful and beneficial.

Manipur Maharaj-Kumar Joins Congress

SHILLONG, June 15.

Maharaj-Kumar Tikendra Dhwaja Singh, son of His Highness late Maharaja Kula Chandra Dhwaja Bahadur of Manipur State (Assam) who has come here for a short stay has joined the Indian National Congress.

Maharaj-Kumar proposes to inaugurate a State Congress in Manipur and for this purpose he is shortly starting for the hill areas of the State accompanied by Mr. Sushil Chandra Bhadra.—(*A. P.*).

Wanted Greater Indo-Afghan Understanding

PESHAWAR, June 16.

His Excellency Sardar Salauddinkhan, Afghan Consul-General in India, arrived here yesterday from Kabul after attending the Independence Day celebrations there.

In the course of an interview to the "United Press" His Excellency expressed the view that India and Afghanistan being close neighbours, needed greater understanding of each other, as both countries were bound together by the common cultural and blood ties and hailed from the Aryan stock.

Such understanding, His Excellency added, would make for greater fraternity amongst oriental peoples which was the greatest need of Asia.

The Sardar felt optimistic of India's future, remarking that India was advancing towards her goal, despite the seeming internal conflicts. He was immensely proud of India's two great men, Mahatma Gandhi and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, who were broad-minded and possessed a generous heart.

He left for Simla last evening.—(*United Press*).

Submarines and Sabotage

WASHINGTON, June 20.

A resolution for the appointment of a Congressional Committee to investigate the possibility that the loss of the submarines "Squalus," 'Thetis,' and 'Phoenix' was due to sabotage, was introduced in the Senate by Senator Barbour. The resolution suggests that a committee be directed to investigate the whole question of activities of foreign spies in the United States.—(*Reuter*).

The sabotage theory had struck us as likely before we had read the telegram printed above.

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The Importance of Paharpur Discoveries

A new chapter has been added to the artistic and cultural history of Bengal in the publication, just made in the series of Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India, of a monograph on the results of the excavations at Paharpur Bengal.

The Paharpur mound and its enclosure were protected by the Archæological Department nearly 20 years ago, and the first sod was turned 16 years ago. The great height of the mound, which is known locally as the 'pahar' or hill and has given the name to the neighbouring village Paharpur, should always have attracted the attention of visitors, but it was hardly suspected that its excavations will lead to the discovery of **the most gigantic single monument in India.**

The systematic excavation by the Archæological Department begun in 1925 was only recently concluded, and the place has now revealed a great four-storeyed temple with a unique plan and a gigantic monastery containing nearly 190 cells enclosing it.

Another mound known as the Satyapir Bhita at a distance from the mound has yielded structures and antiquities which are identified with the temple of the Buddhist goddess Tara. Bathing 'ghats,' gateways and a sanitary block are amongst several structures brought to light.

Model to Greater India

The plan of the main temple at Paharpur consisting, as it does, of a square shrine in the centre with cross-shaped adjuncts on each side and projects between each side, the whole being constructed in four terraces, is so far unique in India and **supplies the missing clue to the type of architecture so prevalent in Burma, Java and the Malayan archipelago.** After the discovery of Paharpur an earlier prototype has been found farther inland at Nandangarh in the extreme north of Bihar, but **there is no doubt that the great Bengal example furnished the model to the architects of greater India.**

The most important discoveries at Paharpur are the stone images in the lower basement of the main temple, which revealed a new school of art in the 6th-7th Century A.D. It is astonishing that in a monument which, there is no doubt, must be identified as the Buddhist Vihara built by the well-known Pala Emperor Dharmapala at the end of the 8th Century A.D., such a remarkable series of sculptures consisting mainly of Brahmanical figures should have been found embedded in the walls in such good preservation.

A large number of these panels refer to the exploits of Krishna's childhood, and what has been identified as a representation of Krishna and Radha is unique and must be considered as the earliest representation of this divine pair. Stories from the Hindu epics, Mahabharata and Ramayana, various forms of Siva, Ganesa and guardians of the quarters are given in these panels. No other examples of the same type or school of art have till now come to light anywhere else in Bengal.

The Plaques

The most numerous specimens of artistic work found at Paharpur are the terracotta plaques, of which nearly 2,800 were found, over two-thirds being still *in situ*. These plaques play a prominent part in the scheme of decoration of the walls in each terrace of the temple, there being two or even three rows of plaques in some walls.

The variety of subjects depicted in the plaques is bewildering, consisting of deities, both Brahmanical and Buddhist, semi-divine beings, composite animals, stories current in folklore, men and women engaged in different occupations, animals and birds, plants and flowers and other objects too numerous to mention. A complete picture of the world as known to these humble artists of 1,200 years ago is given.

Among important finds mention must also be made of a copper plate dated 479 A.D. which refers to the grant of land for the maintenance of Jaina worship in a Vihara. It is remarkable that the donors in this case were a Brahman couple, and the spirit of tolerance which actuated Indian society in this age is reflected in this as also in the occurence of Brahmanical images in the Buddhist Vihara.

The Memoir is from the pen of Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit, Director-General of Archaeology in India, who carried out the excavations for the best part of ten years, and is profusely illustrated by plates of various finds of architectural and artistic importance and plans of the buildings unearthed.

Leprosy Survey in Bengal

Sample surveys carried out in Bengal last year show that the highest incidence of leprosy, *viz.*, 3·2 per cent. was in the Diamond Harbour area. The areas surveyed included municiplities of South Dum Dum, North Barrackpore, Champdany, Naihatty, Titagarh, Panihati, Barrackpore, Bhatpara and Kanchrapara, and in the thanas of Sukhanpukur in Bogra District, Terakhada in Khulna District, Khargram in Murshidabad District, Narsinghdi in Dacca District and Diamond Harbour and Falta in the 24-Parganas District.

The total number of leprosy clinics established up to the end of the year was 134; of these nine were opened during the year. The total number of leprosy clinics run by the equalified medical men specially trained in leprosy at the School of Tropical Medicine, Calcutta, was 41 and by the Provincial Branch of the British Empire Leprosy Relief Association (Indian Council), (Belra), 18, by untrained medical men 30, and trained non-medical men 45.

There are five leper homes in Bengal, namely, one each at Raniganj, Bankura, Gobra in Calcutta, Kalimpong and Chandraghona in the Chittagong Hill Tracts.

The total number of medical men trained in leprosy by the Provincial Branch of the British Empire Leprosy Relief Association since its establishment in 1927 upto the end of 1938, exclusive of 112 trained at the Leprosy Department of the School of Tropical Medicine upto 1934, is 1,787.

Medical officers visited 52 schools in Bengal including six under the Corporation of Calcutta of different grades, —such as the High, Upper Primary and Lower Primary Schools, Muktabs, etc., and examined 3,987 students, detecting 13 definite cases of leprosy amongst them. It gives an incidence of ·33 per cent. of infection among the students examined.

The Government of Bengal increased their annual grant from Rs. 5,000 to Rs. 10,000 in 1938 to the Provincial Branch of the Belra.

The Branch also received a grant of Rs. 1,900 from the Calcutta Corporation, Rs. 400 from the Mines Board of Health, Asansol, and a total of Rs. 989 from municipalities and District Boards in Bengal. The annual grant from the Indian Council of the British Leprosy Relief Association was nearly Rs. 4,400.

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The present system of running leprosy clinics by non-medical men, trained or untrained in leprosy, it is said, has nothing to recommend in it, because firstly, no correct diagnosis can be expected from them; secondly, they cannot be depended upon to give injections to patients and thirdly, the public are not satisfied with the treatment given by non-medical men who also cannot be expected to treat accompanying diseases like fever, cough, dysentery, etc., which the public want them to treat.

Strength of the Soviet Army

VLADIVOSTOK.

With speculation rife with regard to Soviet military strength on the eve of the conclusion of a powerful Anglo-France-Soviet mutual assistance alliance, it was learned here that the peace time strength of the Red Army now totals at least 2,000,000.

The increase in numerical strength is due to the raising of the number of effectives in one infantry division from 13,000 to 18,000 men.

The number of Soviet officers at present totals approximately 50,000, while each year 5,000 young officers are graduated from military schools.

Observers here are extremely skeptical regarding rumours of demoralization in the Red Army. No mutinies have been reported and that there are no signs of friction between the civilian authorities and the army which it was pointed out, usually is the first sign of demoralization.

It has been disclosed that Soviet Army regulations recently have been modified and now are based chiefly on offensive tactics. It was added that a considerable part of the army has been mechanized and special attention given to the artillery.

The Soviet army has a strong mechanized branch consisting of large numbers of armoured cars and light tanks. Heavy tanks, it is claimed, are out of fashion.

With reference to the Soviet air arm, the front line strength includes six or seven thousand planes, chiefly good replicas of foreign models. New types were seen during the last May Day parade but no details are available, it was reported.

Regarding pilots, the agency learned that their chief weakness lies in their too close interpretation of instructions. There is absolutely no question regarding their audacity and courage.

The Soviet Navy has been completely renewed during the past two years and now has six or seven up-to-date cruisers, many destoyers and a strong submarine fleet.

Special importance has been attached to the organization of the Red Army in the Far Eastern Provinces and care taken that the total number of men equals the number of Japanese effectives stationed in Manchukuo and North China, according to a Havas report.

New railways also are being rapidly laid. The new Baikal-Amur railway will result in a double-tracking of the trans-Siberian.—(*I. N. A.*).

Dr. Rajendra Prasad and Indians in British Dominions and Colonies

BOMBAY, June 15.

The Patna Correspondent of the *Bombay Chronicle* understands that the Congress President has instructed all the eight Congress governed Provinces to lodge energetic protests to the Viceroy against the action of British Dominions and Colonies especially South Africa and Ceylon against Indians.

The correspondent further understands that Dr. Rajendra Prasad has urged the Provincial Ministries to exert pressure on the Government of India and Whitehall to end Empire discriminations and racial persecution against Indians.

If the Viceroy fail to respond and make England realise the dangers threatened and stop the "Jehad" against Indians abroad, the question would be made an all-India issue.

Dr. Rajendra Prasad in the course of his recent statement called on Indians in South Africa to go forward and assured them of India's wholehearted support along with a warning to Britain in unmistakable language that India is unlikely to forget the insult to her nationals abroad.—(*United Press*).

We support this reported action of the Congress President.

Dr. Rajendra Prasad and Bengalis in Bihar

We would not have condemned Dr. Rajendra Prasad if he had instructed himself to exert pressure on himself and instructed the Bihar Ministers to exert pressure on themselves to try to give effect to the A.-I. C. C. resolution in favour of inclusion of Bengali-speaking areas of Bihar province in the province of Bengal, as also to give effect to Dr. Rajendra Prasad's recommendations *re* Bengalis in Bihar.

Mysore Grant for "Air University" in Allahabad

ALLAHABAD, June 21.

It is reported that the Mysore Government has offered a certain recurring grant in connection with the scheme of starting an 'Air University' at Allahabad, suggested by Pandit Krishnakant Malaviya.

As every effort should be made to make Indians air-minded and to train an adequate number of them to become air-pilots, aeroplane engineers and mechanics, Pandit Krishnakanta Malaviya's suggestion is timely and the Mysore Government's reported grant would be in keeping with its traditional attitude towards all sound educational projects.

It is understood that Pandit Krishna Kanta's plans for this University have made substantial progress.

Jute Cultivation in Brazil

Friends of jute cultivators in Bengal, Bihar and Assam should make the following facts known to them :

Information received from Brazil regarding jute cultivation in that country says that a Japanese firm named the Amazonia Industry Co., Ltd., has been successful in growing jute in the Para State of Brazil. A crop of 500 tons was produced during 1938. It is reported that a Japanese-Brazilian Jute Cultivation Company under joint investment by the two countries, Japan and Brazil, will be established in accordance with a contract recently signed between the Para State Government and the abovementioned Japanese firm.

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In the contract three years have been provided as a period of experimental cultivation but if the results are satisfactory a Japanese-Brazilian concern will be established in one year. In this case the Para State Government will offer 25,000 acres of land free to the Company exempting it from taxation and providing free transportation for the Japanese labourers to and from the site of cultivation.

It is further reported that the State Government is making efforts to obtain privileges from the Federal Government for the Company, such as immigration of about 100 Japanese families including 500 men each year and their free transportation in the State. But according to the Brazilian Embassy in Tokyo, the Japanese labour required for growing jute, will be imported not from Japan but from the State of Sao Paulo, Brazil.—(*A. P. I.*).

Mr. Fazlul Huq on Muslim Efficiency

In an article entitled "Efficiency," contributed to the official *Bengal Weekly*, Mr. A. K. Fuzlul Huq tries to show that the Bengal Muslims are neither 'inefficient' nor 'incompetent.' But who said that they were all inefficient and incompetent? He also asserts that the Bengal Government has no intention to favour Moslem candidates possessing low qualifications on mere communal grounds.

If so, why fix quotas? Why not make all appointments to the public services on the results of competitive examinations among candidates of all communities? These examinations may include physical tests, too.

In Europe Democracy A Phrase, Not A Fact

We read in *The Living Age* for June:

"The use of the term 'democracy' becomes increasingly ironical in relation to European countries..... True, certain countries such as France and England, still pretend observance to the outward forms of democracy, but only in so far as it serves their essentially undemocratic aims, aims now openly apparent in both countries .....In Europe today 'democracy' is a phrase, not a fact."

A British Appreciation of the Maharaja of Mysore

News Review writes:

The world's only ruling monarch who is inferior to his cook—member of a priestly caste—the Maharajah of Mysore belongs to a Brahmin warrior strain.

Reputed to be worth £80,000,000, he succeeded at 11 to the *gaddi* (throne) of a country about as big as Scotland, with 7,000,000 people. He is one of India's "enlightened" princes, eager to introduce the wonders of the concrete age to his gold and sandalwood territory tucked inside the vast regions of the Madras Presidency.

Modern dams, railways, bridges and factories have come to Mysore, agriculture has been nationalised, rich goldfields are efficiently worked. When his experts told him that his engineering dreams would cost £5,000,000, the thrifty Maharaja went not to London's banks but to the Brahmin temples, to borrow gold from the priests at a lower rate of interest.

His Highness last week anticipated his birthday by agreeing to important new reforms. His *Dewan* (Prime Minister), brainy Sir Mirza Ismail, who has successfully survived allegations of "Socialism," told the Representative Assembly that its next session, in the autumn, would probably open under a new Constitution. The reforms, "conducive to the greater happiness and contentment of the people," would be a compromise between the extreme Right and extreme Left.

Three months ago, the Maharajah asked Dewan Ismail to set up a "Constitutional Reforms Committee." It recommended a system of responsible Government under the authority and protection of the Maharajah, with a Cabinet appointed by him and enjoying the support of the Legislature. The powers of the Maharajah would remain supreme, but the Assembly would be granted wider powers of control over the budget, and be allowed to criticise Ministers.

Scarcity in West Bengal and the Bengal Tank Re-excavation Act

Reports of crop failure and acute distress among the agriculturists have been reaching us from the district of Bankura. In this district, as in other parts of West Bengal, the success of the annual harvest of paddy depends mainly on sufficient and well distributed rainfall, and whenever the rainfall is insufficient and ill distributed, the crop suffers.

To guard against these caprices of weather and to ensure a proper harvest, the pioneers of cultivation in these areas excavated numerous tanks and constructed reservoirs to hold up water for use in times of necessity. Unfortunately, owing to the neglect of the local people, most of the tanks have become silted up and the embankments broken and damaged, so that these tanks and reservoirs no longer serve the purpose for which they were originally made.

The main problem in these areas, therefore, is to re-excavate and repair these tanks and bunds in order to make them effective. About 15 years ago a movement was set on foot to get this work done by the organization of Co-operative Societies among the persons interested in such projects. The movement did not achieve sufficient success. One of the reasons for its failure is the difficulty to enlist all interested persons as members of the society. Another is the apathy of the co-sharers, often many in number, who own the bed of the tank and the banks, but who, in a large number of cases, have no culturable land and, therefore, are not directly interested in irrigation.

The problem of irrigation came to prominence during the last famine in these areas in 1934-36 and Government decided to undertake legislative measures for this purpose. The

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Bengal Tank Re-excavation Bill which was passed at the last session of the Assembly, has now been passed by the Council and has, we understand, received the assent of the Governor.

It is not only desirable but imperatively necessary that the provisions of this Act should be put into operation at once and that executive instructions should be issued so that the District and Sub-divisional officers may make proper use of it. During recent years we have had examples of many useful and important Acts which became a dead letter owing to the indifference of the Government and the local officers. It is hoped that, apart from the higher conceptions of the duty of the State for the welfare of the people, the Bengal Government will realize that whenever there is a famine or acute scarcity, it is called upon to expend a large amount of money in affording gratuitous relief, and the liability for such expenditure will be reduced to the extent to which arrangements for effective irrigation are made.

At the same time, a sufficient amount of money should be made available for the purpose so that the Act may not be rendered inoperative and infructuous for want of funds. The Act contains provision for levy and realization of the cost of excavation so that Government incurs no risk of loss in financing these projects. In other provinces, notably in the Punjab, the provincial Government have invested huge amounts in improving irrigation and, compared with the work done in these regions the record of the Bengal Government has been extremely disappointing. Money is now sufficiently available at an unprecedentedly low rate of interest and we cannot conceive of a better use which can be made of these funds than in financing such productive and remunerative projects on which not only the health and happiness but the very existence of vast numbers of people depend.

SUKUMAR CHATTERJEE

Decorating Congress-Nagar

RAMGARH, June 24.

Special efforts are being made to make the Congress-Nagar artistic. It is proposed to depict in picture the glorious contributions of Bihar since the pre-historic days to the modern times. Sjt. Nandalal Bose has been approached for advice in this connection. It is understood Sjt. Dinesh Bakshi, a talented young artist of Bihar, has been entrusted with this work. Sjt. Bakshi is a student of the Bombay School of Arts. Of late he was the Artist attached to Mahila Ashram, Wardha.—(*U. P.*).

Increase in Population in Soviet Russia

LONDON.

The population of the Soviet Union continues to increase by about 2,000,000 a year. The results of the census taken last January show that it increased from 147,000,000 in December, 1926, to nearly 170,500,000, an increase of 15·9 per cent.

In the same 12 years, the population of the United States, Italy, Germany, Britain, and France rose by 11, 9, 7, 5, and 2·7 per cent. respectively; the increase in the whole of "capitalist" Europe was 32,000,000, compared with 23,500,000 in the Soviet Union.

The birth-rate in Moscow, Leningrad, Kieff, and Kharkoff in 1938 was between 27 and 29 per 1,000, and in Baku 34, whereas in 1936, the birth-rate in Berlin was 14, in London 13·6, in Paris 11·5, and in New York 15·5 per 1,000.

Of the total population of the U.S.S.R. over 109,000,000 are in the Russian Soviet Republic and nearly 30,000,000 are in the Ukraine. The chief towns have about doubled their population. In Moscow, it has risen from 2,000,000 to over 4,000,000, and in Leningrad from 1,690,065 to 3,191,304. There are over 7,000,000 more women than men in the U.S.S.R.

The progress of industrialization is strikingly illustrated. The town populations have risen from 17·9 to 32·8 per cent of the whole.

In the two Republics of Kazakstan and Turkmenistan the population has more than trebled and in five others—the Russian Republic, the Ukraine, Ahenia, Tajikistan, and Kirghizia—it has more than doubled. In Kirghizia, Armenia, and Tajikistan, the totals are nearly half as big again, and in Azerbaijan and Uzbekistan, the population is more than a third as big. At the same time, the population of several Russian districts—Kalinin (Tver), Eursk, Riazan, Penzr, Smolenask, Poltava and Vinnitza has decreased, one district by as much as 32 per cent.

The difference in the increase in population between the Soviet Union and "capitalist" Europe is attributed to the Socialist system, but a graph published in "Pravda" shows that the population of Russia increased from 106,400,000 in 1897 to 134,200,000 in 1920—mostly under the Tsars—in spite of the Revolution, several wars, and continual internal upheaval, "Izvestia" asks, need it be said what a formidable power lies behind these simple figures "for our enemies."—(*United Press*).

Bengalis and Non-Bengalis in Bengal Cotton Mills

According to a press note on the avenues of employment in cotton mills in Bengal, issued by the Director of Public Information, Bengal, there are 28 cotton mills at work in Bengal, employing nearly 31,000 persons. Of these about 18,500 are Bengalis and the rest non-Bengalis. In the general establishment the largest section of employees are stated to be clerks, mostly (90 per cent) Bengalis. In the spinning department nearly 30 per cent of the masters and assistant masters, 25 per cent of the supervisors and 50 per cent of the skilled operatives are non-Bengalis. Very similar is the case in the weaving, dyeing and bleaching departments. The earnings of the non-clerical workers are on the average not lower than those of the clerks. Skilled operatives generally get pay ranging from Rs. 20 to Rs. 60 per month, and, when promoted as supervisors, the figure

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rises up to even Rs. 150. Masters and assistant masters, who are technically qualified men, get still higher pay, varying from Rs. 75 to Rs. 350 per month. The pay of the departmental heads or officers rises up to even Rs. 1000. In the engineering department, where over 30 per cent of the mistries and mechanics are non-Bengalis, "one easily earns anything between Rs. 20 to Rs. 150 a month without having any degree or diploma in mechanical engineering."

The total number of non-Bengalis employed in other industries, in small trades, in large scale commerce, and in banking and other business and occupations would come up to hundreds of thousands. Calcutta alone contains more than six lakhs of non-Bengalis.

The largest number of Bengalis living outside the province of Bengal live in those areas which are geographically parts of Bengal but have been included in other provinces for administrative reasons. If these Bengalis be not taken into account, it will be found that the number of Bengalis living outside the province of Bengal is smaller than the number of non-Bengalis living here. Moreover, it is generally only the literate classes in Bengal who go outside Bengal to seek a living. There is less enterprise among the mass of the people in Bengal than in other provinces. As regards earnings, there are some non-Bengali merchants, industrialists and men of business in Bengal who earn more than all the Bengali lawyers, doctors and judicial and executive officers combined outside Bengal. Most Bengalis making their living outside geographical Bengal do so as clerks, not earning more on an average than mill operatives and other factory workers.

All these facts show that the people of Bengal as a whole are less enterprising than the people of the other provinces of India, from whom they can learn much in practical economics.

Discontinuance of Minto Professorship Grant

SIMLA, May 30.

The decision of the Government of India to discontinue their annual grant of Rs. 13,000 to Calcutta University for the Minto Professorship of Economics is based on the ground that education is no longer a central subject but purely a provincial one and therefore, the Government of India have discontinued their educational grants except in centrally administered areas or where they serve All-India needs.

The Calcutta University and institutions affiliated to it do not exclude but admit students from all parts of India, and, therefore, serve All-India needs. In the matter of recognizing the principal languages of India no Indian University is All-Indian to the extent that Calcutta is.

According to this decision the Minto Professorship, which has been held successively by distinguished Indian economists, mostly from outside Bengal, will cease to receive the central grant with effect from March 7, 1941, when the term of the present incumbent expires.

The Minto Professorship was founded in the year 1908 when at the Jubilee Convocation of Calcutta University, Lord Minto the then Viceroy, announced the institution of this grant.

Mahatma Gandhi on Satyagraha in Indian States

Some time back Mahatma Gandhi enunciated a new policy regarding the freedom movement in the Indian States. This was due to the new light which he claims his Rajkot experiences gave him. In a statement on Travancore subsequently issued, Gandhiji has further explained his new policy or technique. Its principal features have been thus summed up :

(1) "Suspension of mass civil disobedience should be indefinite.

(2) "There should be the will among the State Congress people to open a way to honourable negotiations with the authorities.

(3) "There should be no anxiety about those Satyagrahis who are in prison or new ones. If the spirit of Satyagraha is rightly assimilated, these imprisonments and disabilities should hearten the people.

(4) "The pitch of the immediate demands should be lowered, if necessary, in order to quicken the progress towards the final goal.

(5) "The condition precedent to any civil disobedience is the fulfilment by the general mass of the constructive programme as a test, if nothing more, of their coming under the discipline of the State Congress."

There is no greater Satyāgraha expert or civil disobedience expert than Gandhiji. He is in fact the father or originator of the Satyāgraha variety of freedom's battle. Hence, whatever he says on Satyāgraha should be taken and considered seriously.

It is understood that the statement was meant specially for Travancore and that Satyāgrahis in other States were at liberty to follow his advice if it suited them and disregard it if it did not. So the statement is not entirely without any application to other States.

Considering that the right spirit of *ahimsā* or non-violence is difficult to attain and requires a long course of self-discipline, which not many persons have gone through, Mahatmaji's advice that mass civil disobedience should be discontinued indefinitely is right.

The second item in the statement has no guidance for the people of any State who have

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already carried on or tried to carry on honourable negotiations with the authorities but have failed. What are they to do now ?

It may be that there was no cause for anxiety about the Tavancore Satyāgrahis who were in jail. But as regards some other States, for example Hyderabad, there cannot but be anxiety.

As we have never been revolutionaries and have no "revolutionary urge" and would not mind being dubbed "reformists," we do not find anything inherently wrong in lowering "the immediate demands." As president of the Indian States' People's Conference session held at Jullundur Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru observed that, though the States' people were struggling for responsible government, the immediate objective was the gaining of civil liberty and the establishment of the reign of law. That was equivalent to lowering the pitch of the immediate demands.

It may be said in favour of such a course that the authorities in the States would be more inclined to make small concessions than to introduce big reforms, that every little concession is a gain and may be made the stepping-stone to obtaining more reforms, and that even a little progress gives some stimulus and encouragement to the movement, whereas continuous unsuccessful endeavour is likely to damp the ardour of ordinary men.

In favour of raising the demands to the highest pitch it may be said that if one asks for sixteen annas one *may* get at least one anna, but if one asks for one anna he may get nothing. That, no doubt, betokens a bargaining spirit. But there is something further to be said in favour of making the full demands. Such a demand and the struggle for it would rouse greater enthusiasm than petitioning for petty crumbs.

Here the questions arise : If Gandhiji is for lowering the pitch of the immediate demands with regard to the States, why does the Indian National Congress (of which he is the de facto supreme leader) demand full freedom and independence, not anything lower ? Why, as regards Federation, nothing short of a Federal Scheme prepared by a constituent assembly, it is declared, would be acceptable to the Indian National Congress ?

What are the grounds for assuming on the one hand that the *alien* imperialist British authorities can be expected to meet the demand of British India for full freedom and on the other that the *indigenous* authorities of the States cannot be expected to grant responsible government to their subjects who belong to the same race as themselves ? It cannot be said that the people of British India are a race different from and superior to the States' people. Both belong to the same stock or stocks. If the people of British India may demand and are entitled to full freedom, the people of the States cannot be said not to deserve to have and not to be entitled to demand responsible government.

Gandhiji's ideal of Satyāgraha is that the Satyāgrahi should be entirely free from *himsā*. Therefore, those who undertake Satyāgraha should be full of the spirit of *ahimsā*. If we are not mistaken, total abstinence from intoxicants and narcotics, anti-untouchability, and spinning are parts of the constructive programme. As intoxicants inflame passions, it is necessary for the cultivation of the spirit of *ahimsā* to eschew them. If a man considers some others untouchable, that implies that he, a superior person, hates or looks down upon them. Such a state of mind does not make for *ahimsā*. How spinning can directly induce the spirit of *ahimsā* we have not been able to understand. Perhaps the self-discipline involved in self-imposed monotonous work pursued regularly and for a certain fixed period at a stretch allays excitement and passion. The resulting calmness of mind may be a step towards the spirit of *ahimsā*. Of course, that is not the only possible discipline.

Mahatma Gandhi's advice has been given in relation to non-violent struggles for freedom. There have been successful armed fights for freedom in all countries, including India. But Mahatma Gandhi is against them as a matter of spiritual principle. Moreover, they cannot be successfully waged in India under present conditions—a consideration which weighs most with the vast majority of politically-mided Indians.

If Mahatma Gandhi's prescription were not meant for non-violent civil resisters or Satyāgrahis, one could have objected, saying that in the world's long history numerous wars of independence had been successfully waged by soldiers who had never gone through—nay, who had never heard of, his constructive programme.

Struggle for Civil Liberties in Hyderabad

The satyāgraha in Hyderabad of the adherents of the Hindu Mahasabha and the Arya-Samajists is intended to secure for Hindus in that State the ordinary religious and other rights which the followers of all

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religions enjoy in British India and in many enlightened States in India. There is no hostility in this movement either to the Muslim community or to His Exalted Highness the Nizam or to his dynasty.

There have been open complaints against the treatment which the satyāgrahis have been receiving in and outside the jails of that State. Some ten prisoners among them are reported to have died under mysterious circumstances and marks of violence have been found on the bodies of most of them. This is reported to be the case with all whose photographs have been published in the press. The authorities, it is said, do not send any previous intimation to the relatives and friends of prisoners whose condition is serious and who subsequently die. These grave allegations call for immediate impartial and sifting enquiry.

The number of Satyāgrahi prisoners is stated to be some five thousands.

Maharashtra has hitherto supplied most of the Satyāgrahis and of the money required for keeping up the movement. The Panjab has also been making laudable efforts to make the movement successful. Batches of Satyāgrahis have gone to or in the direction of Hyderabad from other provinces, too, which have made pecuniary contributions also.

Congress Attitude Towards Hyderabad Satyāgraha

Under instructions from the authorities of the Indian National Congress the Hyderabad State Congress suspended its Satyāgraha a few months ago. This was done in order to prevent the ascription of communal motives to the Congress and in recognition of Muslim susceptibilities. While appreciating the motive of the Congress authorities, we could not support their action.

However, assuming that the Congress acted rightly in the matter, one would expect that body to maintain a neutral attitude in the matter. But the Madras Government has prohibited meetings being held in connection with the Hyderabad Satyāgraha movement. The Bombay Government took a similar step at Sholapur, but has since almost retraced its steps. The kind of Satyāgraha being carried on by the Hindus is not unlawful, nor are the Satyāgrahis guilty of violence or incitements to violence. There is no reason, therefore, for any Congress government to actively oppose the movement. That the Panjab ministry have been placing obstacles in its way is because it is predominantly Muslim and is communal in spirit.

Lucknow Muslim Meeting Demands Stoppage of Hyderabad Satyagraha

LUCKNOW, June 23.

Maulana Zafar Ali Khan addressed a meeting under the auspices of the Anjuman Ittihad Millat at which a resolution was passed demanding stoppage of the Arya Satyagraha in Hyderabad by July 1 and also requesting the Government of India and provincial Governments to take immediate action in this respect.

Chaudhari Khaliquzzaman said that a meeting of the working committee of the All-India Muslim League was being held in Bombay on July 2 which would chalk out the line of action the Muslims were to take in this respect.—*A. P. I.*

Satyāgraha has been carried on hitherto in many Indian States, the object being in general terms the same as that of the Hyderabad Satyāgrahis, namely, the securing of ordinary civic and civil rights. Muslims nowhere in British India objected to such Satyāgraha. The difference between these other Satyāgrahas and the Hyderabad Satyāgraha is this that the former were meant to secure rights in States ruled by Hindu Princes and the latter is meant to secure rights in a State ruled by a Muslim ruler but inhabited mostly by Hindus. It is not reasonable to think that a Muslim ruler and his government are necessarily sacrosanct. Before demanding the stoppage of the Hyderabad Satyāgraha Muslims should prove that the demands of the Satyāgrahis are unlawful according to the standard set up by the laws in force in British India or that they are immoral.

Some A.-I. C. C. Resolutions

After prolonged discussion and debate the Congress Working Committee passed many resolutions at its recent Bombay meetings. These were subsequently placed before the meetings of the All-India Congress Committee held last month in the same city. The A.-I. C. C. passed its own resolutions, some after many hours' debate.

Changes have been made in the Congress constitution in order to root out corruption and to make it a more efficient organization. We shall be glad if these objects are gained.

The resolution that no person who is a dealer in foreign cloth or British goods or who is addicted to drink should be eligible for election to any Congress Committee, deserves prominent mention. It is rather interesting that it was carried by a majority but not unanimously. Of course, dealing in foreign cloth or British goods cannot be placed in the

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same ethical category as addiction to drink. But, not to speak of addiction to drink, why should even dealing in foreign cloth be not considered undesirable by any Congressman?

Another clause, which provoked lively discussion was one excluding members of communal organizations from holding office of the Congress. Mr. Nuruddin Behari suggested that the names of the Muslim League, Aryan League, Hindu Sabha and the Akali League should be specifically mentioned within brackets after the word "communal." This brought forth protests from Mr. Gaurishankar Mishra on behalf of the Aryan League and Sardar Sardul Singh Caveeshar on behalf of the Akali League, that they were not political organizations having a programme conflicting with the programme of the Congress. All the amendments were, however, rejected and the original resolution adopted.

The A.-I. C. C. has passed the following resolution defining the relation between Provincial Congress Committees and Provincial Congress ministries :

The Working Committee has repeatedly laid stress on the desirability of co-operation between the Ministry, the Congress Party and the Provincial Congress Committee. Without such co-operation misunderstandings are likely to arise with the result that the influence of the Congress will suffer. In administrative matters the Provincial Congress Committee should not interfere with the discretion of the Ministry but it is always open to the executive of the Provincial Congress Committee to draw the attention of the Government privately to any particular abuse or difficulty. In matters of policy if there is difference between the Ministry and the P. C. C. reference should be made to Parliamentary Sub-committee. Public discussion in such matters should be avoided.

After three hours' heated debate the resolution by Sardar Patel prohibiting the starting of Civil Disobedience by Congressmen without the previous sanction of the Provincial Congress Committee concerned was passed by 130 to 60 votes.

Leftists naturally protested against such a resolution.

The resolutions dealing with the situation arising out of the recent anti-Asiatic legislation in South Africa and with the sinister attempt being made in Ceylon to get rid of Indian labourers in that island, were very important. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru is to fly to Ceylon a fortnight hence to confer with the authorities on the subject and try to arrive at a settlement.

What A.-I. C. C. Did Not Do

Some of the important matters which were left entirely unnoticed by the A.-I. C. C. require mention.

Is it the duty of the A.-I. C. C. merely to pass resolutions without taking care to see that they are given effect to? Perhaps not. If so, why did not some member ask why the resolution passed by the A.-I. C. C. in Calcutta requiring the Bengali-speaking areas in Bihar province to be restored to Bengal has been practically shelved ?

It is to be noticed that the A.-I. C. C. at its last day's sitting passed a resolution bearing on the question of the formation of linguistic provinces—it passed a resolution requiring the formation of a separate Andhra province. But it had nothing to say on the flouting of its previous linguistic resolution relating to Bengal !

An article contributed by Dr. Menon, secretary to the Indian Civil Liberties Union, to *The Servant of India,* with a table attached, shows that like other provincial governments Congress governments, too, have made encroachments on the civil liberties of the people. Why was no notice taken of this article ?

There has been a persistent complaint by the public in general, including many Congressmen, that the Congress ministries, far from carrying out their pledges to repeal repressive laws, have been actually making use of them, including the Press (Emergency Powers) Act. This complaint was left unnoticed.

At the recent conferences of the provincial home ministers called by the home member of the Government of India, which was attended by almost all the Congress ministers in charge of law and order, some decisions of an anti-Congress spirit were taken and some suggestions of similar character were made. The A.-I. C. C. did not take any notice of the proceedings of this conference. Does silence imply approval in this case ?

The A.-I. C. C. had nothing to say as to how the country was to resume and continue the struggle for Swaraj, what the country should definitely do in case Britain was involved in war and commandeered India's resources and services, or how the Indian States' people should go on with their movement for securing responsible government.

Congress Premiers' Conference

BOMBAY, June 26.

The Congress Premiers' Conference with the members of the Parliamentary Sub-Committee and of the Working Committee met at the residence of Mr. Bhulabhai Desai at 8-45 this morning and continued for about three hours. Dr. Rajendra Prasad presided.

It is understood Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, Chairman of the Parliamentary Sub-committee, made a general review of the Parliamentary activities and the activities of the Congress Ministries in the different Provinces and the difficulties that confronted them.

It is further understood that the Conference discussed ways and means of achieving uniformity as far as practicable in the administration of the Congress-governed provinces, subject to different conditions in the various provinces.

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The Conference, it is further learnt, discussed the desirability of co-ordination between Congress Ministries.

The questions of prohibition, jail reforms, kisan movement, communal disturbances, maintenance of law and order, the criticism levelled against the Congress Ministries vis-a-vis the election manifesto were also discussed in detail.

Among those present were Dr. Rajendra Prasad, the Hon'ble Pandit Ravishanker Shukla, the Hon'ble Mr. B. G. Kher, the Hon'ble Pandit Govind Ballabh Pant, the Hon'ble Mr. Srikrishna Sinha, the Hon'ble Mr. Biswanath Das and the Hon'ble Mr. Gopinath Bardoloi, Premiers, the Hon'ble Mr. Anugraha Narain Sinha, the Hon'ble Mr. K. M. Munshi, the Hon'ble Mr. A. B. Lathe, the Hon'ble Mr. L. M. Patil, the Hon'ble Mr. Y. M. Nurie, the Hon'ble Mr. T. Prakasham, the Hon'ble Mr. Gopal Reddi, and the Hon'ble Mr. Yakub Hasan.

Dr. Prafulla Chandra Ghosh, Mr. Harekrishna Mehtab, Acharya J. B. Kripalani, Mr. Bhulabhai Desai, Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru also attended the Conference.—*United Press.*

Indian Art Exhibition in London

LONDON, May 29.

The Exhibition of Indian Art, which, as was announced by Sir Edwin Lutyens, President of the Royal Academy, at the Academy banquet, is to be held at Burlington House, London, W., early next year, is to have a very wide scope.

Those who are responsible for the Exhibition take the view that, "since there are so many diverse religions and civilizations in Greater India," it is necessary to devote a separate section of the exhibition to different localities.

Thus Kashmir, Afghanistan, Ceylon, Nepal, Burma, Siam, Malay, Indo-China, Tibet and the Dutch East Indies, Sumatra, Java and Bali, will, in addition to British India, each have its own section. The Committee of experts to be entrusted with the work of selection will be appointed shortly.

Some years ago people, particularly in the West, did not imagine, know, or admit that India had once played a leading part in the civilization and culture of the whole of Asia. But now the Greater India idea has caught on.

Programme and Constitution of The Forward Bloc

At the Conference of the Leftist and Radical elements in the Congress held last month in Bombay the programme and constitution of the Forward Bloc were considered and adopted. The main points in the programme have been thus summarized in the Associated Press message :

Full freedom of religious worship but without letting religion dominate politics :

Putting down provincialism and communalism and corruption;

Freeing the Congress "from the influence of vested interests and domination of Congress Ministries";

Democratising and radicalising the Congress;

Supporting of peasants' and workers' struggle for economic emancipation, and co-ordination between the Congress and other anti-imperialistic organizations;

Formation of an All-India Volunteer Corps;

Helping the States' people in their struggle;

Uncompromising hostility to Federation;

Preventing India from participating in imperialist wars.

Boycott of foreign cloth and steps to be taken for resumption of national struggle.

Most of these points do not call for any criticism.

The economic emancipation of the peasants and factory labourers can be brought about without the extermination of zemindars and capitalists. But the latter seems to be the object of the communistic elements in and outside the Congress. If, after the country has been made free and independent, there is nationalization of land and all industries including agriculture, that will be a different matter. But at present nationalists should not fight on many fronts and antagonize influential and useful sections of the people. They should concentrate attention on the fight against the foreign political and economic subjection of the country.

We are against the *imposition* of the British Government's federal scheme *as it is* on India. But we would not be against its acceptance and working if certain changes *acceptable to the* **people** *of British India and the States* were made in it.

We are against India's participation in Britain's *imperialist* wars. But we do not believe that every possible British war with Germany, Italy, Japan, etc., must necessarily be considered an imperialist war. India wanted Britain to side with and help Abyssinia, Republican Spain, and Czechoslovakia. If any such help had been given and had led to war, that would not have been an imperialistic war. There may be similar non-imperialistic British wars.

The following noteworthy item in the programme has been left out in the summary :

The Parliamentary programme of the Congress should be implemented more vigorously and with a rival revolutionary mentality. The Congress Ministries should function not under the aegis of the British Government but of the Congress. Congress Ministries as well as the Congress organizations in the country should set before themselves the objective of developing a parallel Government in the country.

We do not understand how the Congress Ministries, which derive their power from the British Government, can repudiate the 'aegis' of that government and function under the 'aegis' of the Congress. What aegis or protective and executive power does the Congress possess ? Nor do we understand how the Congress Ministries can set up a parallel government. They are agents of the British

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Government. How can they set up a rival and antagonistic government? If that has to be done, it must be done by some other party.

"A Split that Paves the Way for Synthesis and Unity"

Sj. Subhas Chandra Bose, in his speech at the Pabna District Political Conference held last month, tried to justify the split implied in the formation of the Forward Bloc by drawing a distinction "between a split that divides and weakens and a split that paves the way for synthesis and unity." We are not disposed to discuss the philosophy that may underlie the distinction. What is plain is that so long as political protestants do not demonstrate their power to form a body by themselves the politically orthodox may not be disposed to take their protests seriously and effect a compromise. The formation of the Swarajya party illustrates this truth.

The Franco-Turkish Agreement

ANKARA, June 23.

An agreement by which France cedes "Sanjak" of Alexandretta to Turkey was signed here this afternoon. —*Reuter.*

PARIS, June 23.

The Franco-Turkish agreement for mutual assistance was signed at the Quai Dorsay.—*Reuter.*

Russo-British Talks

Negotiations have been going on between Britain (and France) and Russia to arrive at an agreement.

It seems to us that it would be good for Britain and Russia if a Russo-British agreement could be formed and signed. Russia has a powerful enemy in Japan, and Japan has definitely threatened British influence in the East. Japan can be sure of German and Italian support. So, Russia and Britain require each other's support.

"Hitler Is Courting Stalin"

The China Weekly Review for June 3, 1939, has an article on how "Hitler is courting Stalin" which is too long to quote in full or summarize. We quote only the last two paragraphs.

If, indeed, Soviet-Nazi rapprochement becomes a fact, and Moscow finally declines to be drawn into the orbit of the democratic "encirclement policy," the effect on the Far Eastern situation will be far-reaching. Japan will be left completely isolated, for Italy counts but little in the Far Eastern situation, while Germany, because she is Soviet Russia's most powerful neighbor, counts for a great deal. With its hands untied in Europe by an agreement with Hitler, Soviet Russia would surely adopt a sterner policy toward Japan in the Far East and Dai Nippon would find herself compelled to tread very warily out here.

During the past week, inspired press dispatches have contained threats that Japan will join the German-Italian military alliance if Soviet Russia enters a military alliance with Britain and France. But what will Japan do if Soviet Russia, instead, makes friends with Nazi Germany? That is a much more interesting question. In such an event, perhaps, Japan will join up with Britain and France. This is not at all impossible, for Britain and France would then have sound reasons for *rapprochement* with Japan. But it will be a bad day for China if such a thing comes to pass.

British Humiliation By Japan

On many occasions during the Sino-Japanese war, Japan has subjected many British officers, privates and others to insult and assault, thus humiliating Britain. But the treatment to which some British men and women have been subjected by Japan at Tientsin have been declared even by Mr. Chamberlain as "intolerable." Even women have been man-handled and stripped naked on the pretext of a search.

The treatment which a British woman received at Amritsar and in consequence of which the notorious "crawling order" was passed was ordinary incivility in comparison.

We do not wish to make any comments. It would be good if John Bull would now understand that the bully who humiliates the weak but kowtows to the strong is not a hero.

We are really glad that Britain has not carried out any of Japan's orders to quit.

Soviet-Japanese Clashes on Manchuquan Border

Reports of Soviet-Japanese air fights on the Manchuquan border, in which aeroplanes by the dozen are claimed to have been destroyed on both sides, have been published in the press. These battles have not yet been given the name of a Russo-Japanese war, but they appear to be incidents in an undeclared war.

Constitutional Reforms in Gwalior

GWALIOR, June 14.

His Highness the Maharaja of Gwalior at a Darbar this morning announced important Constitutional Reforms which he said were intended to make the Administration responsive to the growing political consciousness of the people to enable the people to attain progressive realization of their legitimate aspirations through constitutional and peaceful means by the healthy process of natural organic growth in keeping with their economic and political development.

The Reforms were announced in the course of a Proclamation which first laid down the following fundamental rights:

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(1) Liberty of speech and liberty of the Press.

(2) Liberty of conscience (freedom of religion) which has always remained the guiding principle of Scindia's Government from time immemorial.

(3) Liberty of Association.

The Majlis-i-Am and the Majlis-i-Kanoon, the two existing Assemblies, are to be replaced by two Houses of Legislature to be known as the Praja Sabha and the Samant Sabha, each with a normal life of three years. The Praja Sabha, the Lower House, is to have a membership of 85 out of whom 50 members will be duly elected and 35 including not less than 15 officials will be nominated. The Proclamation prescribes direct election to both Houses of the Legislature and announce the Constitution of a Franchise Committee to delimit Rural, Urban, Vocational and Institutional constituencies "so as to spread the franchise as wide as the present stage of advancement of the people would justify and which would enable the enfranchisement up to 20 per cent. of the adult population."

PRAJA SABHA RIGHTS

The Praja Sabha will have the right to ask interpellations, pass resolutions, initiate legislation and discuss the main heads of the Budget but will have excluded from its purview subjects like the Ruler, his family, the household and the Privy Purse, Foreign and Political Affairs, the Army, Ecclesiastical affairs and the Constitution.

The Samant Sabha, or the Upper House, will have a membership of 40, half elected and half nominated.

RESERVE POWERS

The reserve powers of the Ruler will include amendments, suspensions and repeal of the Constitution, vetoing of any Act of the Legislature, passing any emergency legislation and certifying any Bill.—*A. P. I.*

This may be considered by the people of Gwalior a promising beginning, if they have learnt to lower the pitch of their demands as desired by Gandhiji.

Adibasi Leader Urges Separation of Chhota Nagpur from Bihar

RANCHI, June 14.

"Separation is vital. It is a matter of life and death to us. Only when we have become a separate province can we believe that the Indian National Congress regards it as its primary duty and fundamental policy to protect the religious, linguistic, cultural and other rights of the minorities in India so as to ensure for them in any scheme of Government to which the Congress is a party, the widest scope for their development and their participation in the fullest measure in the political, economic and cultural life of the nation," says Mr. Jaipal Singh, President of the Adibasi Sabha in the course of a Press statement.

The Adibasi (original dwellers) movement has for its objective the separation of Chhota Nagpur as a province from Bihar for the economic and political uplift of the aborigines in that area.

Mr. Jaipal adds: "The Bihar Ministry are doing everything to destroy the proud identity of the ancient aristocracy of India, the Adibasis. The Chhota Nagpur plateau is one of the richest in minerals in the world and yet its people are among the poorest and most backward in India. They need attention more than anyone else. The Bihar Congress Government has done practically nothing for the backward areas. They have made any number of glaring promises and broken a good many of them. The Ministers have no political inducement whatever to withhold benefits from advanced areas in order to provide them in the aboriginal tracts. The true Adibasi needs can hardly be appreciated by a legislature the great majority of whose members have no acquaintance with the Adibasis."

Continuing Mr. Jaipal says: "More than once have I asked the Bihar Ministry to publish details of the appointments given to the Adibasis. They refuse to take the challenge. They know only too well that such a publication would expose them."—*A. P.*

Sub-Committees Set Up by National Planning Committee

BOMBAY, June 16.

The National Planning Committee that has been meeting in Bombay for some time now under the chairmanship of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, has decided to set up 27 sub-committees to deal with the various aspects of national economy.

The sub-committees are divided under seven main heads, namely:

(1) Agriculture, (2) Industries, (3) Demographic relations, (4) Commerce and Finance, (5) Transport and Communications, (6) Public welfare and (7) Education.

Under the heading agriculture there will be eight Committees:

(1) Rural marketing and finance, (2) River training and irrigation, (3) Soil conservation and afforestation (4) A land policy, Agricultural labour, Agricultural insurance, (5) Animal husbandry and dairying, (6) Crops planning and production, (7) Horticulture, (8) Fisheries.

Seven sub-committees will investigate industry:—

(1) Cottage and rural industries, (including marketing and finance) (2) Power and fuel, (3) Chemicals, (4) Mining, metallurgical industries, (5) Engineering industries (Machineries, tools, prime movers, etc.,) including transport industries, (6) Manufacturing industries, (7) Industries connected with public services such as education, sanitation, making of scientific instruments, etc.

Labour and population will be dealt with by two sub-committees under the heading demographic relations.

Five sub-committees will be set up to enquire into commerce and finance, namely (1) trade inland and foreign, (2) industrial finances, (3) public finances, (4) currency and banking, (5) insurance.

Transport services such as railways, roads, coastal, rivers, overseas transport and air communications including telephone and radio will be the subject for investigation for two sub-committees.

Under public welfare, there will be a committee to enquire into national housing and public health.

There are two more sub-committees under education: the subject is rather elastic and the subjects to be dealt with by the two sub-committees include general education, mobilisation of labour for social service, technical education, both industrial and agricultural, and also development research.

It is learnt, over two hundred experts in the various subjects mentioned above have been approached to work on the sub-committees.

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, the Chairman of the Committee, has received a letter from the Government of Punjab informing him of the Punjab Government's decision to co-operate with the work of the Planning Committee.

A representative of the Punjab Government will be deputed to participate in the activities of the committee from the next meeting onwards. Thus the National Planning Committee, as constituted now is representative

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of some of the leading Indian States and all British Indian provinces except Bengal.—(*A. P.*).

It will require a well equipped office with paid energetic officers to keep touch with, to keep going and co-ordinate the activities of such a big organization with such wide ramifications.

Details of a separate industrial plan for Bihar has appeared in the press. If the different provinces have separate and mutually unconnected plans, which may or may not be necessary, what would be their relationship with the national plan and what the utility of the latter?

Bengal is officially unrepresented in the National Planning Committee. Is it because the scheme owes its inception to a Hindu scientist and a Congressman of Bengal that the communal ministry of Bengal refused to be represented? If the industrial planning committee appointed separately by the Bengal ministry has done any work, its proceedings ought to be published.

BOMBAY, June 8.

The following resolution on the licensing of new factories was passed by the National Planning Committee:

"This Committee is of the opinion that no new factory should be allowed to be established and no existing factory should be allowed to be extended or to change control without the previous permission in writing of the Provincial Government. In grantng such permission the Provincial Government should take into consideration such factors as desirability of location of industries in a well-distributed manner over the entire province, prevention of monopolies, discouragement of the establishment of uneconomic units, avoidance of over-production and general economic interest of the province and the country. The various Provincial Governments should secure for themselves requisite powers for the purpose, if necessary, by undertaking suitable legislation."—*A. P. I.*

Such a system of licensing can be worked by a non-communal nationalist ministry to the advantage of a province by shutting out aliens and outsiders from the provincial industrial field. But in Bengal it would not most probably be worked in that way, only the disadvantages of investing government with the power of obstruction and restriction would be reaped.

Hyderabad Affairs in the House of Commons

LONDON, June 26.

In the House of Commons answering Col. Wedgwood who spoke of the anxiety felt by relations of the 5,000 persons arrested in the Deccan, Lt. Col. Muirhead declared that reports received from the Resident of Hyderabad afforded no reason to think that treatment of prisoners by State authorities was open to criticism.

Hyderabad jails were administered by H. E. H. Nizam's Government and it would not be in accordance with practice to address an enquiry to that Government regarding such a matter of internal administration unless there was reason to believe that serious abuses existed.

Asked by Col. Wedgwood whether there was power to inspect Hyderabad jails Lt. Col. Muirhead sa there was no direct power but the British representati could call for special reports, but the representative wou need to feel that there were definite circumstances callin for that action.

Col. Wedgwood: "Does that mean that since t passage of the Government of India Act, we are powe less to do anything to restrain violence in these indepe dent Governments in India?"

Lt. Col. Muirhead: "Speaking offhand, I do n think that the Government of India Act would affect case like this which is within the jurisdiction of a State.

There is nothing to show that Colon Wedgwood's source of information was les reliable than the Hyderabad Resident's.

Bengal Money-lenders Bill

There is no question that a money-lender bill was required. But the Bengal ministr should have made provisions for cheap credi before or at least along with the introductio of bill which cannot but make money-lender reluctant to lend money under its provision But they have not done so.

One of the most objectionable features o the Bill which has passed the Bengal Assembl is, in the words of Mr. Sarat Chandra Bose

". . . to exclude certain classes of banks which deal with foreign capital or other investments and to includ smaller banks was a matter in which they had agreed t differ from both the Government and the European group The speaker was afraid that discriminatory legislation would take away capital from the mofussil areas and make that capital flow into the big banks in Calcutt which did not extend their helping hand towards th poor cultivators and workers of the land."

Such discrimination may have the intende or unintended effect of killing or crippling th mofussil Loan Companies, which are all o mostly Hindu concerns.

Another objectionable feature is the wa in which retrospective effect has been given t some provisions of the bill. The Congres party, which acted in a spirit of co-operation opposed the provision relating to refund or re-payment, but unsuccessfully.

The penal provisions in the bill are s many that it looks almost like a piece of pena legislation.

The bill, in fact, looks like an anti-Hind measure in some of its features.

It may be taken as certain that strenuou attempts will be made in the Bengal Counci of State to rid the bill of some of its obnoxiou features.

A.-I. C. C. Resolution on Digboi Strike

The All-India Congress Committee ha adopted the following resolution relating to th

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Digboi strike which was passed by the Congress Working Committee :

This committee views with grave concern the strike at Digboi and expresses sympathy with the strikers in their distress. The committee regrets that the Assam Oil Company has not seen its way to accept the modest suggestion of referring the question of method and time of re-employment of the strikers to a conciliation board to be appointed by the Government of Assam.

In the opinion of the committee no corporation, however big and influential it may be, can be above public criticism or Government supervision and legitimate control. Moreover, as was declared at the Karachi session, the Congress policy is that there should be state ownership or control of the key industries. The oil industry is undoubtedly a vital key industry. This committee, therefore, hopes that better counsels will prevail with the Company and that its directors will accept the modest submission made on behalf of the committee by the Congress president. If, however, the directors do not see their way to do so, the committee advises the Assam Government forthwith to undertake legislation for making acceptance of decisions of conciliation boards obligatory and, further, to give notice to the Company that the committee may reluctantly be obliged to take such steps as may be necessary to stop renewal of the lease to the Company on its termination. At the same time that this committee urges the Company to fall in with the just suggestion made by the committee, it hopes that the labour union will be ready to listen to the committee's advice; and if they are to retain Congress and public sympathy, they will be ready and willing to abide by the advice that may be tendered to them by the committee.

Princes Reject Terms for Accession to Federation

At the informal conference of the princes and ministers of the Indian States held last month at Bombay the terms offered by the paramount power for joining the Federation were rejected. Our comment in *Prabasi* on this decision of the princes was that they were haggling. *The Times* appears to take the same view in part in its following comments :

The informal Conference of Princes and Ministers of the Indian States, which met at Bombay on Monday, has pronounced the terms offered to the States for joining the proposed Federation to be "fundamentally unsound" and therefore "unacceptable." This pronouncement appears to have disappointed some expectations. There is no reason, however, to regard it as final, for they have six weeks left in which to give their official and individual decisions for or against acceptance of the Imperial Government's terms. Indeed the fact that the Conference recorded the belief of its members that the Government could not intend to close the door on Federation more than suggests that the representatives of the States intend to leave it open; and that they are really bargaining for better terms before committing themselves finally to the acceptance or rejection of the offer.

Wasteful Frontier Expedition

After spasmodic warfare with the Wazir tribesmen since November, 1936, which has involved 1,194 British and Indian casualties, including 306 killed, a truce has been called. All military activity has ceased.

The total cost of the 30 months' campaigning is estimated to be in the region of £10,000,000, or 14 crores of rupees.

Throughout the campaign, a policy of striking motor roads through the more inaccessible parts of Waziristan has been pursued, and several hundred miles of new roadway have been completed.

During recent months nothing more than this policy of slow penetration under military escort has been possible. Now a wider policy is understood to be contemplated, involving economic development, which might lead to improved living conditions for the tribesmen.

For enabling the British Government to decide to pursue this 'contemplated' 'wider policy', the poverty-stricken Indian taxpayers' money was spent to the extent of 14 crores of rupees !

Second Calcutta Municipal Bill

After the passage of the Calcutta Municipal (Amendment) Bill, the Huq ministry will introduce another bill to make the Calcutta Corporation thoroughly subservient to the Government. And when that shall have been passed, the turn of the mofussil municipalities will come.

Local self-government in Bengal is to be killed in this way.

Problem of the Excluded Areas

Mr. Kuladhar Chaliha, M.L.A. (Central), was quite right in observing in the course of his presidential address at the Excluded and Partially Excluded Areas Conference held at Kurseong :

"The problem of excluded areas and partially excluded areas has not as yet received the same amount of attention as it deserves from the Press and the public. There are about 25 millions of tribal people almost half of whom have been excluded from the ordinary administration of law. These areas are kept under the autocratic system of administration and are entirely unaffected by the reforms of the country. No provincial or central legislation is applicable to them unless so desired by the Governor or the Governor-General. This aspect of the Indian administration is one of the most brazen expressions of the imperialistic rule in India."

Hindu Memorial Relating to Hyderabad Affairs

New Delhi, June 29.

A memorial signed by about 100 prominent Hindus all over India has been submitted to His Excellency the Viceroy requesting that a Committee of Enquiry may be appointed to go into the question of the grievances of the Hindus and Arya Samajists in Hyderabad State.

Among the signatories are :

Raja Narendra Nath, Sir Jai Lal, Retired Judge, High Court, Punjab, Mr. M. S. Aney, M.L.A. (Central), Sir P. C. Roy, Sir C. Y. Chintamani, Chief Editor, *Leader*,

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Allahabad, ex-Minister, U. P., the Hon'ble Mr. P. N. Sapru, Member of Council of State and President, Liberal Federation of India, Bhai Parmanand, M.L.A. (Central), Vice-President, Hindu Mahasabha, Sir Nilratan Sircar, Calcutta, Seth Jugal Kishore Birla, Calcutta, Raja Jwala Prasad, Pro-Vice-Chancellor, Benares Hindu University, Dr. Radhakumud Mukerjee, M.L.C., Calcutta, Mr. Nishit Chandra Sen, Mayor, Calcutta, Mr. Ramananda Chatterjee, Editor, *Modern Review*, Calcutta, Dr. Shyama Prasad Mukherji, M.L.A., ex-Vice-Chancellor, University of Calcutta, Mr. Kulwant Sahay, Retired Judge, Patna High Court, Patna, Mr. S. N. Banerjee, Barrister-at-Law, Calcutta, Mr. N. C. Chatterji, Barrister-at-Law, Calcutta, Mr. N. K. Basu, Barrister-at-Law, Calcutta, and Raja of Matari. —(*U. P.*).

Servant of India Society Report for 1938–39

The Servant of India Society completed 34 years of its very useful existence on the 12th June, 1939. Some of the activities of the members of the society are noted below :

The members of the Society, who numbered 32, were engaged in the service of the country in a variety of ways some of which, being institutional, are of a routine character. The Hon. Dr. H. N. Kunzru, the President, was a member of the Council of State, and Mr. N. M. Joshi, the Vice-President, a member of the Legislative Assembly (Central). The Rt. Hon. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri was a member of the Madras Council of State and Mr. S. V. Paruleker a member of the Bombay Legislative Assembly.

Several members of the Society, and in particular, Messrs. Paruleker in Bombay and K. G. Sivaswamy in Madras, paid special attention to the organisation of peasants and agitation for the promotion of Legislative measures for their amelioration. Mr. Joshi was a member of the General Council and the Working Committee of the Trade Union Congress, and Mr. R. R. Bakhale its General Secretary. Messrs. Parulekar, D. D. Desai, V. R. Nayanar, S. R. Venkataraman and K. S. Negi were all engaged in the organisation of labour, particularly industrial labour.

Messrs. N. A. Dravid and R. S. Gupte continued their rural uplift work in Shendurjana in Berar. Mr. Nayanar was the General Secretary of the Devadhar Malabar Reconstruction Trust, Calicut, and of the Depressed Classes Mission, Mangalore. Mr. K. G. Sivaswamy was in charge of the Mayanur Rural Community Centre and Mr. L. N. Sahu of the Chowdwar Rural Centre. Messrs. Rama Shankar Misra, V. Venkatasubbaiya and K. S. Negi were also engaged in rural work in different parts of the country.

Mr. A. V. Thakkar was the General Secretary of the Harijan Sevak Sangh, Delhi, and Messrs. Nayanar, Venkatasubbaiya, Kunzru, Sahu, K. G. Limaye, K. P. Kaul, K. G. Sivaswamy, R. Suryanarayana Rao and Rama Shankar Misra were also engaged in Harijan work.

Mr. V. Venkatasubbaiya was the Office Secretary of the Madras Provincial Co-operative Union and the editor of its magazine, the *Madras Journal of Co-operation*. Mr. Dube was the Office Secretary of the U. P. Co-operative Union, Messrs. Sivaswami, Nayanar and Sahu were also engaged in co-operative work.

Besides Messrs. Kunzru and Bajpai, Mr. Venkatasubbaiya, Venkataraman, R. S. Misra, L. N. Sahu, Dube, and Nayanar were engaged in scout work. Mr. Shahane was in charge of the Industrial Settlement at Jalgaon.

Mr. Sastri was the Vice-Chancellor of the Annamalai University; Dr. Kunzru a member of the Courts of Allahabad, Agra and Benares University; and Mr. Du was a member of the Court of the Lucknow Univers and of the Board of Christian Higher Education in t U. P. Messrs. S. G. Vaze and P. Kodanda Rao ga Mysore University Extension Lectures. Mr. Vaze w the editor of the *Servant of India* and was assisted Messrs. N. V. Phadke, and S. S. Misra, Mr. K. G. Lima was the editor of the *Dhyan Prakash* and Mr. D. V. Amb kar was the Manager thereof. Mr. A. D. Mani was t editor of the *Hitavada*, Nagpur.

The Hon. Dr. H. N. Kunzru was deputed by t Indian Institute of International Affairs as leader of t Indian Delegation to the British Commonwealth Rel tions Conference, which met at Sydney, Australia, i September last. Mr. Kunzru toured not only Australia, b Ceylon, New Zealand, Fiji, Hawaii, Japan, China an Malaya to study local problems and in particular thos relating to Indians settled therein.

Mr. N. M. Joshi and Mr. R. R. Bakhale fully partic pated in the negotiations and conferences whic ultimately led to the unity of the trade union organizatio in India. As usual, Mr. Joshi attended a meeting of th Governing Council of the International Labour Office Mr. S. V. Parulekar was the Indian Labour Delegate t the International Labour Conference at Geneva in 193 and after his return to India took a leading part in oppos ing the Bombay Government's Trade Disputes Bill bot within and without the Bombay Legislative Assembly.

Mr. Kunzru was appointed a member of the Arm Indianization Committee; Mr. Parulekar a member o the Select Committee on the Bombay Tenancy Bill; Mr R. R. Bakhale Vice-President of the Bihar Labour Enquiry Committee; Mr. A. V. Thakkar Chairman of the Central Provinces Municipal Sweepers Enquiry Committee; and of the Orissa Partially Excluded Areas Committee; Mr. R. Suryanarayana Rao a member of the Madras Famine Code Revision Committee and of the Madras Co-operative Committee; Mr. S. P. Andrews-Dube a member of the U. P. Secondary Education Committee and the U. P. University Reorganization Committee; and Mr. L. N. Sahu a member of the Orissa Government's Deputation to study the library and primary education movements in Baroda State. Mr. Bakhale was also a member of the Sangli Franchise Committee, appointed by the Sangli Durbar.

The Bombay Branch of the Society undertook rural development at Morbad in the Thana Dist., under the immediate supervision of Mr. P. N. Ghate. The Rural Centre opened 33 primary schools in its first year, specially for the benefit of the Thakurs and Katkaris. Mr. Negi developed a new rural centre in Garhwal, which specialized in teaching bee-keeping.

Mr. K. P. Kaul published "The Status of Women in India"; Mr. D. D. Desai published "Primary Education in India" and Mr. K. G. Sivaswami published "Legislative Protection and Relief of Agricultural Debtors" and is engaged on his book, "Tenants in Ryotwari Areas in the Madras Presidency". The Society published an English biography of the late Mr. G. K. Devadhar, one of its foundation-members and for some time its President.

The Bombay Social Service League organised a literacy drive in Bombay and appointed a committee for the purpose with Mr. D. D. Desai as Joint Secretary. The Committee conducted 570 classes, with the help of 2,500 volunteers and raised for the purpose the sum of Rs. 9,000.

Messrs. Thakkar and Sahu were engaged in organising relief to the sufferers from the unusally severe floods in Assam. They organised relief for the refugees

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from Talcher State, and Mr. Suryanarayana Rao organised famine relief in the Ceded Districts and Coimbatore in the Madras Province.

Public Meeting of Hindus of Bengal

A crowded meeting of the Hindus of Bengal was held on the 28th June last at Albert Hall, Calcutta, to condemn the anti-Hindu policy of the Government of Bengal and protest against the various legislative and administrative measures "designed to cripple the Hindus of the Province and crush them politically, economically and culturally." Mr. S. N. Banerjee, Barrister-at-Law, a senior and leading member of the Bar, presided. The meeting unanimously adopted the following resolutions :

"This meeting of the Hindu citizens of Calcutta condemns the anti-Hindu policy of the Bengal Ministry and expresses its strong resentment at the introduction of various legislative and administrative measures designed to cripple the Hindus of the Province of Bengal and crush them politically, economically and culturally.

"This meeting views with great concern the growing insecurity of life and property of the Hindus of Bengal and repeated attacks on their places of worship and forcible interference with the observance of time honoured religious rites and ceremonies.

"This meeting calls upon the Hindus of the Province of Bengal to firmly resist all encroachments on their religious, civic and political rights and privileges by all legitimate means in their power and to organise themselves effectively with a view to defend their just rights and the honour of their community."

The president observed in the course of his speech :

"The Hindus of Bengal are faced with political extinction and they should now tackle the realities of the situation. The present situation is entirely due to the Communal Award. It has successfully driven a wedge between the communities. This policy was enshrined in the Government of India Act by which the Muslims had been given predominant power.

"Hindu rights must be protected by Hindus and interference with such rights must be resisted by all means. We must build up one united Hindu organisation for our purposes. We must organise our forces and our resources and commence work without delay."

He further said :

"The Indian National Congress, which professes to protect the interests of all classes, has not moved its little finger to set right the injustice done to the Hindus of Bengal. On the other hand, by its attitude of benevolent neutrality, it has indirectly encouraged the Muslims to promote legislation which is anti-Hindu. It is time that the Hindus of Bengal should organise to protect their interests and assert and enforce their just rights."

The speech of the president, and those of Mr. N. C. Chatterjee, Mr. Sanat Kumar Roy Chaudhuri, Dr. P. Banerjea, Mr. Nisith Chandra Sen (Mayor of Calcutta), and others, should be printed in book form in extenso and widely circulated. These speeches were not declamatory but were well argued and dealt in detail with the various legislative and administrative measures and the speeches and statements of the Chief Minister which constituted an attack on the legitimate rights and well-earned influence and economic status of the Hindu community. No mere summary can give an idea of the cogency and vigour of the speeches.

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Restoration of Muhammadan Rule?

In the course of the debate on the Calcutta Municipal (Amendment) Bill in the Bengal Council of State Khan Bahadur Abdul Karim, the leader of the Coalition (Ministerial) party, observed that the object of that and other measures was the restoration of Muhammadan rule in Bengal ! In his view of the history of Bengal, the Britishers obtained possession of Bengal from the Muhammadans and they were now giving back their charge to the original owners !

The Khan Bahadur gave expression to a superficial view of what is taking place in Bengal. The real truth was given out by Mr. A. K. Fuzlul Huq in one of his speeches. He observed that in the country there was neither Hindu rule, nor Muslim rule, but British rule.

The real truth is that British imperialists have been using the Muhammadans as tools in their hands to curb the influence of and crush the Hindus, who as Nationalists are for a free India, and thus to consolidate their power. Any foolish Muhammadan who thinks that Muslim rule was being restored has simply to inquire whether in any department or matter the supreme power has been transferred to Muslim hands in order to be disillusioned. The Government of India Act has reserved all final power in everything that really matters in the hands of the British rulers and people. To keep up the show of grant of self-rule to India, only some crumbs have been given to Hindus in some provinces and to Muslims in others.

The power which the predominantly Muslim ministry in Bengal exercises by favour of the European group of legislators is exercised by predominantly Hindu ministries in seven provinces by virtue of their own strength. But yet no Hindu minister or Hindu party leader in any province has been so foolish as to think and declare that Hindu rule has been established anywhere. On the contrary, Mrs. Vijayalakshmi Pandit and some other ministers have openly declared that they have not got swaraj and that what they have got cannot by itself lead to swaraj.

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If the temporary injury done to Hindus pleases any Muhammadans, they are welcome to such malicious pleasure. Let them also enjoy the loaves and fishes of office which they have got as a result of the Divide and Rule policy of the rulers and by not joining but opposing the freedom movement. But let them read or re-read the story in Æsop's Fables of the monkey who used a cat's paw to draw the roasting chestnuts out of the fire.

Another Railway Disaster

The authorities of the East Indian Railway cannot be too strongly condemned for the inefficiency, the lack of adequate vigilance and the absence of precautionary arrangements which have resulted in another serious railway disaster.

MORADABAD, June 28.

Report of a serious railway accident to the 33 Up Delhi-Dehra Dun Express has been received here.

The engine with three bogies of the train fell from a bridge between Haldaur and Chandpur-Siau stations.

The accident took place at about 2-10 a.m.

The following *communique* has been issued by the Chief Operating Superintendent, E. I. Railway :—

"Owing to heavy rains the bank near culvert 25 between Chandpur-Siau and Haldaur between mile 26-1 and 28-6 subsided. The engine of 33 Up Delhi-Dehra Dun Mixed Express with three covered goods wagons and three bogie coaches fell into the breach at 2-30 hours on 28th instant.

"According to the latest information 10 persons are reported to have been killed and 21 injured. Some of the injured persons are being attended to in Civil Dispensaries at Bijnor and Chandpur-Siau, while others have been taken to Moradabad.

"Culvert 25 consists of two spans of 30 feet each and the height of the bank is about four feet. The Senior Government Inspector will hold an enquiry."—(*A. P.*).

Do not the E. I. R. authorities know that it is the rainy season in the provinces through which their lines run and that vigilant patrolling is necessary day and night throughout the lines to make traffic safe? This time it has not been necessary for them to trot out the sabotage theory. But perhaps they were so deeply engaged in thinking out plans for preventing sabotage that they forgot all about the rains.

The officers who have been guilty of criminal neglect of duty ought to be dismissed or punished in some other exemplary manner. The Government of India should see to it at once that adequate arrangements are made for regularly examining and patrolling all lines.

Adequate compensation should be paid to the injured and to the heirs of the persons who have lost their lives.

Neither the Jews nor the Arabs Satisfied

NEW YORK, June 28.

A resolution expressing "unalterable opposition" to the Palestine White Paper policy was adopted at the Annual Convention of the Zionist Organisation of America, according to the Jewish Telegraphic Agency. The resolution condemns violation of pledges and describes immigration curbs as morally and legally indefensible.—(*Reuter*).

JERUSALEM, June 27.

A resolution condemning "outrages and the shedding of blood of innocent people" as tactics liable to impair the purity of the Jewish cause was passed by the Zionist General Council. A special Committee was elected to formulate details of the campaign against the White Paper proposals.—(*Reuter*).

BEIRUT, June 28.

The Mufti of Jerusalem has issued a statement that his opposition to British Government's proposals for Palestine was not actuated by personal considerations and ambition, but expressed the general national point of view of the Arabs.—(*Reuter*).

British and Japanese Talks

LONDON, June 28.

The Japanese Foreign Office has announced, according to a Tokyo message that, in response to the British proposal, the Japanese Government have agreed to opening negotiations in Tokyo "with a view to solving various matters relating to the present situation in Tientsin."

The announcement adds that the Japanese officials concerned in Tientsin have been summoned to Tokyo for the negotiations.

In the House of Commons, Mr. Chamberlain said that he was now able to announce the result of exchange of views between the British Government and the Japanese Government. It had been agreed that the conversations should take place in Tokyo in order to effect a settlement of the various conditions relating to Tientsin. The conversations were expected to start forthwith.

Mr. Chamberlain, dealing with the latest situation in Tientsin, said that arrivals of perishable foodstuffs continued to be spasmodic, only a fraction of the normal reaching the British concession. Local British authorities were taking active steps to remedy the present deficiency.

The number of British subjects passing through the barriers who had been compelled to strip was fifteen, including one woman, but there did not appear to have been any more such cases during the last day or two.

Mr. Chamberlain said that representatives of local British and Japanese authorities would be invited to Tokyo to attend a Conference to settle the various questions relating to the present conditions in Tientsin.

The conversations will relate to local issues and will be designed to secure that while the neutrality of the concession shall be maintained, British authority in the concession shall be preserved intact.

BRITISH HOPE

In view of these conversations, the British Government assume that there will be an end of stripping, searching and similar incidents in Tientsin and they have reason to hope that this in fact will be the case.

In the circumstances, the Government are not disposed to consider the advisability of referring the dispute to the Council of the League of Nations.

With regard to South China, the Japanese authorities have announced military operations from June 27 against the Treaty Ports of Wenchow and Foochow. A request

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has been received from the Japanese Consul-General in Shanghai that all third power vessels, including warships, should leave these Ports by noon on the 29th.

The British Consul-General in Shanghai has replied, pointing out that the right of British vessels to proceed to any port in China remains unaffected and we consider the Japanese authorities are consequently not entitled to exercise undue interference with the movement of British ships or avoidability to endanger British lives or property.

The situation as regards visits of merchant ships to Swatow is still obscure and negotiations between local British and Japanese authorities continue.

Lord Halifax made a similar statement in the House of Lords.—(*Reuter*).

U. S. A. Disregards Japanese Warnings

WASHINGTON, June 28.

A State Department official states that the Government's attitude to the Japanese warning to foreign ships and nationals to leave Foochow and Wenchow will be the same as their attitude regarding Swatow, namely, the warning will be disregarded and Japan held responsible for any damage to the United States vessels.—(*Reuter*).

Bravo.

Maharaja Ranjit Singh Centenary

LAHORE, JUNE 28.

A huge procession about two mile long was taken out today in connection with the Centenary celebrations of Maharaja Ranjit Singh which are to conclude tomorrow. About two lakhs of Sikhs and over a hundred Hindu and Sikh Associations, boy scouts, college girls and students with bands participated in the procession. Ranjit Singh's portrait was carried in a carriage drawn by four richly caparisoned horses. The procession started from Shahidganj and paraded the decorated streets of the city amid scenes of enthusiasm.—(*United Press*).

The Lahore celebration of the Ranjit Singh centenary will be naturally considered the most magnificent and impressive in the country. *The Tribune* has published a profusely illustrated supplement to commemorate the occasion.

Celebrations have been held in other parts of the country also. The Calcutta celebrations do credit to the Sikh population of the city.

Where Gandhiji and Subhas Babu Agree

Ever since Sj. Subhas Chandra Bose's refusal to withdraw from the Congress presidential contest there has been much talk of the fundamental differences between Mahatma Gandhi and Sj. Bose and between the groups of persons who think with them. But the interview which Mahatma Gandhi granted to a representative of the *New York Times*, as published in *Harijan*, shows that on the most important question of all, namely, India's political goal, there is, according to Gandhiji, no substantial difference of opinion between them.

"What is your idea of Independence?" was the first question he put to Gandhiji. "By Independence I mean complete withdrawal of British power from India," replied Gandhiji. "It does not exclude partnership between two nations enjoying equal independent status and terminable by either at will."

He would not object to the use of the expression Dominion Status to indicate such a partnership, but he does not consider it appropriate if used with reference to India.

"It need not be different from Dominion Status," continued Gandhiji in answer to another query. "But perhaps Dominion Status won't be a happy term to use for a Continent like India which is ethnologically and politically different from other Dominions like South Africa, Canada, Australia, etc. But perhaps this term is as elastic as the English Constitution. And if Dominion Status could be so defined as to cover a case like India and if India could come to an honourable agreement with England, I would not quarrel about words. If British statesmen feel it convenient to use the word Dominion Status about India rather than any other, in order to describe that honourable agreement, I will not quarrel."

"But," rejoined the interviewer,

"there are elements in the Congess like Subhas Bose and his group who want absolute independence outside the British Empire."

"It is only a question of terminology," replied Gandhiji. "*I won't admit any difference between Subhas Babu and myself on this point, though we may use different language.* Supposing such free and equal partnership as I have postulated were feasible, Subhas Babu won't say 'no' to it. But today if such a proposition were put to him, he will probably say, as he well may, it is ruled out for him. For he would say, the British are not likely to yield so easily as some might think. If he talks to me like that, I won't combat him but would say that I prefer to use the language that I use as being more suited to my temperament and my faith in the essential identity of human nature."

No Federation Negotiations With Gandhiji

Mahatmaji told the American interviewer that no negotiations between him and the authorities had been going on in connection with Federation. That ought to set at rest all rumours to the contrary.

How Federation Won't and May Come

Gandhiji added:

"But I feel certain that the 'Federation' won't come whilst it is not acceptable to the Congress or the Mussalmans or the Princes. I am inclined to think that the British statesmen won't impose Federation upon an unwilling and dissatisfied India, but will try to placate all parties. That, at any rate, is my hope.

"It would be first class tragedy if it is imposed upon India. The Federal Structure cannot be brought into being in the midst of sullenness and opposition. If the Federation is not wanted by any of the parties, it would be the height of imprudence to force it."

This provoked the next question, "What is the alternative?"

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"The alternative may be to offer something that would be acceptable to all or either of the three parties," replied Gandhiji.

So far as opposition to the imposition of the British-made federal scheme on India is concerned, Sj. Bose's views are not less pronounced than those of Gandhiji. But whilst the latter thinks that Federation might come even if only one of the three parties named were satisfied, the former appears to stand out for such a scheme alone as could be prepared by a Constituent Assembly. Gandhiji's views appear to take the real political strength of Indians more into account.

The Fundamental Difference Between Gandhiji and Subhas Babu

Mr. Steel, the American interviewer, asked:

"But you do not believe with Subhas Bose that the best alternative would be to issue an ultimatum?"

Mahatma Gandhi replied:

"*That is the fundamental difference between Subhas Babu and myself.* Not that the ultimatum is in itself wrong, but it has to be backed by an effective sanction and there are today no non-violent sanctions. If all the parties come to an honourable understanding, an effective sanction could be easily forged."

What Should Be the Next Move

Mr. Steel asked:

"You think the time is not ripe for an ultimatum: what then should the next move be?"

"To put our own house in order," replied Gandhiji. "Immediately we have done that and brought the various elements together, we should be ready."

American Press and Indian Questions

Gandhiji told Mr. Steel: "Your press has made very little effort to enlighten American opinion on the right lines." The *Asia* magazine of New York has made some efforts. But owing to certain causes these efforts have not received due recognition and publicity in Indian Congress and Indian journalistic quarters.

Health Conditions in Britain and India

LONDON, June 22.

Mr. Earnest Brown, Minister for Labour, revealed in the House of Commons that of the slightly less than fifty thousand militia men examined up to June 19, over eighty-three per cent. were graded in the first category. Of the remainder about half only were slightly defective. The total, therefore, called up for training was 92·5 per cent. As many of the remainder were fit for certain selected occupations with forces, the number of totally unfit was only point six per cent. of the total.—(*Reuter*).

What would a similar report in India reveal?

Government of Bengal's Politico-educational (?) Objections

Both the Bengal Education Department and the Calcutta University have occasionally extended the periods of service of some of their officers beyond the age of retirement, some receiving more than one extension. But Professor Dr. H. C. Mukherjee, a very successful professor of English of the Calcutta University and a donor to it of big sums, has been refused only one year's extension by the Bengal Government, though recommended by the University. The refusal is believed to be due to Ministerial objections to the professor's politics, which are honourably nationalistic.

The Bengal Government have objected to the appointment of Mr. K. P. Chottopādhyāya to the professorship of anthropology in the University on non-academic grounds.

Soviet Exposure of Anglo-French Intentions

MOSCOW, June 29.

Criticism against Britain and France, particularly the former, for slow progress in the Three-Power Pact negotiations is made by the Soviet Deputy, M. Shadnov in the 'Pravda' who complains that despite all efforts of the Soviet Government aimed at an early conclusion of the Pact, no substantial progress is observed.

After recapitulating the stages of negotiations, M. Shadnov concludes:

"This shows that Britain and France do not desire a treaty with the U.S.S.R. based upon principles of equality. They desire a treaty in which the U.S.S.R. would play the part of a labourer shouldering the entire burden of obligations. But no self-respecting country would agree to such a treaty if she does not wish to become a plaything in the hands of a people, who like others to pull the chestnuts out of the fire for them. Still less can the U.S.S.R. whose power and dignity are known to the entire world agree to such a treaty.

It seems to me that the British and French desire not a real treaty acceptable to the U.S.S.R. but only talk about a treaty in order to speculate before public opinion in their countries on the imaginary unyielding attitude of the U.S.S.R.—(*Reuter*).

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THE DIFFUSION OF EDUCATION

By RABINDRANATH TAGORE

A STORE of food in the larder or even the bustle of cooks in the kitchen does not deserve the name of a feast. To reach that grandeur, you must have your house humming with guests, busy discussing the dishes, high-piled with delicacies. With us the term, 'education,' which we are fond of repeating glibly, in season and out of season, connotes the mere collection of provisions in the pantry; it stops short there, for the courtyard remains bare like 'deserts idle.' In our schools and colleges, we have, of course, hung up a lantern for spreading the light of learning; but it can hardly be said that we are very well-off in this respect, if the flame is to be confined within the four walls of these institutions. Just as the beauty of a painting is clearly revealed only when it has the entire canvas as a background, even so education cannot be real and effective unless it covers the whole country; otherwise, it remains dull and lifeless. But we are so accustomed to the narrow significance we attach to this word that we reconcile ourselves complacently to its defects and never feel aggrieved at its imperfections. When we compare the system prevailing here with those elsewhere, we limit our gaze to the prospect just in front of us and are wilfully blind to the long-extending vista that lies hidden beyond the immediate range of our vision. We find consolation in the fact that we also have universities like other countries; we forget, however, that in those lands, more fortunate than ours; nowhere is education cribbed, cabined and confined to the metes and bounds of schools and colleges as here, but, diffused throughout the whole country, it stretches in an ever-widening circle to the farthest horizon.

And there was a time when this was the case, too, with us. Here, also, as in the Middle Ages in Europe, in the old times religious education was considered to be the most important. The *tols*, of course. specialized in it, but the whole country formed the background, for the general ideas and principles were scattered far and wide throughout its entire length. There was a constant communion of thoughts between the specialists and the general public. 'Desert' and 'Oasis' are contradictory terms, but that was not the relationship which prevailed between the learned Pundit and the unlettered layman. There was no hinterland, however obscure, where constantly, through creeks and inlets, did not come flowing in the vivifying lore of religion from the mighty mains of the Ramayana, the Mahabharata, the Puranas and other Sastras. Even abstruse doctrines, labouriously discussed only in philosophical treatises of a highly technical nature, were frequently diluted with literary art and transferred into liquid manure, as it were, to fertilize the mind of the multitude. We all know that plant-food must be sufficiently mixed with water to enable the tree to draw it for the nourishment of its branches and twigs. Exactly in the same manner, these indigestible lessons were watered down with art, with fancy and wit and then served up to the common people for assimilation. Just as, in those days, when the undertaking of public works was regarded as a part of one's religion, there was extensive provision for tanks in every village by the efforts of the villagers themselves who worked together to get the drinking water they themselves needed and had no occasion to dash their heads for it frantically, though in vain, against the door of some miserly bureaucratic office of the government, even so, the people themselves took up the task of disseminating our indigenous spiritual teachings throughout the length and breadth of the country. If they had not, the whole land today would have laboured under a black cloud of rude barbarism. Knowledge was not then the monopoly of the learned few but the cherished treasure of the entire community.

I was once invited to an obscure village where even the rustle of newspaper leaves is scarcely ever heard. The inhabitants were mostly Muhammadans. A *jātrā* performance was going on in my honour. Kerosene lanterns hung from the canopy of a rustic pavilion while, on the ground below, sat spell-bound a crowd of men, young and old. The real theme of the play was a religious discussion between a *guru* and his disciple about the mystery of the human body, of creation and of deliverance of the soul from its earthly tenement. But along with it were interludes, every now and then, when the whole place resounded with the stirr-

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ing strains of lively songs, the quick patter of dancing feet and the uproarious noise of frolic mirth. I remember to this day one particular portion of the play. It was as follows :

A pilgrim was about to enter Brindaban, when the porter at the gate stopped him, saying, "You are a thief, I can't allow you to go inside." The pilgrim exclaimed, "What do you mean ? Do you find any stolen property with me ?" The gateman replied, "Well, here it is under your clothes; your real self, your soul, of which my king is the sole owner; you have kept it in your possession dishonestly." He had barely finished, when all at once blared forth the drum, shrieked the pipe, and on went the dancer round and round, shaking his wig vigorously, as if the moralist wanted to indicate that here was the principal part of the lesson and therefore underscored it thickly not once but twice with his pencil. The night advanced, past mid-night, it struck one o'clock in the morning, but still the audience went on listening patiently. They might not understand everything very clearly but there was no doubt that they were dimly conscious of something which transcended their dry ephemeral everyday existence and pointed the way towards the everlasting.

This was the state of things for a long time in our country. Moved to the very depth of their hearts, the people used to listen again and again to tales, steeped in heroic sentiment, deep pathos and sublime joy and imbued with the magic charm of the highest literary art—the stories of Dhruva and Prahlād, of Sītā exiled to the forest, of Karna giving away his armour and of Harishchandra's supreme self-sacrifice. There was plenty of sorrow then and no dearth of injustice; there was uncertainty of life at every step; but in spite of all these unfortunate drawbacks there was something in this widespread cultural movement which showed them the open high-way to spiritual wealth—the real treasure of the heart—and brought them into illuminating contact with that supreme excellence which, even when conjoined with the meanest worldly circumstances, can never be treated with contempt. In any case, it is not with American talkies that one can perform this miracle.

Compulsory education was introduced in other countries only a short time ago. The system of mass education that was in vogue in our country cannot be called compulsory; it was optional. It was a very ancient thing. There was no law to enforce it, there was no compulsion; but just as blood circulates throughout the animal body, so it penetrated by its inherent power into every home.

But times changed. In the meantime, the educated classes with their faces upturned towards the government, busied themselves in praying, sometimes humbly and sometimes with a show of resentment, for the privilege of entering the Councils; they did not care to see that behind their back, in village after village, the level of drinking water in the tank came down to its muddy bed, though, in the towns, the pipe-water began to flow from taps at every house. We cried out in admiration, "Well, here's progress." The country at large retired into the hidden background, and the light that used to radiate throughout the land was now kept confined to a few small centres only.

What we call education now-a-days began in the town. Behind it trails along, as its component parts,—Profession and Service. This foreign system of education is like the lamp in the compartment of a railway train. The room is brilliantly lit but the thousands of miles traversed by the train remain shrouded in the darkness as before, as if the line of carriages manufactured in the workshop is the only reality, while the widespread countryside, with its misery and suffering, is a mere illusion.

A section of town people took advantage of this so-called education which brought them wealth and respectability in its train; they became 'enlightened'; it is they only who received the 'light.' But the rest of the land behind the 'light' suffered from a total eclipse. Those who sat on school benches and committed to memory lessons in English first-books were blinded by this 'light' of English education to such an extent that to them the word 'country' came to mean the educated classes only, as if a peacock is all feathers or an elephant all tusks. From that day, behind the screen of this urban stage, clanging with the noise of its brass-band—its brazen-throated intelligentsia—loomed the distant, gloomy, joyless villages, where came to a head all kinds of misery—call it by whatever name you will,—water-scarcity, absence of communications, epidemic diseases, or superstitious ignorance. With filtered water-supply, splendid parks and cooling fans, prosperity came to the city, where towered the mighty structures of princely hospitals and palatial colleges. It should be borne in mind that never before had there been such a cruel incision in the very heart of our motherland, dissecting it sharply into clear-cut parts from end to end. Modernism is not to be blamed for it, for in no civilized country

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exists such a state of things. Nowhere else is modernism like the crescent moon with its divided disc. half in light, and half in darkness. Japan has not been in touch with Western learning so long as India, but there it is not a thing of shreds and patches. On account of the wide dissemination of education, the capacity of intelligent thinking is not confined there to the select few, but circulates freely through the mind of the people as a whole. Their ideas are not moulded to one and the same pattern as here. In fact, as a distinctive sign of the present times there is variety as well as unity in their ways of thinking and it is reason that provides the thread of continuity.

Some statisticians have proved by their researches, that the facilities for primary education formerly provided in our village *pāthsālas* have gradually decreased under British rule. But mischief of a far more fatal character has been caused by the drying-up of the natural channels of the mass education system. We are told that Bengal had formerly a regular net-work of *khāls*, exacavated with admirable skill throughout the whole province, but all these were silted up through the neglect and stupidity of our present-day administration, and that it is for this very reason that so many funeral pyres now burn on the banks of these old *khāls*. Exactly in the same way, dried up our channels of education, with the result that our mental as well as material poverty is growing all the more every day. We had solved satisfactorily in a way this extremely difficult problem of mass enlightenment. Education, compulsory in other countries, made its way into the heart of our motherland as a thing of joy and worked itself into the life-force of the whole community. We are now suffering from a severe scarcity of this food for the soul. Fortunately, there are still a few crumbs left of our ancient store, or, our terror-stricken eyes would have beheld ere long the fell spectre of dread Famine hovering over the doomed land.

Travellers through Central Asia, searching for signs of ancient civilization, have come across the ruins of many prosperous cities, which disappeared *in toto* subsequently through burial under sand-heaps. At one time, there must have been a store of water in these places and the alignment of rivers can still be traced. Who can say when and how the moisture in the soil dried up, the desert, advancing step by step, lapped up their life with its parched tongue and the last marks of habitation were obliterated by the sands till they were merged completely in the limitless gray of the dreary waste? The source of moisture in the mental soil of our country composed of numerous villages is similarly getting exhausted. The moisture, which has pervaded its lower strata from a long time and is still lingering, will gradually evaporate under the hot breath of drying winds, the death-dealing desert will march in at length and its insatiate thirst will crush in its boa-constrictor folds the life out of the body of our motherland and swallow, limb by limb, the villages which had built up her frame. This insidious attack has not yet attracted our attention, because on account of our one-sided education, we have no longer the eyes which would enable us to take a broad view of the country as a whole and all their light, like that of a bull's eye lantern, is concentrated only on one point—the educated classes.

At one time I was in close touch for a long time with the Bengal villages. In summer, a pathetic scene used to meet my eyes. The layer of mud in the only tank of the neighbourhood had its surface exposed, the river water had gone down, the soil of its bank had cracked, and between it and the village lay a wide stretch of burning sand. I saw the women of the villages trudging through this wearisome distance to fetch drinking water in their brass pitchers—water commingled with the salt tears from their eyes. When a fire broke out and burnt down their huts, there was not a drop of water to put it out. When cholera broke out, they found it impossible to prevent its spreading.

This is one aspect but there is another, more poignant, which struck me painfully. It is evening; after working the whole day, the cultivators have returned home. Still night reigns over the widespread fields and under the shroud of darkness stand out the villages, here and there, in the midst of bamboo clumps, like islands enveloped in a thicker gloom. From these places, you hear the sound of *khōls* and to their accompaniment some stanza of a *Kirtān* song, repeated monotonously a thousand times "without any mitigation or remorse of voice." Year after year, they spend their days in dire poverty; how can they carry on their wearisome existence if they do not feel, now and then, that, above their crushing manual labour, there is in men some thing, known as the mind, where their pangs of humiliation can be alleviated, where they can take breath for a moment at least and find a haven of refuge, escaping from the thraldom of their unhappy lot? To provide them with this consolation, the whole community had at one time made arrangement on a wide scale. The reason why

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they had done so is that they had acknowledged this multitude as one of their own body. They knew that the whole country would go down if these people went down. But there is none to help them now—to get a supply of food for the mind and to break their fast. There is none to befriend them and so they seek whatever little consolation they find in the dregs that remain from the provisions stocked in the past. In a short time, even these will be exhausted; after the whole day's toil and moil they will plod home with weary feet to find only that their hoard of mental food has run out. No lights will be lit in their cheerless huts and form there the sounds of songs will no longer rise to the heavens. The chirps of crickets in the bamboo grove will go on as before, from the surrounding brakes and jungles the howl of jackals will be heard at every quarter of the night and at this self-same hour in the city the people who are fond of boasting about their education will crowd the cinemas in the dazzling glare of electric lights.

On the one hand, while the system of ancient education in our land has ceased to function with the result that the stream of knowledge which used to descend on the countryside as the gentle rain of heaven, is now choked up for ever, on the other, the flow of the new education which was introduced in its stead was not turned towards the masses irrespectively of any definite section of the people. It remained confined in certain places only like pools bounded by stone walls. The pilgrims who want to drink of their water must pay a fee to the attendant priests and even then must take but a sip from a distance. They are hedged around with a number of restrictions. The Mandākinī, by which name the Ganges is known in Heaven, in her astral body, of course, is hidden from our sight in the dishevelled, inter-twisted locks of Shiva, but, still, even she permits her water to come down His divine forehead, and flow on as a common stream by the landing-places in front of the doors of mere mortals and never stints her favour but is always pleased to fill our pots and pans to the brim with her sacred water. But the modern education imported from the West, now prevailing in our country, is, by no means, gracious like her. She is invisible to all but the esoteric, to whom alone she reveals herself in her special form as a goddess; she never assumes a form which the common eye can perceive. Therefore those who, having been initiated into the mysteries of English learning, have become special adepts at her worship, find that their mind moves on a plane different from that of the common people. This practice of treating 'the educated classes' as a separate caste, this creation of untouchables within the existing castes, is the worst caste system that prevails at present in the country.

Our mind naturally hesitates to ally itself with knowledge which goes about hidden in an English veil. The knowledge gained by most of us, therefore, is not commensurate with the educational training we have gone through. It is something that stands apart from our environments. Trams ply between our homes and our schools but the mind refuses to travel the distance. The country at large lies outside the modern school. There are many reasons why they do not harmonise with each other and there is hardly any co-operation worth the name between the two. On account of the separation there is, with most of us, the immaturity of the school boy in our language and thoughts. Slaves we are still to note-books; we have no intellectual courage and we can only creep, step by step, with the utmost care along the narrow path of convention. Nothing has been done, as yet, to bring about a natural alliance between modern education and the mind of the country. It is a case of the bride staying on in her father's family, because the father-in-law's house is on the other side of the river, across a sand-bank. What has happened to the ferry boat?

To cross the gulf, we are shown a dug-out which goes by the name of literature. It must be admitted that modern Bengali literature is a creation and a necessity of the present age. There is no doubt that it has brought our minds into touch with modern learning, but it is not importing from overseas all the food that is available there. Science, which is bringing into play, in various forms, the intellectual powers of men in the twentieth century and is opening every day a new door to the mysteries of the universe, is scarcely on visiting terms with Bengali literature. With us the mind that thinks, that is extrospective, that connects theory with practice—that mind lies somewhere in the past, while that mind which feels, which likes to steep itself in art and sentiment has begun to hover round the precincts of the *salle a manger* where the feast is spread out for it in this age. It is very natural that at first it should be keen in visiting the corner where the wine circulates freely and where the very air itself is drunk with the heady perfume of the grape.

Bengali literature is almost wholly made

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up of fiction, poetry and drama, that is, there is arrangement for a feast of sentiment and not for the display of intellectual power. Western culture, however, is a strong combination of various mental forces. Humanity there keeps itself occupied simultaneously with the body, the mind and the soul. Therefore, along with want, is fullness there. Some branches of the banyan tree may be broken down by storm, others may be worm-eaten and it may suffer from drought in some year, but taking it as a whole, it must be said that the king of the forest has kept his health and vigour intact. Exactly in the same way science, education and literature have combined to keep the Western mind in a state of vigorous action and improvements effected in all of them have resulted in constantly increasing its capacity for practical work.

Sentiment or art is the predominating element in our literature. Therefore wherever a form of licence or moral disorder creeps in through the medium of imitation, it infects the whole body of our literature virulently with its poison and causes such a fermentation, even in our imagination, as to turn it towards unhealthy libertinism. In the absence of strong physical vitality, even a mere scratch swells up into an angry carbuncle. Our country is in this parlous state. When we are blamed for it, we cite the example of Western society as a precedent and assert that this very tendency is the most recent manifestation of modern civilization. But we carefully refrain from mentioning that along with it there is, in modern civilization, a vigorous and many-sided universality which is the result of strenuous thinking and the secret of its active virility.

When I used to live in the villages, I met persons going about as *sādhus* and devotees. From them I learnt the lesson that unrestrained licentiousness often assumes the garb of devotion to God. This had the sanction of religion behind it. These very persons told me that these corrupt practices have worked their way underground even into the city where they have extensive remifications amongst disciples and followers. The principal reason why this emasculating lust, lolling out its greedy tongue after carnal pleasure and masquerading in religious garb, is so prevalent amongst us is, that our society and literature are lacking in elements which, conjoined with high thinking and intellectual perseverance, keep alive in the mind a spirit of eager curiosity that leads us to undertake the most difficult investigations and researches.

We cannot blame Bengali literature for this state of things at least. It is easy to condemn our literature as wanting in real substance and practical utility, but it is not easy to point out how this defect can be cured. In matters of taste, people are freelances and not inclined to be guided by any literary canons. Even a man with an uncultivated taste can manage to enjoy, in his own way, the literature of art. And even if he thinks that his appreciation of it is of the most ideal order, to raise a discussion about it may result in a visit to the criminal court. Nothing prevents them who have missed the highway of discerning criticism to the mart of fiction, poetry and drama from jogging on, at least, along the duty-free track that runs through the purlieus of inexperience and amateurism. But where scientific knowledge, which has nothing to do with sentiment, is concerned, you have to cross the strongly guarded gates leading to it and cannot travel by any pathway, open to all, through the fields. In countries, favoured by the goddesses of wealth and learning, new roads to the mart of science are being constantly metalled and a constant traffic in merchandise is going on with places, near as well as remote, both at home and abroad. In our country also there should not be any further delay in the construction of such roads.

But nothing can be done unless the mind is educated. It is by means of literature that education can be spread beyond schools and colleges. But not only must literature be made the vehicle for carrying education in its entirety, but also the roads through which it will come to the door of the masses must be made easy of approach. To which friend shall I call for help in this emergency, for friends have grown scarce nowadays? I have, therefore, come to the door of the Calcutta University with my prayer.

The brain is connected throughout with all parts of the human body by a net-work of nerves. The University will have to play the part of the brain and arrange for a nervous system to broadcast its message throughout the country from one end to the other. The question is how to do it. In reply, I propose that an encircling drag-net of examinations be cast throughout the land. The arrangement must be so simple and on so large a scale that even those who do not join schools and colleges will master voluntarily and with enthusiasm the contents of the text-books selected for the examinations. The University should establish examination centres in every district to assist

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the women who do not appear in public and also the men who are prevented, for various reasons, from entering schools and colleges, in removing the blot of ignorance from their midst through their own efforts in leisure hours. To obtain a University Degree, one has to study simultaneously a number of subjects, but in this case this multiplicity need not be insisted upon. Very often an individual has a penchant for a particular subject. He can have a special place in society by showing proficiency in this line only and I do not see why he should be deprived of this advantage.

If the University extends its sphere of influence far beyond its favoured seat of learning in its schools and colleges, it is only then that it will be possible to compose a sufficiently large number of text-books in Bengali. Otherwise, the poverty of the Bengali language as regards subjects dealt with will never be removed. If we have to learn English to be educated in subjects we must know in order to maintain our self-respect, our mother-tongue will be always kept in a state of humiliation on account of her poverty. Will those Bengalis who know no other language than Bengali be branded forever with the stigma of untouchability? There was even a time when the boys of the first class of an English School were not ashamed to confess their ignorance of Bengali. Times have changed to some extent for the better, but even now a Bengali boy has to hang down his head in shame if he has to plead guilty to the fact that he knows no other language except Bengali. To gain Swaraj in the political sphere, we cheerfully go through the severest suffering and are even ready to lay down our life for it, but I am afraid I shall err on the side of moderation if I simply say that, as yet, we have not shown any keenness for the attainment of Swaraj in the educational sphere. There are still men in our country who even go so far as to oppose it on the ground that education will lose its value if it is carried on in Bengali. When we first began going over to England and drank deep of Anglo-Bengalism, for the wife to go about in society in saris was considered to result in a loss of "prestige". Similarly, even now many of us think that our "prestige" will suffer if the goddess of education is clothed in a sari, though it is well known that she will find it comfortable to move about in our homes in this dress and that she will very probably stumble at every step if she has to put on high-heeled boots.

When I was comparatively young and vigorous, I used to entertain people sometimes with improvised translations of English literature into Bengali. Though all my hearers knew English, yet they confessed that they became fully alive to the real meaning of the quotations from English literature only when couched in Bengali. Indeed, a great deal of modern education imparted to us is lost at the point of entrance in its struggle to get through to our minds, simply because English is its carrier. When a Bengali boy, unused to English table manners, sits at dinner in the *salle a manger* of a P. & O. boat, in his journey across the seas, he finds it difficult to satisfy in full the claims of his hungry stomach, in spite of the sumptuous feast spread out before him, only because he is obstructed midway, while busy negotiating an alliance between the food and his tongue through the mediation of knives and forks. The same ill-luck pursues us at the educational dinner table—there is provision for everything but much of it is wasted midway. These words of mine, of course, refer to the elaborate arrangements for educational banquets in colleges. It is not the subject under discussion today; it is mass education about which I am speaking. It is not the question of educational water-supply through pipes in towns, but to arrange for its distribution in places where these pipes do not reach. And if the passage through which this supply in the mother-tongue is to be made be not wider than a mere cattle track, then may God have pity on the minds peopling the uncultured waste of our innumerable villages, bereft of knowledge.

My voice chocked with sorrow, I am pleading before the University of Bengal the cause of my motherland, whose mother-tongue is Bengali, like the thirsty bird with its parched throat upraised to the heavens for the cooling rain-drop. May the dark blue clouds enveloping the "star-ypointing" spire of your lofty dome dissolve in showers of blessed rain over meadow and orchard, decking them with the beauty of green leaves and gay flowers, may the disgrace of your motherland be wiped out, may modern education rush in a roaring flood through the dry and barren bed of the mind of Bengal, may the banks on either side wake up to full consciousness from their sleep of centuries, may cheers of joy burst forth from every home.

[Translated by Rai Bahadur Amal Krishna Mukerjee, M.A. Publication of the translation authorized by Rabindranath Tagore.]

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PEACE IN THE BALANCE

By Major D. GRAHAM POLE

Signor Mussolini's much advertised speech has not worsened the European situation. The situation now is pretty much as it was before the speech, but with this advantage that every day that passes without a declaration or act of war makes it all the less likely that war will break out.

All the same, this present state of not being at war is a long way short of a state of being at peace. This peace front which we are trying to build up with France and Turkey and Russia is an uneasy substitute for the collective security we might have had at Geneva. A real peace front cannot be made by lining up what Great Powers you can and spattering such guarantees as you feel equal to. It is easy for Herr Hitler to point to the map and describe it all as encirclement. A real peace front would be open to every nation prepared to join in. Such a front would give moderate opinion in Germany something to work on. Up till now we have ignored the moderates in Germany and, rather futilely, tried to conciliate the evil geniuses of Hitler and Von Ribbentrop. But now that the hard facts of German aggression have converted us out of isolation, we should open our eyes still wider and see the whole truth. And the truth is, of course, as someone recently remarked (adapting a famous phrase of Mr. Baldwin's)—You cannot have spotted security.

Perhaps it is worth while considering for a moment what exactly is meant by the term collective security and why it is that Britain's present policy, though often described as such, is not in fact a return to collective security. The essence of collective security is that it is first of all *a renunciation of neutrality*. Any war, anywhere, is a matter of concern to everyone. The merits or demerits of the respective belligerents are beside the point—their quarrel should go to arbitration—the point is to keep the peace.

Great Britain began the flight from the principle of collective security when the National Government came into power in 1931 and men like Sir Austen Chamberlain and Mr. Arthur Henderson were replaced by Sir John Simon, Sir Samuel Hoare and Mr. Chamberlain. Sir John Simon's contribution to the Manchurian crisis was to flatter himself that he had kept England friends with both Japan and China. It was (and we all knew it) the affirmation of a non-moral doctrine. In League circles it was seen to be a disaster, to be a return to neutrality. The same thing happened when we came to the Abyssinian War. England, under Sir Samuel Hoare, "would not risk a single ship" in that quarrel. But it was not alone Abyssinia's quarrel, it was everyone's quarrel because Italy had broken the peace. Sir Samuel Hoare at that time, moreover, further stabbed the League in the back by entering into the Hoare-Laval Pact for the partition of Abyssinia. The League has never yet recovered from that blow. As for the central idea of collective security, the renunciation of neutrality, worse was still to come. When the Spanish Civil War broke out, and Italian intervention was apparent from the very beginning, England and France introduced the new policy of Non-Intervention. Non-intervention, the complete antithesis of the renunciation of neutrality! Well, retribution for these years of non-moral attitudes has been swift. As the Chinese Ambassador remarked to someone recently: "To-day the sky is positively darkened with chickens coming home to roost."

The one thing which has quite disappeared from Europe is, in fact, neutrality. If the skies are darkened with homing chickens, the earth is tangled over with pacts and alliances. The Axis Powers, Germany and Italy, are struggling for the body of Europe. Germany is seeking the possession of Danzig and the destruction of Poland. When she has achieved that, she can make up her mind about Russia and the Ukraine. Then too will be decided the fate of Roumania, who is striving valiantly to maintain her independence. Germany seems to have won there the economic battle with England, but England has given Roumania a guarantee . . . Italy, by invading Albania, has bottled up Jugo-Slavia in the Adriatic. Jugo-Slavia is at her mercy. To make assurance doubly sure, Germany is trying to break up Jugo-Slavia from the north by detaching Croatia. From Jugo-Slavia Italy looks at Greece, where she has always coveted Epirus (not to mention Corfu). And, of course, Italy still shouts to France that she must give up Tunis.

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To look at the map of Europe, to enumerate the countries threatened or pledged to resist a threat, is to realise how complete is the state of tension. Only a few countries—three in Scandinavia, too far off to care—two in the Balkans, Hungary and Bulgaria, revisionist but blowing hot and cold on the Axis—are exempt. No wonder President Roosevelt, viewing the developing tragedy in Europe, made an appeal to the Dictators which will go down to history. If only President Roosevelt had been born in Europe! Can there be any doubt that just as he has avoided the dilemma of Fascism or Communism in his own country by giving America the New Deal, so, if he were in Europe, he would find some way of delivering the peoples from Axes and encirclements, from this piece-meal peace which is no peace? I heard a distinguished American commenting the other day on the attributes which Englishmen and Americans have in common. They both, he said, like to rationalise their doings (and appear hypocrites to other nations for so doing). But President Roosevelt has no need to rationalise afterwards. He has been consistent in all his ways. He has never tried to appease Japan or Germany. He has always believed in collective security and in democracy. Always distinguished between the peoples, who everywhere want peace, and their leaders, who may want to destroy it. As this same American finely remarked, it is the American belief that the imagination of men and women must be re-captured as to what they must fight *for*, rather than what they must fight *against*.

No approach to a peace front of course has any reality without the moral support (at least) of America and the support of mighty if enigmatic Russia. At the moment of writing the negotiations with Russia are still unconcluded. These negotiations began directly after England had offered guarantees to Poland and Roumania. England then enquired of Russia what would be her attitude if a crisis should develop in Poland and Roumania. The mistake was of course—and it was all of a piece with Mr. Chamberlain's attitude of say nothing do nothing to offend the Dictators but ignore the Bolsheviks all the time you can—to have given the guarantees to Poland and Roumania without first securing the goodwill of Russia.

The Russian point of view was communicated to England on April 18th—more than a month ago—when she proposed a Triple Alliance of Britain, France and Russia, to safeguard the integrity and independence of each other, and to guarantee the integrity and independence of all the States between the Baltic and the Black Sea. The negotiations with Russia took Berlin by surprise. And some idea of the shock to Herr Hitler can be gauged from the swiftness of his reply. He at once denounced the Non-Aggression Treaty with Poland, the Naval Treaty with England, and set about turning the Axis finally into an offensive and defensive military alliance (so far, that is, as Italy and Germany are concerned; Japan is hesitant and would prefer to co-operate in the Axis only where her own interests are threatened).

The Russian proposals, said Mr. Chamberlain, raised difficulties which our own proposals, were designed to avoid. Our own proposals, it seems, were simply that Russia should help *us* should *we* decide to act in defence of Poland and Roumania. (And we, perhaps it should be noted in passing, are pledged to go to the assistance of Poland should Poland consider her integrity threatened). The much wider Russian proposals, on the other hand, do not make Russian action contingent on the guarantee given to Poland and Roumania. They would bring France, Russia, and Britain into action should any of Russia's neighbours be threatened. And, if we are to believe the hints thrown out by Mr. Chamberlain, the whole idea of the Peace Front has been held up and bogged for week after week because these neighbours are unwilling, before the storm has actually broken, to seek shelter under a Bolshevik umbrella. Though no one can doubt, of course, that once the storm had broken they would depend upon Russia for all the support that she could give. Nor are these neighbours the only ones who would like Russia to help them when their hour strikes, but would rather not be friends with her meantime. France and Britain have been showing the same ungenerous attitude. Russia, at one stage in these negotiations, stipulated that there should be an exchange of military information. The proposal froze the French and British staff officers with horror. Perhaps they feared the oft-repeated assertion that there is a considerable body of opinion amongst officers in the German Army who favour a rapprochement with Russia. It never seems to occur to such people that to treat Russia with close-fisted suspicion is to play into the hands of Germany.

Anyway, to the great relief of everyone,

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the scene has shifted this week-end to France where Lord Halifax and the Russian Ambassador in London, M. Maisky, are stopping on their way to attend the League Council at Geneva. It is hoped that the French, with their gift for language and their eye for the main chance, will succeed in finding a formula that will reconcile the Russian and British proposals. The dilemma they have to solve is this. Russia says to England: If you get drawn into war in support of your guarantees to Poland and Roumania, you expect us to help you at once. But if we get drawn into war because Germany invades us *via* Latvia, Estonia, or Lithuania, there is no reciprocal obligation on your side to come to our assistance. And the French, it is at present predicted, will find a solution in a Tripartite Pact of Mutual Assistance. By the terms of this Pact there will be no general guarantee, ranging from the Baltic to the Black Sea, as originally proposed by Russia. But if the Baltic States should be attacked, and *appeal* to Russia, then we should go to the assistance of Russia, just as she would come to our assistance if Poland and Roumania should be attacked.

Mr. Chamberlain has been so secretive throughout these protracted negotiations—"I have nothing to add to what I have already said" seems to be written on his heart—and that in spite of the fact that the Russian newspaper *Izvestia* felt compelled to blow off some steam about ten days ago, that all kinds of speculations have been appearing as to who or what are the "difficulties" he referred to. At various times the following countries have been named as objectors to a Russian guarantee—Poland, Roumania, Portugal, Spain, Jugo-Slavia, Italy and Finland! Indeed Turkey is the only country I have heard of as being positively enthusiastic. Of these objecting countries it may be said that Poland and Roumania, and especially Poland, are now so thoroughly alarmed at their plight—with Germany jubilating at the tarrying of Russia—that they are no longer a "difficulty". As for Jugo-Slavia and Italy, they are both Germany's prisoners, and as for Finland, though Germany has offered her a non-aggression treaty, she has had the courage to join Sweden and Norway in declining such a treaty. There remain Spain and Portugal. Spain, thanks to the National Government—who put their class prejudice before the strategic interests of the British Empire—has been won for General Franco by the Axis Powers. Like all tools, General Franco may turn in their hands, but the Germans and Italians have probably taken steps to circumvent that. This risk in Spain Britain seeks to off-set in two ways. There is the resounding success in the Eastern Mediterranean as a result of the Anglo-Turkish Alliance, and, nearer home, we are trying to woo Portugal.

Portugal, as everyone knows, is our oldest ally. Portugal is pegged to the pound. Portugal has harbours which we want to use. The only trouble is, Portugal is a Catholic corporative State—it is said to resemble the Austria of Dr. Schuschnigg—and the Portugese Dictator, Dr. Salazar, is an ardent churchman. But if the Portugese shrink from our alliance with Russia, they would do well to consider the words of M. Bidault, the Editor of a Catholic newspaper published in France. Writing in this paper, *Aube*, he said:

> "Russia is certainly a State, but also an ideological pole; but while we are hostile to its ideology and firmly reject it, we gladly accept Russia's alliance against the common danger . . . We must avert the danger of war. This danger is today embodied in the Axis Powers and in their satellites. In 1939, these Powers are the only war menace in the world. Stalin has not conquered Vienna. Stalin has not marched into Prague. Stalin did not invade Albania on Good Friday . . . Today the seat of the new Islam striving to conquer the world by force is Berlin."

It would be a great pity for the world if Russia's peace efforts were finally discouraged and she withdraw into isolation. While Herr Hitler and Signor Mussolini tour the fortifications on their frontiers, M. Potemkin, the Soviet Assistant-Commissar for Foreign Affairs, tours the Balkans in search of peace and is projecting a tour of the Baltic States also. He has just visited Bulgaria, Roumania and Turkey and he extended that visit to include Poland. In Poland he was assured that if Russia wished to give guarantees to the Baltic States, she would have the full support of Poland. (Poland, evidently, isn't any longer a nigger in the wood pile.)

By the time this reaches India, will the Poles, and all of us here in Europe, be involved in war over Danzig? The position there is about as baffling as it can be. Danzig is a German city, but whoever controls Danzig can destroy Poland. Nothing can get over this fact which is a geographical fact. Geography has made Danzig. She belongs, by reason of her situation, neither to Germans nor Poles but to both of them. Danzig, at the mouth of the Vistula, may be peopled by Germans, but the Vistula is Poland's main water-way and so, in the words of a Polish writer, M. Stefan Litauer, they are "for ever connected by nature." Plainly Germany cannot perpetrate another

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wrong here in the misused name of self-determination.

So far as *autonomy* is concerned, the Nazis in Danzig have gone to the limits and beyond in what was set up as a Free City. They have still a customs frontier with Poland (as we were reminded this month when Poland refused to ratify the Opium Convention on the grounds that Dangiz had refused to do so. An interesting comment, this, on Nazi mentality which at the same time is trying to cut down smoking and drinking amongst its supporters and especially in the Navy). But in all other respects they have taken over the Nazi regime, even to the expulsion of Jews from the Free City.

Autonomy in Danzig, of course, is of as little interest to Herr Hitler as it was in the Sudetenland. What he wants is to *fortify* the Bay of Danzig, as he has fortified Memel, and so reduce Poland to the status of a second-class Power. For this reason, also, he has asked for extra-territorial rights on a motor road across the Polish Province of Pomorze. ("I insist," said Colonel Beck addressing the Polish Parliament, "on the term 'Province of Pomorze', for the word 'Corridor' is an artificial invention. It is an ancient Polish land with an insignificant percentage of German colonists.") But there is no reason, save a strategic reason, for Germany wanting such a road. Citizens of the Reich are not hampered now in any way. They are allowed to travel without customs or passport formalities from the Reich to East Prussia.

Well, what is going to happen? Herr Arthur Greiser, President of the Danzig Senate, has put the fate of his city in the Fuehrer's hands. He awaits, he says, the fiat that will decide "the destiny of the German East." The destiny of the German East according to another citizen of Danzig, Dr. Hermann Rauschning, some time President of the Senate and friend of Herr Hitler, is to join in a political and military alliance made up of semi-sovereign States subordinated to the German Reich. In this system, in this megalomaniac dream of the "garrulous monk," as Signor Mussolini has described Herr Hitler, Germany would hold sway over Czecho-Slovakia, Hungary, Jugo-Slavia, Roumania, Poland and the Baltic States.

Poor Poland! If the Germans are planning a coup in Danzig, they can only do it from East Prussia or from the sea. To get across from Germany proper, they would have to invade the Polish Province of Pomorze. The Poles say that a coup from East Prussia is now no longer possible. To do this the Germans would have to cross the Vistula—and the Poles are now guarding the bridges. The coup might come from inside Danzig—and there are persistent rumours of gun-running and in that case war would indeed be precipitated as the Poles would, it is said in Warsaw, at once occupy the Free City.

The only thing that can save Poland, and with Poland the peace, is an unequivocal alliance between France, Britain and Russia. Herr Hitler, Mr. Winston Churchill informs us, will believe that we mean business when the Labour Party in England agree to Conscription and when the Conservatives agree to the Russian alliance. Conscription has been forced down the throat of the Labour Party. Cannot our Conservatives swallow their objections to the Bolsheviks? Think what they are throwing away with Russia. The Soviet Baltic Fleet has been engaging this month in manoeuvres. She has just added to that fleet an entire squadron of warships of which it is claimed that "they are fast enough to overtake any adversary". And as for the Soviet Air Fleet, we may not be impressed with what we have heard of it (from Colonel Lindberg), but the *Germans* are. A German semi-official publication *The Handbook of Modern Military Knowledge*, which has a foreword by Marshal Goering, states that "at the present time the Soviet Air Fleet stands at the head of all military air forces in the world. . . ."

Incidentally Herr Hitler, and Mr. Chamberlain also for that matter, might ponder on the state of opinion, as regards Conscription and the Russain Alliance, revealed in a survey made by the British Institute of Public Opinion. Whereas there is some doubt about Conscription—in the week before it was introduced 38% were in favour of it, in the week after 52%—there is none whatever about Russia. 87% of the voting population is estimated to be in favour of a military alliance between Great Britain, France and Russia. The vote for Conscription. perhaps, might have been higher, were it not that there is room here for many serious doubts. For one thing, the Government while it conscripts lives, does not also conscript wealth or even armament profits. For another, it is feared that conscription, with industrial conscription in the background, has been clamped on us for all time. For a third, and most important of all, it is held in some quarters that conscription encourages generals to be extravagant with the lives at their disposal. It is pointed out that in the Great War, before Conscription became effective, about

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450,000 British officers and men were killed or severely wounded. After Conscription was introduced this total rose by nearly two millions to 2,437,000

It is to be hoped that by the time this reaches India the Anglo-Russian-French-Polish-Turkish Alliance will have come into being and Her Hitler will see that the odds are too heavy to make war a good risk. Confidence on the Peace Front has been returning. The refusal of three Scandinavian countries to enter into non-aggression treaties with Herr Hitler was felt as a snub; the Anglo-Turkish Agreement as a set-back; may the Russian Alliance crown the process !

But if the war scare is effectively frightened away, then let us not waste our opportunities for promoting lasting peace. Let us invite Germany *and* Russia *and* America to join with us in arriving at a general settlement. It is not enough to start looking for friends when there is a threat of war.

London,
May 20, 1939.

SOCIAL INSURANCE IN POLAND

By E. BANASINSKI

Polish social security legislation was consolidated by a statute of 1934, establishing one uniform legal and administrative organization.

There are 65 social insurance institutions which, besides insuring against sickness, are engaged in enforcing compulsory insurance, collecting subscriptions, conducting enquiries, etc. These activities are concentrated in a central institution, the Social Insurance Institute, which administrates the following branches of social insurance : health insurance, old age, invalidity, widows' and orphans' insurance of manual and non-manual workers, accident insurance and unemployment insurance of non-manual workers.

Agricultural Workers Exempt

In principle all persons, wage-earners or employees are subject to compulsory insurance. Solely the agricultural workers are exempt from it with the exception of insurance against accidents.

In the western province of Poland the pension insurance of agricultural workers is not included in the uniform administration, and the same applies to the sick, veteran and miner's insurances in the province of Silesia.

In case of sickness the insured are entitled to medical treatment (artificial limbs, etc.), money assistance (50 per cent of their wages for 26 weeks), hospital care, a dole during eight weeks, help for nursing mothers, and funeral expenses. Members of the family of the insured receive the same assistance in a smaller degree. Old age insurance money becomes due upon the completion of 65 years, for miners 60 years.

Unemployment Insurance

In order to combat unemployment, insurance in the Unemployment Fund against loss of work became compulsory (law of 1924). All manual workers in industrial establishments, which employ at least 5 workers must be insured. In case of loss of work the insured receive during a period of 13 to 17 weeks a dole amounting to 30-50 per cent of his wages.

Premiums Two Per Cent of Wages

The subscription is two per cent of the wages of which the worker pays 0.5 per cent and the employer 1.5 per cent. The State contributes 50 per cent of the subscription. In 1935 the Unemployment Fund was liquidated and its activities were taken over by the Labour Fund, established in 1933 for the purpose of giving employment in public works to the workless. The expenses of the Labour Fund are covered by taxes on public amusements and the consumption of sugar, beer and other commodities. Employers and employees contribute each 1 per cent of the monthly salaries and the State grants additional contribution. When the period of subsidy to the unemployed manual workers expires, the workers who are unemployed are given further assistance in cash or food and fuel, etc.

Youth Employment

In 1934, the Ministry of Social Welfare together with the Labour Fund organized a scheme for employing adolescents of 18 to 21 years of age. In 1935, approximately 17,700 persons found employment under this scheme.

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Non-manual workers are compulsorily insured at the Social Insurance Institute from which they receive in case of unemployment an assistance amounting to 40-80 per cent of their average salary, during a term of 6-9 months. The subscription is 2 per cent of the employee's salary, the employee contributing 0.8-1.2 per cent and the employer 1.2-0.8 per cent respectively.

The number of unemployed workers registered in State Employment Exchanges was 413,700 on January 1st, 1935.

Poland has concluded conventions with a number of countries to the effect that Poles working in foreign countries have the same rights of insurance as the citizens of the respective countries and *vice versa*.

Social Insurance in Poland—1934

The average annual number of insured persons: Health—1,816,000. Accident—3,719,000. Disability, old age and death: manual workers —1,763,000, special professional system for miners and railwaymen—82,000. Non-manual workers—268,000. Unemployment: manual workers—769,000, non-manual workers—267,000.

Receipts were 478,022,000 zlotys and expenditure 321,305,000 zlotys in 1934.

Social Welfare

Social welfare in Poland is organized in Poland in many varied forms. It includes, homes for infants and children (in 1934—882 homes with 42,484 inmates), maternal and children welfare stations (in 1935—383), homes for old people, for the disabled, mentally weak, for the sick, etc. (in 1934—1,543 homes with 26,880 inmates). These establishments are maintained by the local self-government and social service institutions, under the control of the Ministry of Social Welfare and its agencies.

Besides these establishments there exists a system of social protection of children consisting in extra feeding, clothing, school help and summer colonies. In 1934, there were 1,428 boarding summer colonies and 553 day colonies, for a total of 77,377 children.

For the adult population there exists public homes, garden allotments, assistance for the victims of disasters, as fire, flood, etc., houses for refugees and pensions for war invalids. Begging and vagrancy is stopped by placing vagrants into special homes and workhouses. The combating of prostitution and of white slave traffic is carried on by railway station missions, homes for the victims of prostitution voluntary workhouses, etc.

The activities of social welfare are managed by local government agencies and only in exceptional cases by the State. Numerous social service organizations are helping the local and state authorities in this work.

The main budgetary disbursements of the Ministry of Social Welfare (1934-35) are the following:—Children and youth—5,000,000 zlotys: Persons incapable of working—589,000 zlotys: Disabled war veterans—3,958,000 zlotys: Victims of wars—484,000 zlotys: Polish insurrectionery war veterans—61,000 zlotys: Victims of disasters—532,000 zlotys: Emigrants and immigrants—625,000 zlotys: Families of the Unemployed—22,000,000 zlotys: Miscellaneous—240,000 zlotys:—total 33,489,000 zlotys.

The budgetary expenditure of local government unions on social welfare in 1935-36 was according to provisional figures 45,366,000 zlotys, thus the total disbursement on social welfare amounts to approximately 78 million zlotys per annum.

Public Health

The hospitals and sanatoria in Poland are, with the exception of a few, maintained by the Government, supported by communal unions and social organizations. Health centres are being organized for the propagation of hygiene among the population and for the elimination of the factors of diseases.

In 1934, there were 260 health centres employing nurses—hygienists acting under the direction and supervision of physicians. The government assigns every year certain sums for the raising of the standard of health and for combating diseases. There are also social institutions working for the same purpose. They issue instructions on public and individual hygiene and spend considerable sums of money for this purpose.

Supervision over hygienic conditions of towns and villages and of articles of consumption is performed by the authorities which are co-operating with communal and district physicians and with State establishments for hygiene and for investigation of food and articles of common use.

The medical personnel in Poland in 1935 consisted of 10,644 physicians and surgeons, 3,157 dental surgeons, 9,554 midwives and 1,923 medical assistants. The number of hospitals is 679 with 70,775 beds.

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EMERSON AND THE CHANNINGS

By J. T. SUNDERLAND

Out of Emerson's connection with the Transcendental Club grew many of his warmest friendships. To Dr. William Ellery Channing more, perhaps, than to anyone else was due that formation of the Club. Dr. Channing had already been for some years a friend and counsellor to Emerson, guiding the course of his theological training and influencing powerfully his religious thought. To the young Emerson, Channing was an ideal and an inspiration; the character and the utterances of the older man stirred all that was deepest and finest in the younger. In their later association in connection with the formation and the gatherings of the Transcendental Club, the early bond between them was cemented and matured. Channing was somewhat more inclined to be conservative in his mental attitude than Emerson but he respected the younger man's radical views even if he could not always agree with them.

Channing began his public life as minister of an orthodox Congregational church,—his own belief being a mild Calvinism. But he had a mind of great independence and courage which inevitably sympathized with the rising tide of revolt against the intellectual tyranny and shocking ethics of the old Calvinistic creed. Daring to think for himself and to trust the dictates of his own reason and his own moral nature, he little by little became a leader in the movement, which had long been gathering force, to give New England a new theology with more reasonable and more ethical views of God and man and the universe.

There was a steady progress in his thinking up to the very end of his life. Beginning with a theology that hardly differed from the conservatism of his time, he gradually advanced until he reached in his later years the morally and spiritually rich radicalism which came to full flower in Emerson and Theodore Parker. Both these great prophet souls were true spiritual sons of Channing. There were others but the voices of these two were heard farthest and most deeply thrilled men. On these two more truly than on any others the mantle of the great Elijah fell.

In his "Historical Notes of Life and Letters in New England," Emerson wrote of this revered teacher and friend, "Dr. Channing, while he lived, was the star of the American church, and we thought then, if we do not still think, that he left no successor in the pulpit. He could never be reported, for his eye and voice could not be printed. . . . We could not then spare a single word he uttered in public; not so much as the reading of a lesson in scripture, or a hymn, and it is curious that his printed writings are almost a history of the times; as there was no great public interest, political, literary or even economic, on which he did not leave some printed record of his brave and thoughtful opinion. A poor little invalid all his life, he is yet one of those men who vindicate the power of the American race to produce greatness."

Such a passage as the following characteristic utterance from Dr. Channing's writings shows the kind of guide this great man was for the thinkers of his time :

"One sublime idea has taken strong hold of my mind. It is the greatness of the soul, its divinity, its union with God. I cannot but pity the man who recognizes nothing God-like in his own nature. I see the marks of God in the heavens and the earth, but how much more in a liberal intellect, in magnanimity, in unconquerable rectitude, in a philanthropy which forgives every wrong and never despairs of human virtue.

"All men want freedom. What is it to be free ? I call that mind free which masters the senses, which passes life not in asking what it shall eat and drink but in hungering, thirsting and seeking after righteousness. I call that mind free which does not copy the past nor live on old virtues but forgets what is behind and rejoices to pour itself forth in new exertions. I call that mind free which jealously guards its intellectual rights, calls no man master, contents itself with no hereditary faith, receives new truth as an angel from heaven, and, while consulting others, inquires still more of the oracle within itself. I call that mind free which sets no bounds to its love, recognizes in all human beings the image of God, and offers itself willingly and with joy to the service of mankind."

Is it any wonder that such words as these thrilled the young men of Boston and New

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England, and that the young Emerson caught their fire ?

When this man who had been such an inspiration to him died, Emerson wrote : "Dr. Channing was a man of so much rectitude and such power to express his sense of right that his value to the country, of which he was a kind of public conscience, can hardly be over-estimated. His interest in the times, and the fidelity and independence with which, for so many years, he had exercised that censorship on commercial, political and literary morals, which was the spontaneous dictate of his character, had earned for him an accumulated capital of veneration, which caused his opinion to be waited for in each emergency, as that of the wisest and most upright of judges."

Some years after Channing's death the building of a Channing Memorial Church was begun in Boston. Though Emerson was then an old man and feeble (for it was but two years before his own death), he made the journey from Concord to Newport in order to be present at the laying of the corner-stone in honor of the friend whom he had so loved and revered.

* * * *

There were two other members of the Channing family among Emerson's friends,—William Henry, a nephew of Dr. Channing, and William Ellery, another nephew, named after the great preacher. Both belonged to the group of Transcendentalists. They were prominent in the religious and literary circles of their time but neither of them possessed an intellectual power or exerted an influence upon the religious thought of the world comparable to that of the older Channing.

William Henry Channing was, like his famous uncle, a Unitarian preacher. He was pastor of several American churches, including the Unitarian church in Washington, D.C., and he succeeded the eminent Dr. James Martineau in his church in Liverpool, England. He was author of the most complete and authoritative biography of Dr. Channing.

His interest in Brook Farm was keen and he was a frequent visitor there. Emerson and he had many common interests,—through their experiences in the Unitarian ministry, through their interest in Transcendentalism and in Brook Farm, and through their mutual admiration of Dr. Channing.

* * * *

The other nephew, William Ellery, lived for many years in Concord and was perhaps Emerson's most intimate friend after Thoreau. He was a poet and, though most of his poem are now forgotten, Emerson and others amon his contemporaries found originality and beaut in many of them.

Ellery Channing was Emerson's favourit companion for long walks. "Yesterday," say Emerson in his Journal, "a walk with Ellery to the Lincoln Mill Brook, to Nine-Acre Corner and Conantum. It was the first right day of summer. Air, cloud, river, meadow, upland, mountain, all were at their best. We took a swim at the outlet of the little brook at Baker Farm. Ellery is grown an accomplished professor of the art of Walking, and leads like an Indian." Again he writes : "I go twice a week over Concord with Ellery, and, as we sit on the steep park at Conantum, we still have the same regret as oft before. Is all this beauty to perish ? Shall none remake this sun and wind, the sky-blue river, the river-blue sky; the yellow meadow spotted with sacks and sheets of cranberry-pickers; the red bushes; the iron-gray house with just the color of the granite rock; the paths of the thicket, in which the only engineers are the cattle grazing on yonder hill; the wide, straggling, wild orchard in which Nature has deposited every possible flavor in the apples of different trees ? . . . We say, where is he who is to save the present moment, and cause that this beauty be not lost ? Shakespeare saw no better heaven or earth, but had the power and need to sing, and seized the dull ugly England, ugly to this, and made it amicable and enviable to all reading men, and now we are fooled into likening this to that; whilst, if one of us had the chanting constitution, that land would no more be heard of."

Later we find this entry in the Journal : "Yesterday with Ellery walked through 'Becky Stow's Hole,' dry-shod, hitherto a feat for a musk-rat alone. The sky and air and autumn woods in their early best. This year the river meadows all dry and permeable to the walker. But why should Nature always be on the gallop ? Look now and instantly or you shall never see it; not ten minutes repose allowed. Incessant whirl. And 'tis the same with my companion's genius. You must carry a stenographic press in your pocket to save his commentaries on things and men, or they are irrecoverable. I tormented my memory just now in vain to restore a witty criticism of his, yesterday, on a book."

Emerson esteemed highly Ellery Channing's literary judgment and taste. He writes, again in his Journal : "There are men whose opinion

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of a book is final. If Ellery Channing tells me, 'Here is a good book,' I know I have a day longer to live. But there are plenty of able men whose report in that kind is not to be trusted."

William Ellery Channing's affection and admiration for Emerson are voiced in his poem on Emerson containing the following lines :

"Oh, such a heart was his ! No gate or bar,—
The poorest wretch that ever passed his door
Welcome as highest king or fairest friend
To all his store, and all the world beside !
For if the genius of all learning flamed
Aloft in those clear eyes,
Yet in the sweet relations with his race
Pure mercy lived.
The merest waif from nothing, cast upon
The shores of his rich heart, became a gem."

KALIMPONG—BENGAL'S GATE-WAY TO SIKKIM AND TIBET

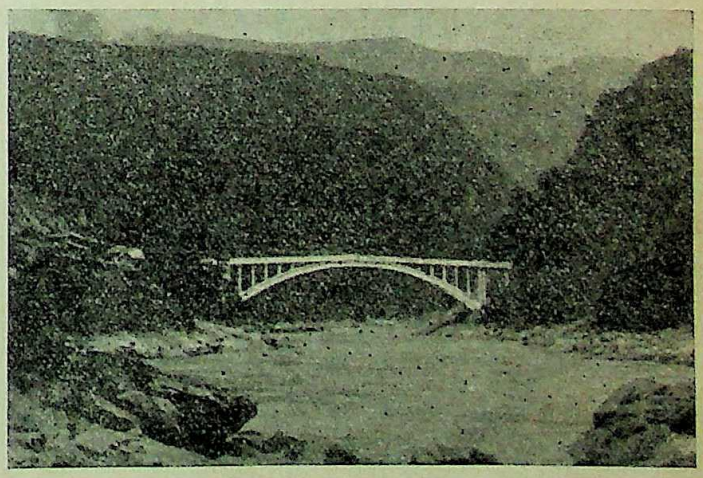
Its Importance as a Trade Centre

By Dr. PANCHANAN NEOGI, M.A., Ph.D., P.R.S., I.E.S. (Rtd.)

Most people living in the plains of Bengal know Kalimpong as a health resort with an elevation lower than and therefore a climate milder than that of Darjeeling. Visitors from the plains generally come here during the summer months and the Puja holidays in quest of health. What is, however, not generally known to the people of Bengal, as I myself was unaware before I came here in the first week of May to escape from the oppressive heat prevailing in Calcutta at that time, is the great commercial importance of Kalimpong as Bengal's Gateway to Sikkim. and through it to Tibet, carrying from and to India all the trade of Central and Eastern Tibet. I would like to invite prominent attention of the people of Bengal to this aspect of the life of Kalimpong so that they may in future take a fuller advantage of the trade conditions of this place, which are, I find, at present, monopolised by the Marwaris, who, it must be acknowledged to their credit, have spread over the whole of the Darjeeling district and have penetrated even to the trade marts of Tibet. There are a few Bengalee petty shopkeepers here selling miscellaneous stores, but the entire import and export trade of Kalimpong is in the hands of the Marwaris, who act as bankers as well as merchants. The Kalimpong Electric Supply Company is, however, the only large scale Bengalee concern which is doing useful service to this hill-station, supplying, as it does, both electric power and light, though the streets yet remain to be lighted by electricity.

Import of Wool from Tibet

The principal article imported from Tibet into India is wool, which is carried mainly to Kalimpong through Sikkim by Tibetans mostly on mule transport, hundreds and even thousands of these animals being seen at Kalimpong throughout the year, barring the heavy monsoon season. Each mule generally carries two maunds of wool and the annual trade in Tibetan wool is estimated at about forty lakhs of rupees. The wool is purchased by the Marwaris, who possess large wool godowns for storing it. The wool is sorted, hand-pressed in bales and exported through the intermediacy of some European commission agents mostly to America *via* Calcutta. The Chinatown of Kalimpong, which houses these sturdy temporary sojourners from Tibet and their large herds of mules, is to



Teesta Bridge

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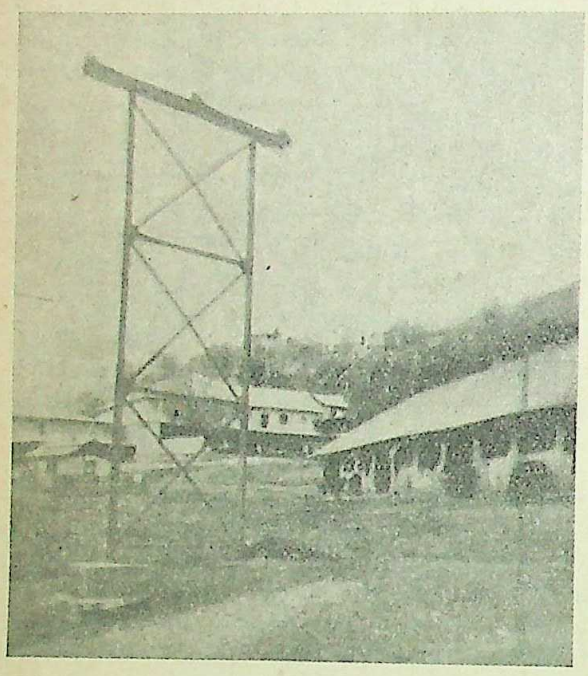
me the most important and most interesting part of the town as one meets here all manner of neighbouring people, including Chinese, Mongolians, Burmese, Nepalis, Lepchas and Bhutanese.



Wool godowns at Kalimpong

Bengalees as a rule, who live in what is called the Development Area of the town, scarcely visit this locality owing to the prevailing but inevitable dirt, and it is a thousand pities that Bengalees have no footing in this enormous trade in Tibetan wool.

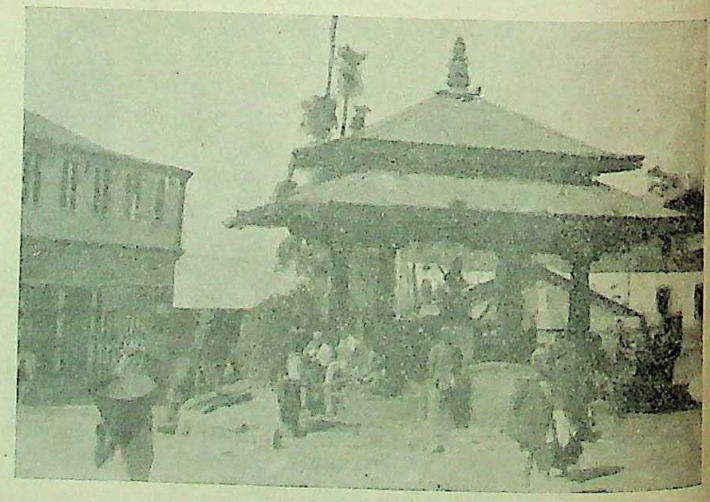
Wool Spinning and Weaving

I have already stated that almost the whole of the Tibetan wool is exported out of India, as much as seventy-five per cent going to America. This is highly regrettable, and it is high time that all this wool is actually utilised in India in the manufacture of woollen goods. The All-India Spinners' Association has therefore done well in recently starting here hand-spinning and hand-weaving of wool and making blankets, sweaters and pull-overs, the dyeing being done mostly with the help of indigenous vegetable dyes. This is a small concern, more of educational value than of industrial importance, but it may prove useful in the matter of introduction of hand-spinning and weaving of wool amongst the hill people.

But what is actually wanted is the establishment of one or more large woollen factories employing up-to-date machineries either at Kalimpong or elsewhere. If these are established at Kalimpong, they can get the necessary power from the Kalimpong Electric Supply Company and *Kalimpong may in such contingency easily become another Dhariwal on this side of India and Bengal may indeed overtake the Punjab in the matter of production of woollen goods in the near future.* Bengal consumes a vast quantity of manufactured woollen goods every year but with such a large supply of raw wool at her very door there is no reason why an ounce of such goods should come to the Bengal market. This inexhaustible supply of raw wool is perhaps not known to the people of Bengal, who should lose no time in making serious attempts not only to participate in the trade in wool from Tibet but also to convert the raw wool into manufactured goods.

Other Tibetan Products

Though wool is the most important merchandise imported from Tibet, there are other articles of considerable commercial value which are also carried into India through Kalimpong such as musk derived from musk deer, skins and hides of various animals, Tibetan and Chinese curios and the like. These are also purchased by local merchants and exported to Calcutta, though some Tibetans, who have grown more clever, themselves carry these articles to Calcutta where they get a better price. The skins and hides are generally dealt with by the Chinese and some up-country Mahomedans.



A street in Kalimpong

Export Trade to Tibet

The Tibetans and other hill people when going back to Sikkim and Tibet do not return

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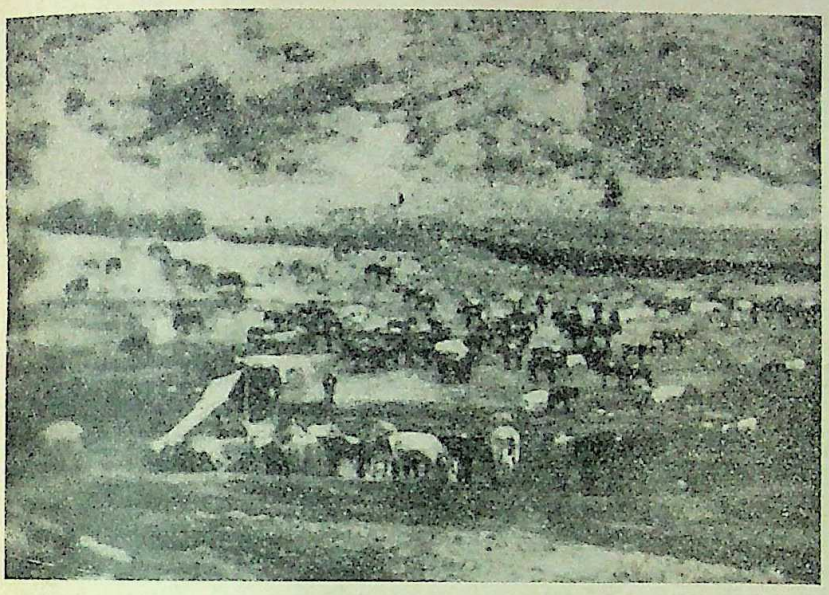
to their country empty-handed but load each of their mules again with two maunds of various articles including food-stuffs, Chinese tea, kerosine, woollen cloths, stationery articles, matches,



A herd of mules at Kalimpong employed as transport in Tibetan trade

etc., the value of which would also amount to another forty or fifty lakhs of rupees annually. Chinese tea, which is imported from China *via* Calcutta and which is so largely consumed by all hill people and Tibetans, comes here in the form of hard conical-shaped balls, and alone accounts for several lakhs of rupees. The Marwaris again have been careful in studying the necessities of the Tibetan markets and keep large stocks of these articles, including Chinese tea, and therefore possess a monopoly of the export trade of Kalimpong to Tibet in which Bengalees have practically no share.

Trade in Cardamoms

Besides the import and export trade between Kalimpong and Tibet which amounts to a crore of rupees annually, there are several other commodities grown locally in which there is very considerable trade with the rest of India. One of them is Cardamoms, which are grown in and near Jhora-lands by the hill people of the Darjeeling district and Sikkim. The raw cardamoms which are red in colour become black on drying. These are collected by the Marwaris in various trade marts and exported to the plains by the Kalimpong Rope-way station or the railway terminus at Gielekhola and the annual trade amounts to several lakhs of rupees.

Trade in Oranges

Another important article of commerce in this area is oranges. These are called 'Darjeeling Oranges' at Calcutta, but in fact are mostly grown in Sikkim, though of course a portion comes from the villages in the Darjeeling district and specially of Kalimpong Sub-division. This gigantic trade in oranges is, however, not in the hands of the Marwaris but is controlled by up-country Mahomedans who have got distribution centres in Calcutta and other cities. They purchase beforehand every year the fruits of orange gardens still in the green condition, and their export of oranges to the plains begins from October and continues upto the end of the winter season. Most of the oranges are booked from Gielekhola, thousands of baskets being sent out every day in special trains during the entire orange season. The Kalimpong Rope-way station has also its share in the distribution of these oranges. It is to be noted with deep regret that Bengalees have no share either in the cardamom or in the orange business excepting as consumers.

Absence of Banks

As already stated, the Marwaris are not only merchants but act as bankers as well, financing all trade and commerce of this place. There are no public banks here save and except one co-operative bank of the usual mufassil type, which is however, in a very moribund condition. The hill people are notoriously improvident and would borrow money from Marwaris and other money-lenders in times of marriages and other social festivities. It is curious that whilst most Calcutta banks are opening branches in many places in and beyond Bengal, this place has hitherto escaped their attention owing perhaps to ignorance of local conditions. I am, however, sure that if some substantial bank or banks establish branches in this very important trade centre, they will be very well off themselves and can also assist Bengalee merchants in substantially sharing the trade of this place with the Marwaris.

We Bengalees are a stay-at-home people and lack the spirit of enterprise and, many of us,

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physical endurance. That accounts for the fact that, though Kalimpong is a Bengal town, all its internal and external trade with Sikkim, Tibet and the rest of India is in the hands of people other than Bengalees. That story is true for every part of Bengal, and so long as our young people do not develop the necessary spirit of enterprise and powers of physical endurance, people of other provinces will continue to deprive Bengal of all wealth born out of trade and commerce. I would earnestly invite young Bengalees and specially Bengalee merchants and bankers to visit Kalimpong with a view to study and establish trade relations and I am sure they will not come here in vain if they are really enterprising people.

Kalimpong,
May 20, 1939

HONEY BEE

By KSHITISHCHANDRA DAS GUPTA

THE HONEY bee is familiar to us all. Many of us might have seen swarms of bees flying over our head high up in the air with the characteristic sharp buzzing sound from one village to another. Most of us must have seen bees humming from flower to flower in fruit and flower gardens, over pots of jaggery or trays containing sugar-candy in a grocer's shop. Honey bees are social insects living together in the form of a colony. Hive is their home where they work incessantly. There may be one or more combs in a hive according to the class of bees to which they belong.

PRIMITIVE METHOD OF BEE-KEEPING

Bees are common in India. Sight of bee-hunters collecting honey during blossoming season is also common. These men get honey

The author examining a comb

simply for the trouble of collecting it. Artificial bee-keeping in a crude form is also known in India for ages. Bees are kept in hollowed logs and in earthen pitchers turned upside down and tied to the branches of trees or hung up from the eaves of cottages. Sometimes pitchers are kept horizontally embedded in mud walls of dwelling houses with the closed mouth facing inside the room, and the bottom of the pitcher facing outside having a small hole for entrance and exit of bees. Practically these are decoy hives. During the swarming time bees take shelter there, build combs and store honey.

For extraction of honey, bees are driven away by applying smoke to the hive. In the process a lot of them are burnt and choked to death. Combs are then cut out and honey extracted by squeezing the combs. Apart from honey, combs contain thousands of eggs and grubs. While squeezing the combs all these are crushed and the juice thus squeezed out also gets mixed with honey. This method of collecting honey is not only primitive but cruel too. There is no export trade of honey thus collected. The whole quantity finds its way into villages and towns and is sold from grocer's shops. On account of the crude nature of extraction the honey does not keep. It ferments in no time and becomes unfit for human consumption.

MODERN BEE-KEEPING

Bee-keeping is practised now-a-days on scientific lines and honey extracted without killing bees and grubs or destroying the combs. Bees are accomodated in artificial hives where they live comfortably within the easy reach of the keeper for examination and extraction of surplus honey after keeping sufficient honey in the combs for the bees.

By modern bee-keeping is meant the skilful

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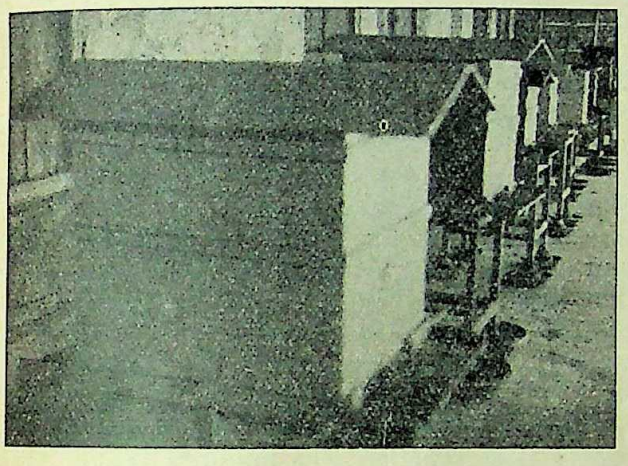
and intelligent management of bees housed in special boxes called hives for increased production of honey without having taken recourse to the cruel practice of killing the bees and destroying the combs. This has been made possible by the adoption of removable frames for comb building, invented by Langstroth—the father of American apiculture—in 1851, with hive opening at the top. This contrivance has made it possible for the bee-keeper to handle



A corner of Khadi Pratisthan's apiary at Sodepur
Hives placed on stands 5′ apart

and examine the combs with the sitting bees thickly spread over and having grubs and eggs in the cells and the queen slowly moving about, to have a peep in every nook and corner of the hive, to transfer combs from one hive to another, divide hives artificially, control natural swarm, graft queen cells from one comb of a colony into another, rear and introduce queen and manage bees in any way the keeper desires.

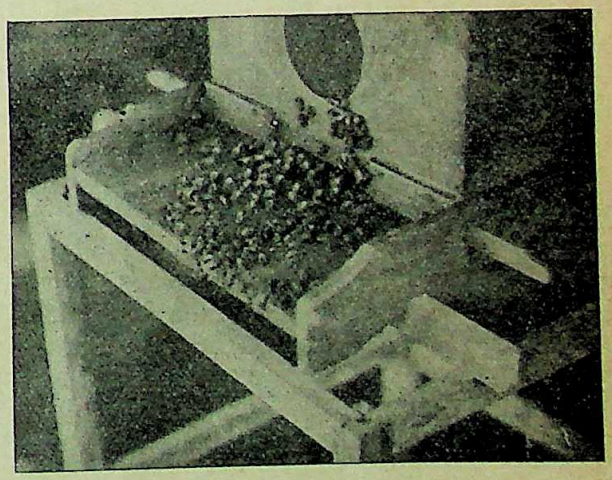
Artificial Hive

Bees are made to build combs in wooden frames placed in the hive. The task of the bees in building combs can now be further simplified by fixing comb-foundations in frames so that bees may draw out cells upon them and build straight combs. Combs can be taken out of the hive with the sitting bees, examined and placed in position again. Honey is very heavy and the comb is very frail being made of wax. It is the natural instinct of the bees to store honey in the upper part of the comb where it is fixed to its natural support so that comb may not sag by the weight of honey. This instinct of the bee has been taken advantage of in making the artificial hive.

Usually there are two chambers in a hive, one upon the other. The lower chamber is for brood rearing, while the upper chamber is for exclusive storage of honey where no eggs are laid. Cells of the brood comb in the lower chamber also contain honey here and there, and in a strip of two to three inches in the upper part of the comb for the needs of the bees. For extraction, shallow frames having combs full of honey are taken out from the upper chamber, bees are removed by jerking them off, combs uncapped with the aid of a cap cutting knife and honey extracted with the aid of a centrifuge. After the extraction, combs are returned to the hive to be refilled by the bees. And this continues till the honey flow season is over.

Bee-Keeping in Other Countries

Bee-keeping on modern lines is an established industry in America and in European countries. America is ahead of all others where it is practised for near about 100 years. In England it is being carried on for over 50 years. England which is an industrial country and has the same area as that of the province of Bengal, produces honey, value of which approaches £200,000 annually. Yet it is considered as a less important branch of rural activity. There were about 20,000 bee-keepers in England and Wales in 1925 with about 70,000 bee colonies. In 1929 total number of colonies swelled upto 100,000, bee-keepers numbered 23,500 and the



In April heat bees have spread themselves on the alighting-board and fanning in fresh air with vigorous flapping of their tiny wings, thus regulating the hive temperature

total weight of honey crop was 34,300 cwt. Over and above their own production the average annual import is 100,000 cwt. of which about 10 per cent is re-exported.

England produces honey for her own con-

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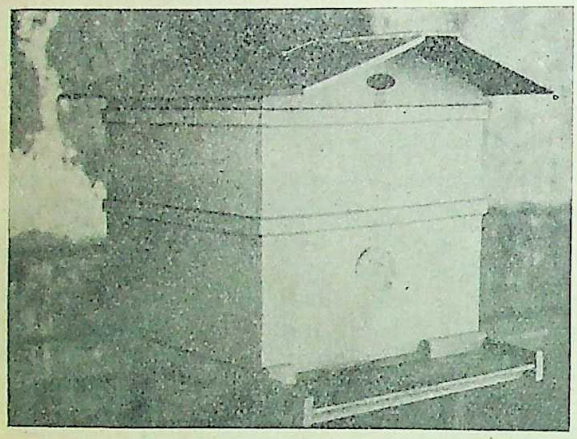
sumption and gets supplies from the British West Indies, New Zealand, Canada, Australia, United States, Chile, Russia, Cuba, San Domingo, Netherland, Hayti and France. There are also other countries which export honey though their quantity is comparatively small. The annual consumption of honey in England is about ¼ lb. per head. In Canada the average consumption is 2 lbs. per head per annum. It is higher in New Zealand. Among the exporters to England, U. S. A. stands first and New Zealand



A standard hive consisting of a brood-chamber holding 11 frames and a dummy, one shallow chamber, bottom-board and roof

second. The above figures alone, without going into the figures of other countries, will give one an idea as to the possibility in bee-keeping and position of honey in the world market as food-stuff and as an agricultural produce.

Possibilities of Bee-Keeping in India

India imports honey. She can stop it by taking to bee-keeping earnestly. Quantity of annual import by weight and its value could not be ascertained as no statistics are kept on this head specifically. Some bee-keeping is practised in South India on modern lines, but it does not stand in comparison to what is being done in other countries. The efforts of Travancore and Mysore Governments in this direction are highly commendable.

It is a matter of deep regret that India being an agricultural country and having luxuriant growth of forests and nectariferous plants and trees should have no place in the world honey market and that she should allow the enormous quantities of nectar produced by the cultivated and wild plants to be wasted away every year instead of converting it into national wealth. The value of bee-keeping in an agricultural country of the size of India is beyond computation. Bees are there, but we do not know how to keep them properly and get pure honey for our own use and for the market far and near. It is difficult to get appliances here and expert advice. The keeper is to make his hive according to his own ideas and choice and for appliances he shall have to manage things out of tit-bits procured, sized and assembled all by himself.

In America and in European countries bee-keeping is practised methodically both in commercial and cottage scales. Researches were made and the whole thing has been brought to a standard. Marketing has been organized and advertising concerted. There are laws against adulteration and in several countries there are statutory grade standards of honey. There are bee-books dealing with the manipulation of bees and combs, extraction of honey and all matters relating to bee and bee-farming. There are firms who keep and supply bees and appliances. One can purchase live bees by weight, a swarm or an established colony by rail or a single queen by post.

Bee-keeping has become ingrained in them where it is practised for hundred years. Cow-keeping is easy with us and we do it without effort, being familiar with cows from our birth. We see them tended and milked. We know their habit and nature as a matter of course. It must be so with bees in India. Being new, it may take a little time and require some effort, but we must be diligent enough to stick to it and carry it on to success. We should have this much knowledge that a mere handful of bees is an asset, that we can turn it into a working colony and get return out of it in the shape of honey.

Keeping Bees

Bee-keeping is highly fascinating. Bees may be kept anywhere in cities, towns and villages where there are flowers and fruit gardens within a radius of two miles. The less the foraging distance the better is the yield of honey. Half-a-mile range is most effective. It may be a news that there are bees in Calcutta. A visit to the flower stalls at Chitpur, at the College Street market, the Bowbazar market or for the matter of that any open flower stall in the city will show how the bees are busy sucking the nectar and quickly vanishing in the air.

Bees may be kept for producing honey for one's own domestic use and also for supplementing income by selling the surplus. Bees also render invaluable service by pollinating fruit

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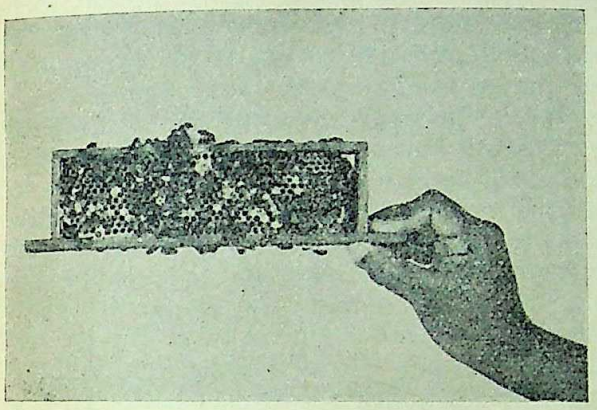
blossoms and flowers in the production of better fruits and seeds.

Twenty-two years ago Rev. Fr. Newton of Trichinopoly successfully domesticated the Indian Bee and got surplus honey. He introduced smaller frames, very nearly half the size of standard brood frames. Standard frame measures 14″ long, 8½″ deep with top bar



A shallow comb from the upper chamber of a small hive, full of honey, with bees sitting

17″ long × ⅞″ wide × ⅜″ thick. That Indian Bees are not good honey-gatherers, that the queen is not prolific and that no appreciable surplus honey will be left for the keeper after building combs in big frames and feeding the bees, must have weighed in choosing the small frame for domesticating the Indian Bee when first attempts were made. Small frames are good if abundant pasturage is not available in a particular locality. But standard frames, where in use in India, are giving satisfactory results. In South India the small frames are in favour.

Honey Yield

Production of honey is seasonal being determined by honey yielding plants and trees. From a small hive of 7 half-sized standard frames, 5 to 10 lbs. of honey may be received yearly according to locality and care bestowed in rearing bees. On a small scale and as a spare time occupation a start with a couple of colonies will be good. Number may be increased as one acquires experience and becomes confident in handling more. One must proceed slowly and cautiously. The two hives can be placed six feet apart in any shady place protected from sun and rain.

At the Sodepur Apiary of Khadi Pratisthan we use both standard frames as also half-sized frames of definite measurement. In a suitable locality hives having standard frames yield more honey than the smaller ones. For a beginner a pair of small hives would be best. Ten pounds of honey from a small hive is not bad. After having gained experience and being confident of handling and controlling more bees he may go in for a standard frame hive for the next one. The small hives if desired, may either continue to be used as such and yield honey or may be used as neucleus hives for queen rearing. From a hive having eleven standard frames 20 to 30 lbs. of honey or more may be got in the plains. The hill type of "Indian Bees" yield more honey than the plains type. We began with two small hives, gradually in four years increased the number to fifty, out of which seventeen are standard-frame hives—all humming with bees and giving full satisfaction.

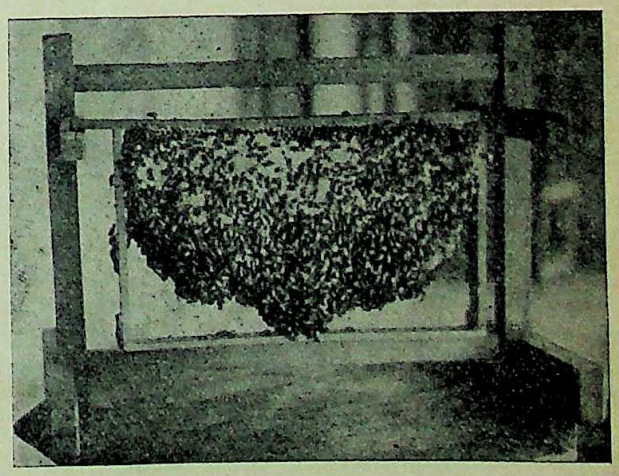
The maximum yield so far attained in our apiary is 15 lbs. from a small hive and 40½ lbs. from a standard-frame hive, bees in both cases being of local strain. Frames were not fitted with comb-foundations, bees had to build combs from comb-guides.

Bees in India

In India, generally speaking, there are three varieties of honey bees, *e.g.*, (1) the Rock Bee (Apis Dorsata), (2) the Little Bee (Apis Florea), and (3) the Indian Bee (Apis Indica). Of these the Indian Bee is the only variety that can be hived artificially.

Rock Bee and Little Bee

The Rock bees build combs high up on the branches of trees, on the terraces and cornices



A standard frame, full of bees, on a frame-stand

of old buildings and rocks. They build one single comb for a colony. They are very ferocious and do not brook disturbance.

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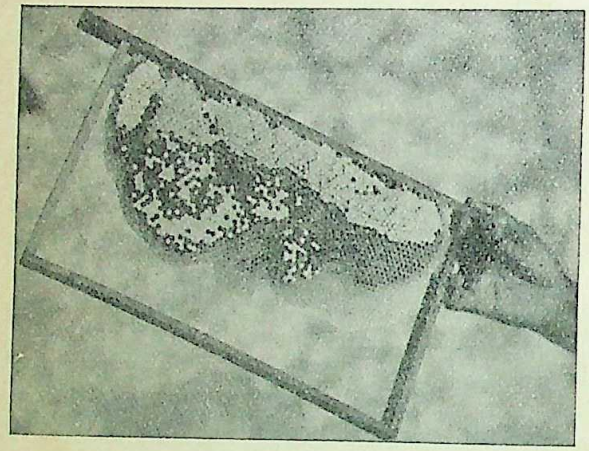
The little bees also build one small single comb for a colony in bushes, on branches of small bowers and sometimes even in dwelling houses. These also do not brook disturbance.

The Indian Bee

The Indian Bee (Apis Indica) lives in covered places,—in rooms of dwelling houses, in abandoned rooms, in cavities under the ground, in tree trunks, in brick-built and mud



Bees removed from a brood-comb showing capped honey-cells in a strip in the upper part, with capped brood below. The special style of wiring of the frame can be seen

walls, in abandoned tin canisters, boxes, earthen-pots and the like. They build several parallel combs side by side in a colony. This is the only variety that can be hived artificially and are comparatively of mild temparament. In some places they are called 'Sat-pati' on account of the seven combs built usually in a colony. Honey yield of this variety is next to that of rock-bee. The rock-bee is the greatest honey-yielder.

Bees that can be hived artificially are called "hive-bees" and the "Indian Bee" is the only variety in India that can be domesticated profitably. Wild colonies of this type are abundant in India. These can be procured in any number easily and hived without difficulty. A little search and enquiry in one's own neighbouring areas will lead to the right sort of bee for keeping.

Acquaintance with Bee

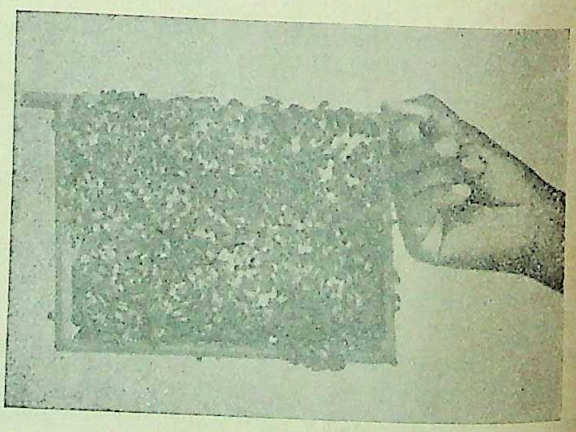
Bee colony is composed of a queen, a large number of female bees called 'workers' and some drones. The queen's function is to lay egg and nothing else, the rest is being done by the workers. The drone's function is to inseminate the virgin queen. They are tolerated in the hi for that consideration only. They are killed maimed and driven out of the hive when t swarming period is over. By 'bee' is mea the female bee that comprise the main popul tion of the colony.

In the air while on the wing the virgin que mates with a drone and being impregnate comes back to the hive. The drone dies in fu filling his mission of life. Virgin queen mat once in life and goes on laying fertilized egg t the seminal fluid received from the drone is ex hausted. The European variety of queen ca lay in her prime and at the peak of the seaso about 2000 eggs a day.

The responsibility of working the colon lies with the worker bees. According to natu of work, bees are classified as 'nurses' an 'foragers.' The foragers go out, visit flower gather pollen and honey as also water. The gather 'propolis' for binding combs to th support from which the combs hang down an for mending cracks.

The workers feed the grubs, secrete wa and build combs. They mend combs, remov dirt and refuse matters, dead bees or grubs i any, and keep the hive neat and clean. They rear the queen during swarming period and wher a colony becomes queenless.

They maintain hive temperature by sitting upon the combs and cover them up for hatching



A half-size brood frame much in favour in South india—thickly covered with bees

of eggs. They spread themselves over the alighting board of the hive and fan in cold air by quick and continuous flapping of their tiny wings when necessary. Inside the hive they sit on the top bars of the frames and fan out the moist air. They cling together in the hive in a chain forming a long cluster. Thus they hang silently, increase heat within the cluster and secrete wax upon wax-pockets underneath

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the abdomen. They transfer these to mouth for preparation of cells of the comb.

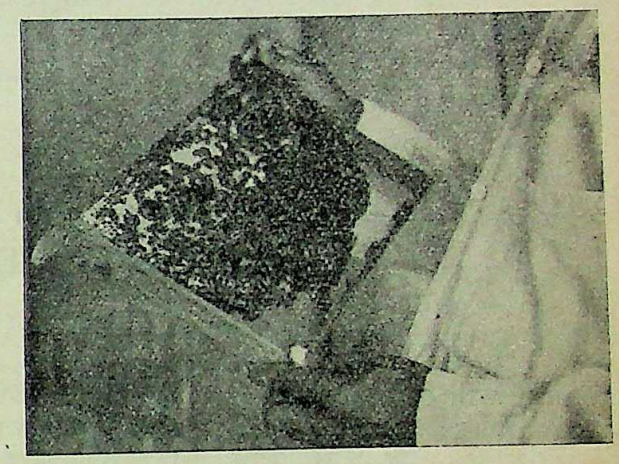
The queen lays eggs in the cell, eggs hatch into grub, grubs when fed transform into pupa. Pupa is the sleeping stage from which the full-grown bee emerges out. Bees allow only one queen in the colony to reign over them and the reigning queen tolerates no other living queen in the hive. The queen can lay both fertilized and unfertilized eggs at her will. From a fertilized egg the worker will emerge and from the unfertilized will emerge the drone. The same fertilized egg that produces a worker can as well produce a queen according to supply of food received in the larval state and according to nature of cell occupied by the egg. The queen is a fully developed female bee, whereas the workers though females are not fully developed. The drones are males.

Training

A prospective bee-keeper shall have to acquaint himself with the bee family. He must know the parts of the artificial hive. He must learn handling of bees and frames, extraction of honey and wax and all things relating to bees and their keeping. He must be able to capture bees from their natural wild abodes and hive them. He must be hard working, intelligent and inquisitive. He must give up the idea, if any, that bees require no attention. Successful bee-keeping requires knack and experience acquired through work and close study of the nature and habits of the bees. Lessons from a practical bee-keeper by attending demonstrations and lectures apart from instructions from text-books, will be helpful for a beginner. Khadi Pratisthan arranges training, details of which may be ascertained by correspondence. Sodepur is 10 miles from Calcutta on the E. B. R. main line and the Khadi Pratisthan adjoins the Sodepur railway station. There is hourly train service. Cheap periodical railway tickets are also available.

Appliances

Beginners are recommended to get those appliances that are immediately required. Appliances consist of (1) Hive, complete with frames and Dummy-board, (2) Veil and Hat and (3) a pair of gloves for the protection of face and hands against stings, (4) one Smoker, (5) one pen knife, (6) a pair of scissors, (7) a strong feather, (8) one frame-stand, (9) hive-stand, (10) one swarm-catching net, (11) a few earthen dishes for placing under the legs of the hive-stand filled with water to prevent ants from approaching the hive, (12) one honey-extractor, (13) a pair of uncapping knives for cutting out caps of honey-combs necessary for extraction of honey, (14) one uncapping tray and (15) queen-excluder for preventing queen from approaching certain parts of the hive where her presence is not wanted. Purchase of the last four items in the list may be delayed. Hive and extractor cost a little more in comparison to the other items,



Another brood-comb under examination

but these two will last one's life. Cost of appliances remains same whether one keeps one hive or more.

Production of Honey

Honey is nectar collected from flowers by bees, carried to the hive in their honey-sac and deposited in the comb cells. In the natural condition while in flower it is a thin transparent colourless fluid. While in the sac and in the hive, nectar undergoes chemical change and turns into honey. Excess of water is evaporated by the warmth of the comb, the hive temperature having been raised by the bees, and when ripe the cells are sealed. It usually gets the smell of the flower from which it is collected. For one drop of honey a bee has to visit more than a hundred flowers. Honey cannot be prepared anywhere except in the laboratory of the bees which is the bee-hive.

Pure and Fresh Honey

Pure and fresh honey is sweet, delicious and palatable. It has got distinctive flavour and aroma peculiar to its own. It is a concentrated and nutritious food. Honey is predigested and easily assimilable. Freshly extracted honey is

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a transparent viscous liquid. Its colour ranges from glistening white to deep red according to season and kind of flower from which nectar is collected by the bees. It becomes opaque on granulation.

As A Daily Food

Among the various items of our daily food honey claims a prize place. It is a good item of food for persons having strenuous exertions in their daily work. It is good for the children. When digestion has been impaired due to age or disease ordinary sugar can be profitab replaced by honey.

Medicinal Properties

Medicinal properties of honey have be known in India from time immemorial. It an excellent specific for weak heart and wastin diseases. It quenches thirst and increas appetite. It is a mild laxative. It is a remed for eye troubles. It soothes cough, cold, sor throat and hiccup. It can be applied to scal and bruises.

ONE HUNDRED AND FIFTY YEARS OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

By Professor NARESH CHANDRA ROY, M.A. Ph.D.

On the fourth of March last a joint session of the two Houses of the United States Congress was addressed by President Roosevelt and Chief Justice Hughes on the occasion of the 150th anniversary of its birth. The function of this day marked the close of the three-year commemoration of the foundation of the United States Constitution. In 1937 the people of this country proceeded to commemorate the great Constitution [1] under which they live, which they venerate almost as much as the German people deify their State and which they protected and maintained about eighty years ago even by undertaking all the perils of a civil war. This period of celebration has now practically come to a close with the two speeches of the President and the Chief Justice before the joint assembly of the Congressmen and Senators. The two speeches were characteristic of the two great personalities of the United States today. The learned Chief Justice had something to say no doubt about the individual liberty which is the bed-rock of the constitutional organisation of his country. But he had much more to say about the checks and balances of the constitution—the checks and balances which so often "prevent the speedy action which is thought desirable" and which on this account are not unoften condemned by impatient idealists and hasty reformers. But the Chief Justice emphasised that although they involved on occasions considerable dela in the passing of measures, they also "assur in the long run a more deliberate judgment. The President's speech was devoted almo exclusively to an analysis of the democrati principles which underlie the Constitution o the United States. These principles, he emphasised, have been vindicated beyon doubt by the great achievements of the natio during the last one hundred and fifty year This democratic system, he said, is up to th people to maintain and conserve.

He observed,

> "Today, with many other democracies the Unite States will give no encouragement to the belief that ou processes are outworn or that we will approvingly watc the return of forms of government which for two thousan years have proved their tyranny and their instabilit alike."

Now the Constitution, the 150th anniversary of whose inauguration has been celebrated for the last three years in the United States was the handiwork of a band of men who wer well versed in human affairs and especially i the affairs of their country. They had watche with anxiety the trend of events in the loos union of the states which had seceded from th British Empire and asserted their independenc after a protracted and valiant fight for abou seven years. They had found to their utte dismay that under the Articles of Confedera tion which all the seceding states had accepte by 1781 the central machinery of governmen was not only feeble but was absolutely at th

1. This Constitution has been amended 21 times since its adoption in 1789. But these amendments have hardly altered the basic structure.

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mercy of the govermental authorities of the different states. As a result of such weakness and powerlessness on the part of the central government, the relations between the Confederation and foreign states could not be conducted with the necessary vigour and driving force. Foreign Governments found it possible to an increasing degree to take advantage of this weakness of the central government of the American states and treat its legitimate complaints on many occasions with supreme contempt. The relations among the states themselves were also not as good as they should have been. In fact they became strained to an alarming degree. In view of these facts many of the leaders of the country became convinced that unless the union was strengthened and the central government was given necessary power and authority, the future of the states would be really gloomy. So the latter were persuaded to participate in a Convention which was called to meet in May, 1787, at Philadelphia.

Of the thirteen states twelve co-operated in making the Convention a representative body. Only Rhode Island did not send any delegates. It refused to have anything to do with it. The Convention consisted of fifty-five members most of whom, as it has already been pointed out, had considerable experience of men and things and were not in the least expected to be carried away by mere catch-phrases. Thirty-nine of them had served in either the continental or the confederate Congress, eight had signed the Declaration of Independence, seven had been chief executives of their states and twenty-one had fought in the Revolution. The first and foremost among them was certainly George Washington who had been not only the Commander-in-Chief of the revolutionary army during the War of Independence against England but otherwise also occupied the pre-eminent position among the leaders of the country. It was but inevitable that he would be called upon by the delegates to preside over their deliberations, and the very fact that he held the steering wheel of the Convention accounted to a great extent for its success. Among the others prominent in the Convention were Benjamin Franklin, who had played such a great part in the history of his country as a wise counsellor and as an astute ambassador. James Madison who was well versed in the history of constitutions of different countries both ancient and modern and was possibly more responsible than any other person in giving shape to the federal constitution which the Convention ultimately turned out. Alexander Hamilton from New York who later was responsible very largely in persuading people by his able pieces of writing[2] to accept the constitution which had been drawn up, and James Wilson whose contributions to the work of the Convention were only next to those of Madison.

The Convention began its work on the 25th of May and after four months of labour handed over a document to the confederate Congress before September of 1787 was out. Of the fifty-five members thirty-nine only signed it. Of the rest some had already left and some disapproved of the proposals and therefore refused to sign the document. The confederate Congress on receipt of the proposals referred them at once to each of the thirteen states. It was for the latter now to accept or reject them. It should be emphasised here that the Convention which chalked out these proposals worked in secrecy. Not only was the Convention not open to the press but what is more, the members were pledged not to publish anything which might transpire in the meetings. This secrecy was certainly one of the secrets of its success. If the general body of people in the states had any idea as to what proposals were being framed by their delegates they would have nipped the whole venture in the bud. It was only when the work was accomplished, the scheme was formulated and the constitution drawn up and duly signed by the delegates that it was published and then submitted to the people of the thirteen states for approval. Of course the people were not to discuss and vote upon the constitution directly. The qualified voters among them first elected a convention in every state and it was these state conventions which were to debate and vote upon the proposals. It was for them to accept or reject these proposals in toto. They could not amend them. Of course some amendments, especially in regard to Bill of Rights, were suggested and later on they were duly embodied in the Constitution. But for the time being the Conventions were either to accept or reject the proposals and actually one by one eleven of them adopted the Constitution as it had been framed at Philadelphia and when the year 1788 drew to its close only Rhode Island and North Carolina were found to hold out still against the new Constitution. They could be persuaded to come into the system only when

2. These pieces together with some of the contributions of James Madison and John Jay were incorporated in the great treatise known as the *Federalist*.

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it had already been installed and operated for some time.

The Constitution which was now adopted provided for a form of government which soon came to be known as federal. It handed over to the Central Government a number of powers and functions which could be discharged satisfactorily only by such a Government. The rest of the governmental authority and jurisdiction was left in the hands of the states. Secondly, the Constitution provided for what had already been popularised by the French savant, Montesquieu, as separation of powers. The three organs of government, legislative, executive, and judicial were to be as far as possible separate from and independent of each other. It was laid down also that the central legislature would be a bi-cameral body, the upper house being known as the Senate and the lower as the House of Representatives. The House of Representatives would be elected directly by the qualified voters in the states but the Senate and the chief executive, the President, would be elected indirectly—the former by the legislatures of the states and the latter by an electoral college consisting of members chosen ad hoc by the qualified voters in the states.

It was arranged that the new Congress would meet for the first time in New York[3] on the 4th of March, 1789. Already in January the members of the electoral college had been elected and in February they met and cast their ballot for the presidential candidates. It was for the new Senate to open these ballot boxes and declare the election of the President and the Vice-President. But although the 4th of March was scheduled to be the time for the meeting of the new Congress, actually on that day only eight Senators and thirteen Representatives arrived in the city. Communications in those days were difficult and the journey from the distant states to New York was an arduous one. This alone might explain the delay in the arrival of the members of the Congress in the improvised capital. It was only by stages that the legislators poured in and every week one batch after another of Senators and Representatives came to swell the number until by the end of the month there was a quorum of the House. But the Senate had still no quorum till the close of the first week of April. Then the ballots were counted and the election of George Washington as President and John Adams as Vice-President was declared. Messengers were despatched immediately to inform them as to their election so that they might arrive in the city as early as possible to take the oath of their office. John Adams of Massachusetts rode into the city on the 21st of April and took over the duty of presiding over the deliberations of the Senate. Two days later Washington made his entry and on the last day of April took the oath of office. The new government was now set in motion.

The difference between 1789 and 1939 may be brought out into relief by the citation of some facts. The number of people then inhabiting the states was about four million and the number now is over 120 million. The number of states that made up the federation in 1789 was only thirteen and that at present is forty-eight. The city of New York in which the first government of the United States was installed contained in 1789 only thirty thousand people. At present it contains over seven million souls. The people outside certain areas were then mainly agricultural in occupation and pastoral in outlook and policy. It was the ambition of Jefferson[4] and his followers to maintain this pastoral character of American life and fight the growth of industrialism in the country. But one who looks at America today may immediately imagine how futile that ambition was and how vain that fight has proved to be. America is not only today a great industrial and manufacturing country but what is more even its agriculture has taken up the appearance of an industry. It has lost its distinctiveness and agricultural production has become as industrialised in character as the production of any manufactured article. So even the agriculturists today do not look at things from the old pastoral angle. Their view of life has become the same for all practical purposes as that of the industrialists. American civilisation today is in fact definitely and emphatically what Jefferson would have done his best to proscribe in his country.

One feature of American government throughout the last one hundred and fifty years of its life has especially to be emphasised today. President Roosevelt took good care to devote the major portion of his speech on the fourth of March last to this aspect and at this hour of world's history when deification of the state and worship of leaders have become part and parcel of the political and social life of so many nations, he was certainly right to put all his emphasis upon this aspect of American life. This feature is the liberty of the individual and

3. From New York the headquarters was shifted to Philadelphia and thence to Washington on the Potomac.

4. It was he who had drafted the Declaration of Independence and was the 3rd President.

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the free nature of the government. "We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and pursuit of Happiness". So observed the American people in their Declaration of Independence in 1776. The ideals thus voiced forth in a critical moment of their history were accommodated later in the Constitution of their country. The Bill of Rights was of course adopted about a year after the new Constitution went into effect but since 1790 it has acted as the bulwark of the liberty of the individual citizens. Except in the time of war every person in this country has the benefit of *habeas corpus*. Of course when we say that every person has been endowed with full liberty by the Constitution, we are not exactly correct. And at this hour when the 150th anniversary is being celebrated it is good that we emphasise the limitations of American democracy as well. The Negroes in America who number today more than one crore of people were kept under slavery until Abraham Lincoln under the stress of the Civil War set them free. It must have sounded as a mockery to the Negro slaves of the Virginian planters when the latter drafted the Declaration of Independence and recited it from the house tops. For long slavery continued to be a black spot on the otherwise democratic life of the American people. Then as a result of the Civil War the slaves were emancipated no doubt and the Constitution was so amended[5] as to make any discrimination against the former slaves an offence against the fundamental law of the land. But in spite of such a definite provision of the Constitution the position of the Negroes is certainly not one of equality even today with that of the white citizens. The Negro is still regarded in most places in the South not as an individual but as a thing. White Christian priests have not unoften preached from their sacred pulpits that Negroes had no soul and consequently have no right to the privileges which the Constitution prescribed only for human beings with souls. Taking the cue from the priests even the teachers in schools have been found to encourage their pupils to debate upon the question as to whether the Negroes are human beings at all. This treatment of the Negroes brings out the fact into relief that the privilege of full individual liberty has not been as universally extended as it should and might have been in this country.

The operation of democratic government also during the last one hundred and fifty years has not been as efficient and as satisfactory as it was once expected to be. About forty years ago Godkin was constrained to write a great book on the Unforeseen Tendencies of Democracy. Government by the people turned out on many occasions and in many parts of the country to be actually government by corrupt and venal agencies. So politics was shunned by decent people as an unclean thing. When the late Mr. Theodore Roosevelt began to mix with politicians and intended to stand as a candidate for the New York legislature, he was warned by his friends and relatievs that this was not the company for a gentleman of his position to keep and this was not the occupation for a man of his honesty of purpose to undertake. It cannot be said that political knavery has been stamped out during the last few decades. Much improvement has no doubt taken place since Roosevelt was warned by his well-meaning friends. But democracy still remains tinged with the old brush in many of its aspects.

But in spite of the deficiencies from which democracy in America still happens to suffer, it cannot be gain-said that it is still the hope of mankind. Pillars of democracy which appeared so strong after the great war have collapsed one after another in so many countries that American democracy in spite of its drawbacks and pitfalls may be regarded as an example to cheer and inspire. It seems we have gone back to the days of the late eighteenth century, when America was federated under a democratic constitution. French revolution had not yet burst forth and royal tyranny was still regarded as securely established in the different parts of Europe. The crowned heads only looked askance at the the new State across the Atlantic, which dared to administer its affairs without the help of a hereditary ruler. Such a ruler was regarded as so very axiomatic that the Polish Government after the inauguration of George Washington as President addressed him as "His Elective Majesty". But although the new republic was the subject of scorn to their royal and imperial Majesties in Europe, it was the centre of hope to many millions of their oppressed subjects. Today we seem to be again in the same position. Many of the people in the fascist states are certainly looking very wistfully across the Atlantic.

New York City, U. S. A.
9th March, 1939

5. 13th, 14th and 15th Amendments. (The 13th Amendment constitutionalised the freedom of the ex-slaves).

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HOW THE UNIVERSITY CAN SOLVE THE PROBLEM OF EDUCATED UNEMPLOYMENT

By PRAPHULLA CHANDRA GHOSE

Recently some industrial-magnates and business-experts have readily responded to the invitation of the Calcutta University and have delivered a series of "Career Lectures" intended to tackle the problem of educated unemployment. How far those lectures have gone to solve that problem at all, or will ever go to solve it, is a matter on which opinions will differ. But there can be no doubt that the educated unemployed, who either listened to those lectures, or read their reports in print in the newspapers, found them quite attractive and impressive, while their worried and anxious guardians were much gratified with them and the general public felt jubilant over the fact that the University was no longer contented with the mere task of examining and passing a huge lot year after year, but was making some sincere endeavour to solve the bread-problem of those who got through her portals. Happy signs these! Only one wishes that the University had inspired the idea of sound vocational training along with academical studies at the other end, that is to say, with the Secondary School Course. It is a well-known fact that Secondary Education ideas underwent a radical change after the Great War in many European countries, where they adopted one-third vocational instruction with two-third academic studies in their school curriculum. That novel idea forthwith caught the imagination of that great educationist, Sir Asutosh Mookerjee, who made a couple of attempts by holding conferences of Head Masters and persons interested in the education of school-children with a view to impress upon them the utility of a vocational instruction along with the school course; but nothing came out of those meetings as the school authorities, so very lacking in initiative, imagination and foresight, were found reluctant to undergo any additional expenditure in order to give effect to that novel but useful scheme, so very essential in a system of education in a notoriously poor country like that of ours.

Now all that is by the way. The Calcutta University, while inviting eminent business men to lecture on how to solve the problem of educated unemployment within her halls, should have also explored the possibilities she has got within her own doors by which she can, if she so desires, solve that problem herself to a very large extent.

I shall now put forward one by one the few practical schemes which need the most serious consideration of the University authorities, because, if given effect to, they are sure to bring about some relief in the situation without outside help and advice.

1. The University Bank

With her annually expanding income of several lacs a year from the fee-fund, sale of publications and the like, she can very well start a fully equipped bank of her own with a nominal capital to begin with. By engaging the services of a few persons well trained in modern banking business, method and practice, on the contract-system, to be terminated when her own graduates have fully learned to manage the concern, she can with their assistance get at least two dozens of her so far only theoretically-equipped M.Com's and B.Com's trained practically in all the different lines of modern banking. This batch of graduates will undergo the practical training for three years only on some reasonable subsistence allowance to be replaced by another such batch who are specializing in banking in their University course, but need practical training in banking method and practice. After their training is over, some from the first batch are to be absorbed into the various departments of the proposed bank, whilst the rest will be sent out into the world better fitted to hold their own than hitherto for lack of a proper systematic practical training, either in Calcutta, elsewhere in Bengal or in up-country places as thorough practical products from the bank of their *Alma Mater*. Again, within the bank itself at least some dozens more of graduates, otherwise qualified, will find useful occupations in its various sections, besides provision in the subordinate situations for a large number of her undergraduates. The proposed bank will serve as the bank for the University herself as well as for her numerous teachers, examiners, assistants and subordinates and

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will further constitute the clearing-bank as far as external bank-transactions of her regular constituents will be concerned. The different Calcutta colleges, hostels and licensed messes will be naturally attracted to become the clientele of the University bank by reason of their inter-allied interests. In this way the proposed bank will not only be a domestic institution of the University forming a sort of central treasury for the receipts and disbursements of moneys from and to its several component units, but will also form a real training-ground for learning banking method and practice for a large number of her students increasing in volume of work and sphere of usefulness as years roll on. The study of modern banking, book-keeping, auditing and accounts will henceforward receive a novel treatment in the courses of University studies resulting in unexpected potentialities, so far this province, so long backward in such matter, is concerned. After the lapse of a few years the proposed bank will come by a capital from the other three allied institutions that are proposed. The University should also start in full completion of the whole programme. The proposed bank will become the *laboratory*, as it were, for giving practical training in banking business in its diverse phases offering employment to more and more of the educated unemployed as it proves its utility.

2. The University Co-operative Stores

The University may likewise establish a co-operative store on a very big scale under her aegis by enlisting as its members her assistants, teachers, students and domestics and open out therein lines of the various necessaries and articles of luxuries, selling them at reasonable profit, allowing liberal concessions to the members and on all cash sales. That such co-operative stores can be run with profit and usefulness is well-known to those who have had some experience of their working elsewhere in up-country. Again that such stores will command a ready and brisk custom is amply demonstrated by the brisk vending of necessaries and luxuries done by the numerous shops located in the Ashutosh Buildings of the University, or situated in their neighbourhood and run by people with little or no training and education. A spirit of loyalty to the *Alma Mater*, a deep concern for the welfare of the educated unemployed, a genuine feeling of co-operation and a sincere desire to accomplish things ought to be enough to run the various departments of the co-operative stores which will on the one hand, provide employment to scores of educated unemployed and on the other, give them practical instruction in the method and practice of running co-operative institutions. Such a training and experience is sure to prove an useful asset to the workers in after-life even when they have left the University concern. The University Bank will find the co-operative stores an useful and co-operative ally and will be the repository of all her income.

3. The University Insurance Department

In these days of insurance business in all directions, the University can with reasonable prospect of success start an insurance department, of her own, covering risk of life, theft fire and success in examinations and guaranteeing fidelity for would-be employees. In that event quite a number of her graduates will find employment in the various sections of that department, while receiving practical training in the different lines of insurance business hitherto denied to them by any of the existing companies, indigenous or foreign. The numerous assistants, teachers, examiners and people having direct or indirect connection with the University will have to be enlisted as members of the insurance department on attractive terms. The premium to be received will feed the department ultimately, besides fetching a decent income for its gradual expansion. All moneys at the credit of this department are to be kept in the University Bank.

4. The University Binding & Stationery Manufacture Department

The University can also start a fully equipped up-to-date binding department along with her publications section already in existence and thus create a new line for training as well as for earning a honest livelihood for a large member of her educated unemployed. Persons who are well qualified in that line of business have to be engaged on the contract-system as trainers, their services to be terminated as soon as our men have become fully qualified to replace them. Manufacture of high class stationery, embossing of letter-heads and cards, die-sinking and printing, colour-printing, copper-engraving, general printing and the like may also be usefully introduced as adjuncts to the binding-department under experts who will act as trainers in order to afford a further avenue of employment to the educated unemployed eager to have a training

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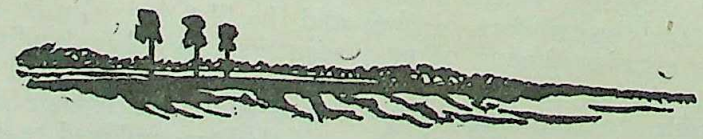
in those lines. The University will after some time be able to get all her binding, die-sinking, printing and the like jobs done through that department of her own, feeding it by her own contributions and can also undertake business from far and near in the very interests of those who will be employed there in its various sections. All incomes derived from those sections are to be credited to the University Bank, thus inflating both the volume of its work and income.

Whether there exists any statutory bar to the University undertaking banking business with a portion of her own income is not quite known. But in case there does exist any such hindrance, if the University can satisfy the Government that the running of the bank as an annexé to the University will not only forthwith solve to some extent the problem of educated unemployment but will also constitute a veritable practical field where banking, accounting, auditing, book-keeping and business correspondence etc., will be learnt *practically* by the ex-graduates and would-be graduates under the aegis of their *Alma Mater*, the Government can then have no reasonable objection to give their sanction to such a scheme for purely academical interests. The opening of the insurance side likewise will not only afford an opportunity to the vast number of her employees to take due advantage of it at their own doors but will also form the principal training-ground for a large number of the University students to learn the very many aspects of modern insurance business without much ado. The establishment of co-operative stores cannot be expected to present any sort of obstacle inasmuch as such stores have been opened in numerous places by Government employees and carried on under indirect Government control with practically good results. And where there is already the large publication department as an adjunct of the University run on almost monopolistic lines, the fourth scheme ought not to daunt anybody, as the scheme intends only an expansion thereof in a few other kindred lines along with it, with a view to giving employment to quite a large number of the educated unemployed as well as to give them practical training in those lines.

The University need have no scruple or hesitation to engage in business of the sort proposed, as she is already committed to purely business undertakings by the printing and publication of the courses of studies, text-books and lectures and by carrying on a systematic growing trade in them. In such a matter she is required to come to grips with the pressing problem of unemployment and give up her attitude of old academical indifference to such matters as unbecoming of a University in consideration of the special fact that ours is a disastrously poor country. Merely inauguration of the "Career Lectures" under her auspices will hardly carry matters a very great way, unless tangible projects are wholeheartedly taken up by the University herself for the solution of the much-vexed problem. The Government, on the other hand, ought not to hesitate in sanctioning the proposed schemes as their carrying out will mean effective and practical, though partial, solution of a great problem that is baffling solution. The Government only need watch carefully the stages through which the schemes mature gradually. But in order to keep statutory check on the new institutions, the Government should depute its own officers trained and experienced in the proposed lines to supervise those novel activities on the part of the University and send periodical reports of their progress or otherwise. What is furthermore essential is that those who will be unemployed and mean to find employment in the new University institutions must be imbued with a high sense of duty and fidelity and the desire to be pre-eminently industrious and painstaking, so that for their laches the infant institutions may not prove unsuccessful or die a premature death.

I have laid down only the outlines of the scheme, which proposes not only to open out new avenues of employment on the one hand but also on the other provides for training as well as livelihood. The details have to be filled in by an expert Committee with necessary additions and emendations in order to suit all conditions and circumstances.



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A HINDU-MUSLIM RIOT IN THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY

By ROMESH CHANDRA BANERJEE, M.A.

In view of the very frequent Hindu-Muslim riots occurring, on big as well as small scale, in different parts of India now-a-days, the following description of a serious communal riot of the fifteenth century will be of interest to us.

The description occurs, first of all, in the Bengali work, *Manasa-Mangal,* written by Bijoy Gupta, presumably in the fifteenth century A.D., but certainly not later than the early part of the sixteenth. Bijoy Gupta's account is supported, with slight variations, by later writers on the same subject, *e. g.*, Dweeja Vansibadan and Vansidas. Whatever may be the opinion with regard to the historical accuracy of the details given, there is no reason to doubt the substratum of truth underlying them; and they at least point to the terrible probabilities of the situation.

To come now to the subject-matter: According to Bijoy Gupta, there was, in the South (of Bengal), a village called Hossain-hati. Here lived two brothers Hassan and Hossain (I omit the unkind epithets bestowed on them by the writer). They were Kazis of the place. Both of them knew only misdeeds; and they had no toleration for the practices of the Hindu religion. They had a subordinate officer (*havildar*) named Dula. This man was Hossain's wife's brother and was very haughty. He always used to accompany Hossain in his rounds and, out of his fear, all Hindus fled as soon as he was out. Whenever a Hindu was seen with a *tulsi* leaf on his head, this man used to seize him and, binding him, hand and neck, bring him before the Kazi. There the Hindu was assaulted with fists, slaps, and pelted with stones and pushed by the neck. Brahmins seen with their holy thread on their body were also caught and bound with a cord round the neck. The sight of a Brahmin gave them much fun—his holy thread was torn and they spat upon his face (or mouth). Brahmins did not build their houses in the locality, out of terror of these people. Such were the Kazis and their *havildar*.

Another protege of theirs was a Mulla named Takai, well-versed in the Book. One morning, as Takai was going to the riverside for a "morning-wash," he was suddenly overtaken by storm and rain. He cast his eyes in all directions for a shelter and saw a thatched hut in the jungle at a short distance. He ran to it. On entering the cottage, he found it to be full of a party of Hindu cowherds who were playing on their drums and singing. These Hindus were engaged in a ceremony of worship of the Snake-goddess, Manasa. A number of sacred earthen pots were arrayed in rows and there were other articles requisite for the religious ceremony. At the sight of this paraphernalia of Hindu worship, the Mulla became excited and proceeded to break the pots. This created some confusion among the cowherds. Some were frightened and fled; others stood at a distance and from there began to throw stones at the intruder; the bolder group surrounded the man and began to molest him. Ultimately however, all the cowherds combined and joined in mobbing Takai. The smoke of burnt incense was put before his nose. He was assaulted with fists and slaps. His beard and moustache was plucked off; his turban and trousers torn to pieces; and various other acts of indignities done. He was then tied to one of the bamboo posts of the cottage. At length, after a forced apology, he was let off, on this condition that he would disclose nothing to the Kazis.

As soon as, however, he reached his own place, he appeared before the Kazi brothers, and with cries and lamentations, told them the tale of his sufferings. "What work do you do here?" he said, "Hinduism has again made its appearance. What for do you sit at ease with your party here? I cannot fully describe the sufferings I have undergone today. On the bank of this Bhagirathi river, the Hindus are worshipping their ghosts. There is an end of your work, I understand in my mind." Then he gave an account of his morning adventure.

The Kazis were in a furious rage on hearing the words of the Mulla. They uttered terrible threats against Hindus. "Such is the audacity of the Hindus, the swine? In my own village, they practise Hinduism? We will catch the (Hindu) young men, one by one, each and every one of them, and destroy their caste by forcing them to eat our stale bread. They have insulted my learned Mullah?"

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Orders were passed summoning "the army." It seems this "army" of the retaliatory expedition consisted of every male Mahommedan available. For, it is said, that not only all Mahommedans of the Kazi's village but those from the town too joined the expedition. The village Hossain-hati appears to have been inhabited by Mahommedans of the weaver class (*julah*). All these weavers, old and young, came out. They were all ready for the fray, with suitable weapons in their hands, which included thick bamboo sticks and even bamboo posts used for building thatched huts.

According to Dweeja Vansibadan, "at one call of the Kazi three lacs of Mahommedans came out"—a hyperbolical description no doubt.

However, when Hossain was in the midst of these preparations, his old mother appeared before him. Bijoy Gupta's short description of this old lady casts a significant side-light on the conditions then obtaining in the land. He says: "This lady was a Hindu girl, who was taken away by force and then married." This lady still cherished in her mind some of her old Hindu beliefs. Seeing that her sons' war against the Hindu worshippers of the goddess Manasa was practically an attack upon that malevolent goddess herself, she tried to dissuade her sons from the enterprize. She said that the terrible snake-goddess would wreck dire vengeance on them, if they offended her. The old lady's words were, of course, of no avail.

Then the Mahommedan punitive force marched to the place on the river-side. Seeing them from a distance, all the cowherds and other Hindus fled in terror. The Mahommedans entered the hut, destroyed the pots and other articles of worship, broke the hut itself and threw the component parts of it into the river. Even the earthen plinth was cut away with spades, and the unholy earth thrown into the water. This is the first stage of the wor of punishment.

The second stage was the sending o "hundreds" of footmen to catch hold of Hindu and bring them to the Kazi. The cowherd were caught in large numbers, bound with cord and brought before the Kazi.

An after-thought suggested to the Mahom medans that the potters, a caste that mad earthen pots, were also guilty of helping th cause of Hindu religion by supplying the pot for the religious ceremony. Men were sent t seize them and potters too were brought a prisoners.

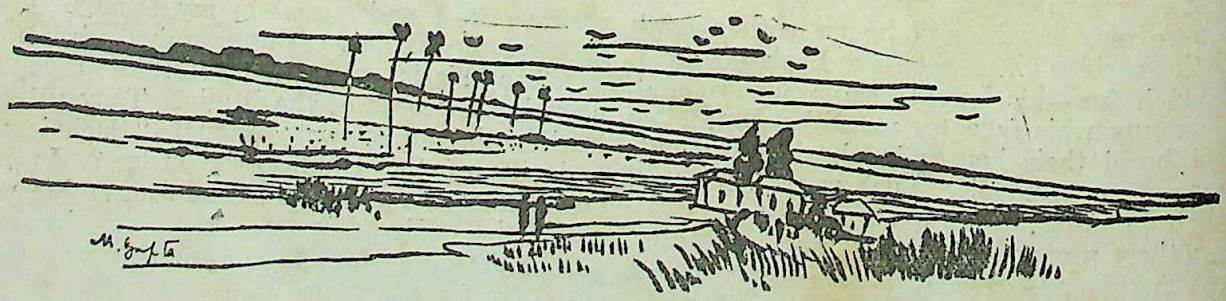
But who were responsible for the supply of betel-leaves (*pan*), which formed an important item among the articles necessary for the worship of the goddess? The betel-growing caste (*barui*) were then attacked and members of them were also roped in.

All these unfortunate Hindus were subjected to assaults and other punishments which can be easily imagined. Lastly, the cowherds (and no doubt others too) were thrown into the prison.

Dweeja Vansibadan gives more details of the outrages committed by the Mahommedan mob. According to him, many Hindus were clubbed to death; and Brahmins were caught and lost caste by the Kalma being shouted into their ears.

Those Hindus who had come to see the worship of the goddess were forcibly circumcised. Lastly, cows were slaughtered there, and, after committing other outrages, the Mahommedans departed.

Those who have noticed the features of Hindu-Muslim riots from the Khilafat-cum-non-co-operation days till recent times, from the Moplah affairs in the Malabar down to the events in Benares as well as in Pabna (Bengal), must have been struck by the kinship that seems to exist between the modern riots and their forbears of the fifteenth century.



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Top : A Bengali lady enjoying a conversation with two Kerin girls
Middle and Bottom : Water-festival in Burma

[*Courtesy :* Srimati Sushama Beed

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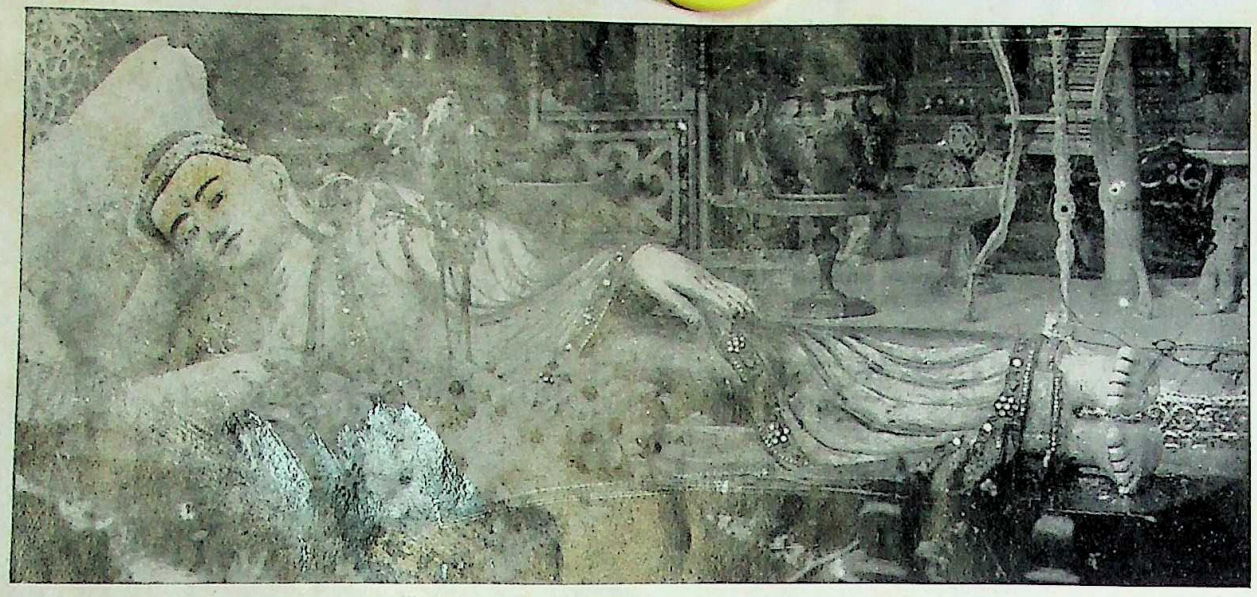
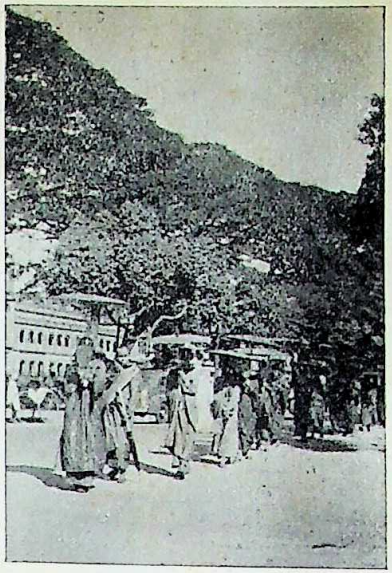
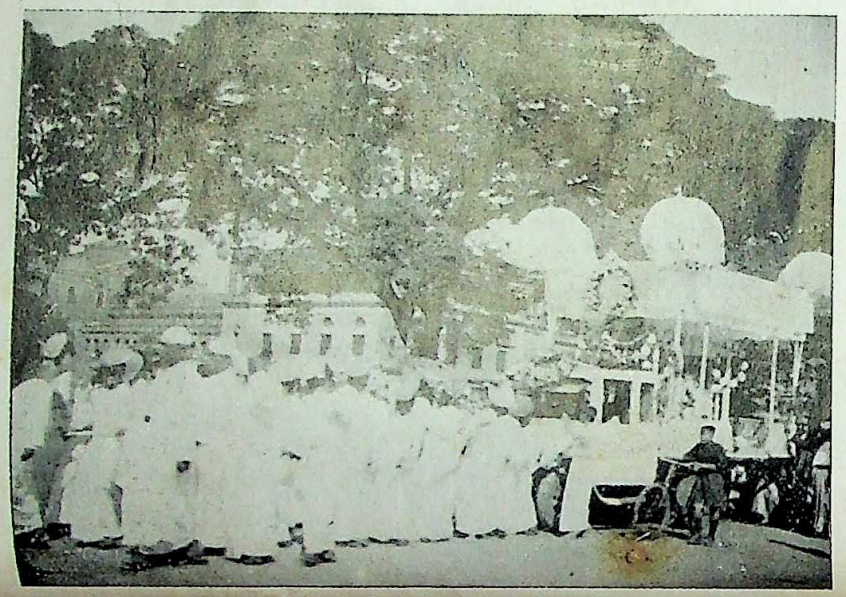


A forty-feet long statue of the Buddha in recl'n'ng posture, in one of the Pagodas adjoining the Shwe-dagon Pagoda, Rangoon



Phongis leading a funeral procession in a street of Rangoon



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BURMA AS I SAW IT

C. B. KAPUR, M.A., LL.B.

BURMA, a "happy land of smiling people, fond of flowers and bright colours, feasts and festivals," has much to attract. It is said that a person who has once come to Burma will come to it again, and there is much truth in this saying. The sweet memories of its charming, happy-go-lucky people, and its shining golden Pagodas tend to bring back the traveller once again to this land of happiness. Everything here is settled and accepted with a smile—life, love, even death. Only if I had known that such a fascinating and wonderful country lay so close to India, I am sure, I would have visited it much earlier than I did.

Burma, once the largest province of the Indian Empire, was separated from India, and constituted a separate territory in 1937. But so far no passport is needed for going to this country. The cool season there commences in October and lasts till March, and this is the ideal season for tourists. Following this period, the hot season makes its presence felt, until the rainy season begins in May, which in its turn ushers in the cold season once more. This is also a good season for sea travel.

It was in the month of October that I travelled by train from Lahore to Calcutta *via* Benares; and on a fine Friday, I left Calcutta by steamer for Rangoon. Three steamers a week of British India Steam Navigation Company leave Calcutta for Rangoon; the fare for Deck passengers is Rs. 14 and Rs. 21 with diet. There was a large number of Indian passengers on our boat and I became friendly with most of them on the very first day. The sea was fairly calm, and the cool sea-breeze acted as nothing less than a tonic. I felt wonderfully fit, and tremendously enjoyed the life on board the ship in eating, gossiping and playing. I succeeded in avoiding the terrible sea-sickness by keeping my stomach always filled up.

On Monday morning, we entered the Rangoon rivers. The first sight a visitor has of Burma on entering the Rangoon River is anything but prepossessing. For miles out beyond the mouth of the river the sea is a sort of turbid brown caused by the discharge of silt, and the river itself is thick with mud. On the banks on either side are low muddy flats covered with scrub. Even on a nearer approach to Rangoon the view is little more promising. The city squats on the bank, and the land looks flat and ugly, the only relief being the sight of the golden spire of the Shwe Dagon

The author with a Burmese friend

Pagoda (Burmese temple) which stands out above the city, and when caught by the rays of the sun, becomes the "winking wonder" described by Kipling in his *Letters of Marque*.

I. CITY OF RANGOON

Rangoon is practically an Indian town. In addition to the Europeans and Chinese, a large proportion of the population in this gay city consists of Indians of various types. All the labour on the Port, Rickshaw coolies, horse-cabmen, sweepers, shopkeepers are all Indians. Burmese hate to do any menial or manual work. At one time when a Burman was so lazy that he stayed at home looking after children or spent his time in lying on an easy-chair and smoking long cigars, while his wife worked in the field or ran the shop, that all these Indians had worked their way up in this country and had easily found the work they were fit for. But times are changed. The seperation of Burma and the depression in trade have brought these easy-going men out of their homes, and made them

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conscious of their political rights, and they cry "Do Bama" (Burma for Burmese) everywhere. This is in fact, at the bottom of all these anti-Indian riots there, with the result that several thousand Indians during the last two years have left the shores of Burma for good. The Burmese are now taking to all work previously done by Indians. But they are very fashionable. Instead of driving the rikshaw

Fish-sellers in Pyapon

like an Indian coolie, the Burman has invented a more fashionable way of driving people. He has attached a big side-car to his cycle, and can easily pull two persons in it on the same rikshaw rates.

Rangoon is a very modern, neat and very well laid out city, with broad streets, good houses and pretty gardens. It has a population of 4 lakhs.

The city consists of three parts, the port, the town, the cantonments. The town is managed by a Corporation of nominated and elected members. There are three Corporation bazars and eight private ones. In them nearly everything required by the public can be purchased "from a tintack to an elephant." An extensive system of electric tramways, trolleys and buses serve the city in addition to horse-cabs and rickshaws—the last mentioned being the most popular. Rangoon is well provided with pleasure spots which are some of the finest recreation grounds in the east.

II. Shwe Dagon Pagoda

In the north of Rangoon are the Royal and Victoria Lakes surrounded by very beautiful and picturesque buildings. A motor drive round these Lakes is very pleasant and the trip is well worth making. Towering over the city and a few miles from it is the biggest and most magnificent Pagoda in Burma—Shwe Dagon Pagoda. Many wonderful views of this sacred monument can be obtained from seve vantage points in and around the city, as t Pagoda stands on rising grounds and reaches height of 370 feet. It is constructed in t shape of a huge bell—the general type of co struction, and the "dome" is entirely cover with gold leaf, the "Hti" or "Umbrella" su mounting it contains valuable gems estima ed to be worth more than 50 lakhs of rupe The circumference of the base of this migh structure is over 1,300 feet. Several gilde shrines surrounding this inner shrine, wit hundreds of carvings and many beautiful imag of Buddha, the varied colouring of the pries and devotees, make a visit to the Shwe Dag a never to be forgotten experience. At nig the Pagoda is decorated with electric lights an is floodlit.

As I have already said, Rangoon, th Capital of Burma, cannot by any means b considered a Burmese city, but is in fact extra ordinarily cosmopolitan. Europeans of man nationalities have established business and are i Government service and professions. Indian from every province from the Northern Frontier to Ceylon, of every class and caste, Armenians Chinese, Japanese, and representatives of many other Oriental races throng this wonderful city. Burma with its rich trade has attracted business men from all parts of the world to its chief Port, Rangoon. But I had come to see Burma and the Burmese, and Rangoon was not all Burma. So I made up my mind to pay a visit to the interior of it. I had a relative of mine, who was the Civil Surgeon of a district town, Pyayon. So I decided to go there and stay with him for sometime. I was a little surprised to know that I could go there not by train, but by a big launch.

III. In Pyapon

Most of the travelling in Burma is done on the rivers. Burma is fortunate in possessing two extensive river systems, the principal one being the Irrawaddy which is navigable upto Bhamo, about 900 miles from Rangoon. The main stream of the second system is the Salween. After about seven hours' pleasant journey by this launch, which glided so smoothly over the waters of one of the tributaries of the Irrawaddy, I reached Pyapon at about 4 p.m. Here was after all a real Burmese town. Except the few "Launcha" (Rickshaw) coolies, who were Madrasis, I saw everywhere the chubby smiling faces of the Burmese, and I was very glad to see and meet them. A good-looking young Burmese lad, dresssed in a bright

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coloured *loungy* (the skirt-like wear of the Burmese), a silk shirt and an expensive felt hat, with a cigar in his mouth, came to my cabin on this small boat, and reported himself as a coolie. I was somewhat surprised to note

A girl of three in a beautiful dancing pose

the difference between a Burmese and an Indian coolie at Rangoon Port. How dignified and self-respecting he looked. He carried my simple luggage of a suit-case and a bedding to a rikshaw, which carried me to my relative's beautiful wooden Bungalow close to the Civil Hospital. I remained at Pyapon for a long time, and keenly studied the life and customs of the Burmese.

IV. Freedom of Women

Nothing struck me more agreeably during my stay in Burma than the freedom of women, combined with a dignity and modesty which must be seen to be appreciated. Perhaps nowhere in the whole world women hold a more independent position than in this fascinating land of Pagodas. Commerce and trade in Burma are virtually a monopoly of the women. Shops, stalls, restaurants, are all entirely run by women. It is no discredit to the daughters of well-to-do people or married women to set up stalls in the market. And in fact most of the shops and stalls in any market are under the charge of these gaily dressed women, full of fun and laughter. Their shops are neatly arranged, and they behave most politely to their customers. All transactions are carried on with a delightful sense of humour and feeling. Not only selling but even most of buying in Burma is also done by women, and I believe, they are best fitted for both these jobs. Not only this, Burmese women are not afraid of doing even hard work. Readers will perhaps be astonished to know that in most of the Burmese Railway stations I saw only women coolies. Young girls in their teens, with their heads decorated with flowers, and the brass-plates tied to their arms, cry out at every station in their sweet musical voice—coolie, coolie. One wonders how these dainty doll-like girls can carry such heavy loads on their shoulders and really do the coolie's job.

Although they are born with a commercial outlook, Burmese women have developed a high sense of beauty and love. Visitors to Burma cannot fail to be attracted by the brightness and charm of the women. Burmese women are very particular about their dress, and fond of bright colour which is chiefly displayed in their *loungis* or skirts tied tightly around the waist, for the white jacket is strictly adhered to. A Burmese woman never covers her head. On the other hand, she keeps it decorated with flowers, and makes it look as attractive as possible by coiling round her beautiful hair, the bulk of which is often increased by adding quantities of false hair. A gay umbrella completes the scheme of her dress.

V. Freedom of Marriage

Marriages in Burma are not arranged by elders. Love-marriages are very popular. No ceremony of any kind is essential for it. The boy and the girl run away from their homes and on their return are considered as husband and wife. Property owned by a woman before marriage remains hers even when she becomes a wife. Daughters and sons inherit equally. In Burma, it is the girl that marries the boy, and not the reverse, for after marriage the boy goes and lives with the girl or her parents. It is her economic independence that has in fact brought her so much social freedom and equality.

VI. "Pwe"-s and Festivals

Dancing is a very highly developed art in Burma. In spite of their great enthusiasm for trade and commerce the Burmese women take a very keen interest in music and dancing. I have seen a tiny girl of three dancing so wonderfully. These "Pwe"-s or free entertainments almost enchanted me, and I never missed any of them during my long stay at

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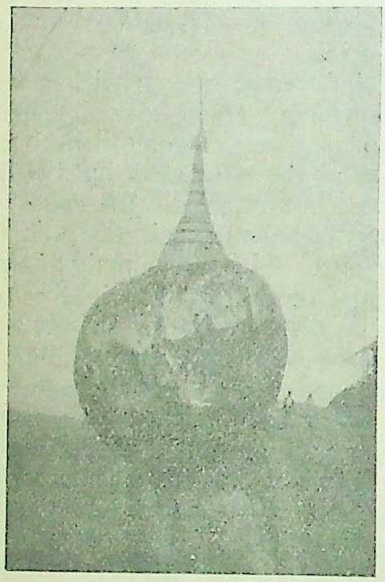
Pyapon. The "Pwe"-s started in the early evening and lasted till dawn. And it was nothing less than astonishing to see men, women, and even young children taking such keen interest in them and keeping awake all night, hearing patiently to the lengthy dialogues full of so many jokes, or watching the group dances by girls.

Men and women all sat up together, and there was never any sign of rowdyism or rush for good seats, as is so often witnessed in our country. Nowhere in Burma did I see any



The Hanging Pagoda of Kyaki, 20 feet high

separate enclosures or separate compartments in the Railway trains being reserved for women exclusively.

There are three principal "Pwe"-s or theatrical performances—the *Zat Pwe,* a theatrical performance based on ancient legends and performed by living actors. I saw their staging of Ramlila, which they called by the name of "Yama Pwe." Their dance masks and disguises, their antique and strange dress—all afforded me great pleasure. The second type is the *A-yok Pwe* or marionette show, which is exceedingly well manipulated, and lastly there is the *Anyein Pwe* which chiefly consists of posture dancing and singing by groups of girls. The Burmese have a very noisy but very musical orchestra, which includes several modern instruments like violin, guitar and banjo.

Besides numerous Pagoda festivals there are two principal annual festivals. The "water festival" which is the festival of the Buddhist New Year and derives its name from the custom of the participants throwing water on each other, in commemoration of the descent of the King of the Spirit (Nat) Kingdom on earth, is celebrated in April. It is somewhat like our *Holi* festival in India. The second one is held at the end of the Buddhist Lent in October and is known as the "Feast of Lights." On this occasion extensive illumination takes place for several nights together. All Burmese Pagodas, houses and buildings are tastefully decorated with coloured lanterns generally in the shape of stars, while big and large fire balloons float gently in the evening air. This again corresponds to our festival of "Dewali." These multi-coloured lights and balloons, sometimes more than 20 feet in length provided us with amusements for several days during our after-dinner walks.

VII. Inveterate Smokers

There is one thing which is bound to attract the notice of a visitor soon after his arrival in Burma and that is the Burmese inveterate habit of smoking. Men, women and even children of very tender age are inveterate smokers. They smoke cheroots usually about 8 inches long made of chopped tobacco leaves. On the occasion of my visit to their "Pwe"-s or during my journey by train I saw some of them smoking these long cigars continuously for hours together. I was astonished to see a mother offering her big cheroot for smoking to her child hardly 3 years old. One wonders how harmless this habit of smoking is considered in Burma. This is one of the reasons of their having such bad teeth. Very often did I see some pretty woman, with *tanakha* or sandal-wood paste rubbed on her face, gaily and neatly dressed, with an attractive bunch of flowers on her head, looking almost ugly as soon as she opened her mouth and showed a bad set of teeth.

VIII. Neat Living

I had the pleasure of visiting several Burmese families at Pyapon, and of talking to many educated Burmese men and women. Nearly all the houses in Burma are made of wood and each house is separate from the other, and even the poorest one has a small orchard with all kinds of lovely flowers, in front of it. A Burman is very fond of decorating his house, specially the front room of the house. Nearly all the best things of the house are put in that room, as if for show. I had mistaken many such houses in the streets for restau-

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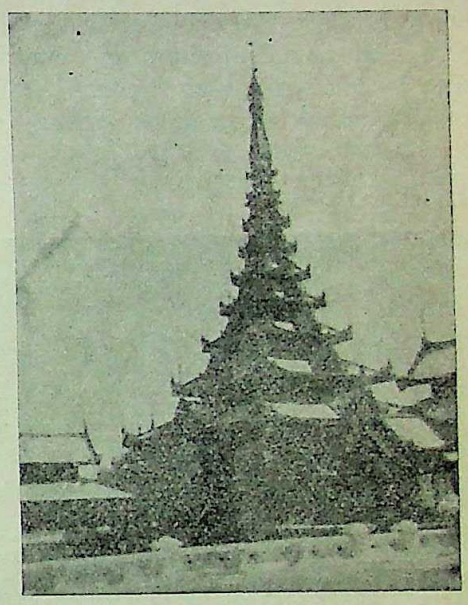
rants or coffee shops at first. The Burmese are very courteous people. Each member of the family tries his or her best to please and make comfortable every visitor to his cosy house. The Burmese have no word of greeting nor they wish time when they meet. A smile and a little bow that is all what is done. Cigarettes or cigars are the first things that are offered to a visitor which is invariably followed by tea or coffee. A low round table lying in the corner of the front room serves as the family dining table, around which all men and women members of the family sit on their knees or squat on the neat wooden floor several times a day. Rice, fish, meat and vegetables cooked in smelly oil form their staple food, besides tea and coffee which are taken several times a day. Although Buddhist by faith they take all kinds of meat without any scruples. The Chinese are worse than they. Most of the hotels and restaurants in Burma are run by the Chinese, and one cannot pass in front of such a shop without inhaling some filthy odour. Lots of Indians of all castes and creeds who have made their permanent home in Burma, are married with Burmese women and are quite happy.

IX. Types of People in Burma

The population of Burma is varied in type. The Burman himself is an offshoot of the Mongolian race and retains many of its physical characteristics. There are also the Shans, Chins and Kachins, hill races of the North and East, the Arakanese in the West, and Karens in the South-east. Burmans are Buddhists, while people of other types believe in spirit or are without any religious faith. Of these the Karens are an advanced people—and most of them have now embraced Christianity. People of Burma are not very religious, and hence they do not quarrel among themselves about religious matters. They do not take life very seriously, and are really a happy-go-lucky sort of people. The Burmese may be said to be a nation of gamblers. The Government of Burma runs several state lotteries every year to satisfy their gambling habit. A Burmese cannot hoard money, nor can let it lie in his pocket. If he has Rs. 10 in his pocket, he will spend it before he goes to bed, although the very next day he may have to pawn those very things that he purchased a day before. This characteristic of the people is very well exhibited by the large number of pawn shops that are in Burma, and by the amount of heavy licence-fee that they have got to pay to the Government. This is the chief reason why all the commerce and trade is in the hands of Burmese women. All the incomes and expenses of the family are also controlled by the mistress of the family, for she is wise enough to think of to-morrow. A man who is a township officer



An abode of one of the three queens of a King of Burma in the old palaces in Mandalay

or Tehsildar today may be seen selling bananas a week after as he gambled away a part of the office money and got his dismissal from the job. But he does not repent over it or worry any more about it. He smiles and is happy while selling bananas in the Bazzar.

X. A Self-respecting People

With such an easy view of life, the Burmese are still a self-respecting people. I saw an official of high rank walk through the streets without being noticed at all. It is very much unlike the state of affairs in India, where big officials are looked upon with awe. In Burma, the officials, whatever their rank and nationality may be, do not regard themselves as a sort of super-human beings. They mix with the people quite freely and are there to help the public and not lord it over them.

Nearly every Burmese can read and write his own language, although I had some difficulty in finding out a Burmese who could speak English. He has also a great aptitude for western games, playing football, cricket and hockey with considerable skill, of which the first mentioned is the most popular. A national game of football called "Chinlon"—

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which every visitor should try to witness—is played everywhere in Burma, even on the broad pavements of Rangoon. It consists of keeping a light plaited cane ball in the air for as long as possible, without touching it with the hand. The ball is kicked in the air, with the toe, heel, knee, elbow or neck by the players who stand round in a circle. Experts can keep it going for a very long time and show remarkable skill.

Thus, I spent my long sojourn at Pyapon lying on the bank of a river whose current changed its direction several times a day, sometimes running eastward and sometimes

Phoongis with their begging bowls

westward. We drank and bathed in the rain water collected in large municipal tanks and slept in mosquito-proof rooms. I spent most of my time in so many beautiful Pagodas of this town, which contained colossal statues of Lord Buddha, some more than 60 feet in height. I attended the various Pagoda festivals and processions, orderly and interesting at the same time.

One November morning, I bade good-bye to my host in whose family I had spent so many pleasant days at Pyapon and returned to Rangoon. After staying for sometime happily with an Indian family, I also left Rangoon for the North—for Mandalay and Maymyo.

XI. In-le Lake

There are metre-gauge railways all over Burma, and there is no inter-class compartment in a train. Hence I travelled third-class and found it quite comfortable, as people travelling in it behaved very well. No one entered any compartment if there was no vacant seat there. The tiny train, which is considered the fastest metre-gauge railway in the world, running with the speed of 35 miles an hour, passing through very important and historical towns like Pegu, Toungoo, Tha reached Mandalay early in the morning. A Thazi station, I was surprised to see that a the coolies are women; at other station there were both male and female coolies. Som of these pretty coolies had just got up from short nap on the station platform, and the slee was still in their eyes. From Thazi, a branc line goes to Kalaw, one of the best hill station and health resorts of Burma. Not far from i is the In-le Lake, one of the places worth visiting in Burma.

It is around this lake that people belonging to the Intha tribe live, who have made this lake so very famous. The Intha fishermen row with their legs, balancing themselves in their boats on one leg, while they manipulate with the other. How could this method of rowing, which is known nowhere else in the world, have originated, is something that no one has hitherto been able to explain.

XII. In Mandalay

The terminus of the main line from Rangoon, 386 miles by rail from the capital, Mandalay lies on the eastern bank of the Irrawaddy. Although an important city with a population of over 1½ lakhs and the centre of Upper Burma, Mandalay is, with the exception of some of the Pagodas and old palaces, comparatively modern with fine buildings, broad roads and tram and bus service. A view of distant mountains adds a charm to this famous city. Mandalay is an excellent centre for short trips to places of interest in the district.

XIII. City of Pagodas

About a mile and a half from the centre of the city is the famous "City of Pagodas"—the "Kuthodaw." King Thibaw's father is said to have caused the Buddhist scriptures to be engraved on 729 large stone-slab; and over each a small white Pagoda is erected, with a large Pagoda in the centre. The 730 Pagodas cover a square with sides each half a mile in length.

There are innumerable important shrines and Pagodas in and around Mandalay which will repay a detailed visit, but no visitor should miss a walk up Mandalay Hill lying just outside the city, from the top of which a wonderful view of the surrounding country may be obtained from its height of nearly 1,000 feet.

A launch trip should also be made to the Mingun Pagoda lying on the opposite bank of the Irrawaddy. This is reported to be the largest building of solid masonry in the world. The unfinished colossal mass of masonry

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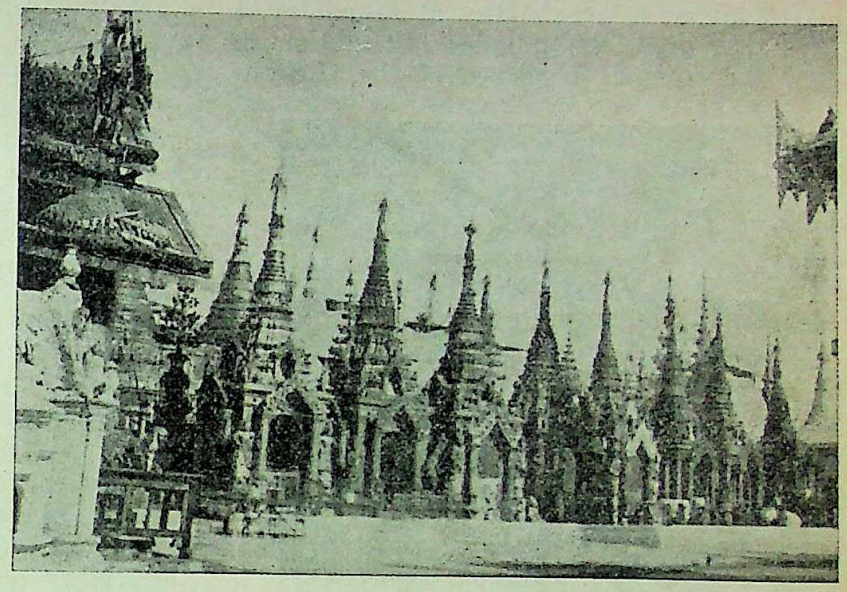
remains covers an area of 450 square feet and is 160 feet high—only one-third of the height which it was originally intended to attain. It was to be the largest Buddhist Pagoda in the world and was started by King Bodawpaya in 1795. Close to the pagoda is the famous "Mingun Bell," said to be one of the largest bells of the world. The bell is 12½ feet high, with a diameter of 16 feet and 3 inches at the lip and a weight of 87 tons.

The erstwhile "Royal City," now known as Fort Dufferin, which stands apart from the modern town of Mandalay, is within a vast square enclosure, each side of which is over a mile long and the walls in places are about 40 feet high. Much of the interior area of the Fort is occupied by a fine park, but it also contains many beautiful buildings. In the centre of this walled Fort is the palace of Mindon and Thebaw, the last two Burmese Kings. Around the palace, lavishly decorated with lacquered work and frescoe stand many smaller buildings with pinnacled roofs, giltwork, mirrors and carvings. How wonderful the various buildings must have appeared in the height of their splendour! No words can convey a proper idea of the spired, turreted, frescoed and carved buildings of delicate design.

Mandalay is also famous firstly, for its locally manufactured silver, bronze and brass works, and wood and ivory carvings, and secondly, for the large number of "Phoongis" or persons belonging to the priestly class that live in this city. It is the chief centre of Buddhist religion and more than twenty thousand Phoongis live in this city. These highly respected priests are alleged to be the root cause of the recent anti-Indian riots all over Burma, particularly at Mandalay and Rangoon.

XIV. Monks and Monastic Institutions

Every town, even the smallest village in Burma, has, at least half-a-dozen, if not more of Pagodas in it. Inside these big Pagodas are huge statues of Buddha. Sitting before the statues on the marble floor with folded hands and in a devotional posture, every day the Burmese pray for an hour or so. Close to these Pagodas are "Phoongi Chaung" or Monasteries, in which every Burmese youth spends a part of his youth, and lives the life of renunciation and religious discipline. He lives on charitable



A view of the small pagodas round the Shwe Dagon Pagoda

funds and spends most of his time in reading religious books. These Phoongis keep their heads shaven, do not wear shoes, and put on only saffron-coloured clothes. Some of these go about every morning with their wooden black bowls and resounding gongs, collecting food from house to house for themselves and for others at the Monastery. I visited many of these monastic schools at Pyapon and at Mandalay and had sometimes long talks with educated life-long Phoongis, who command great respect and veneration from people. I have seen a very respectable woman on a Railway platform putting off her velvet sandals, and touching her head on the ground in reverence before a head Phoongi. As a rule, Burmese have the custom of burying their dead, but a monk's body is cremated with pomp. Usually all dead bodies are kept for about a week, and people celebrate the death with songs and music, and by entertaining people with food. No one is supposed to express any grief, as death is not considered a sad thing in Burma, for the soul thereby gets back its free state. A monk's body is preserved in honey for more than a year. On an auspicious day his body is taken out, placed in an artificial Pagoda made of paper and bamboo, and carried in procession by the monks. On reaching the cremation ground, this artificial Pagoda is drenched in petrol and the coffin set

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in flames. Sometimes a huge sum of money is spent on the funeral ceremony of a famous Phoongi.

XV. In Maymyo

After about a week's stay at Mandalay, I left for Maymyo, the premier hill station in Burma, the summer residence of the Government and the headquarters of the General Officer Commanding of Burma. Maymyo is situated in the Shan plateau, 3,400 feet above sea level, is 42 miles by rail from Mandalay, and is one of the prettiest hill stations I have ever seen. The train climbs on this plateau by a zig-zag course. This part of the railway journey affords some interesting sights of Burma. I stayed at Maymyo with a young English Army officer friend of mine, in a beautiful bungalow on the top of a hill. From this hill I could obtain a view of the beautiful Government house, club, polo ground, race course and many other famous places. Maymyo is important for being a trade registering station. Here it was pretty cold and I wore my winter clothes all the time. We had many joy drives in and around the town and one day we went to see the world famous Gokteik Railway Bridge. It is about 45 miles from Maymyo and is on the Lashio line. There is also a motor road leading down into the deep valley and a bridge over the Nam Pan Hse stream. From this motor bridge, the lofty Railway bridge is about a furlong away and presents a wonderful sight. The train passes from one rock to another, over this bridge. The viaduct is of steel and was erected by an American firm in 190[illegible] taking over three years to complete. It is 2,20[illegible] feet long, and is about 550 feet high from the surface of the stream. Pathways have been cut through the jungle down to the stream so that visitors can easily go to the foot of the gorge. The scenery is beautiful and wild.

Women of a hill tribe in Shan States

After spending a pleasant week at Maymyo I returned to Rangoon. It was the end of January and it was still not very cold there. I stayed with the same Indian family I had put up with on former occasions. Maung Tin Pe, a clerk in the Secretariat, who lived in the right wing flat, just opposite to us, with his wife and two young daughters, became almost a friend of mine within a few days of my stay at Rangoon. He had taken four days' leave for making a pilgrimage to Kyaiktiyo Pagoda (pronounced as Chaithio Pagoda), one of the most celebrated Pagodas in Burma. He invited me to accompany him to this holy place, and I gladly accepted his invitation.

XVI. Hanging Pagoda at Kyaikto

We left Rangoon in the afternoon, and after about four hours journey in the train reached Kyaikto (Chaitho) a township (Tehsil) of Thaton District. In the way, we purchased several small pretty baskets containing many kinds of fruits very cheap, and drank tea almost at every second station. I had no alternative but to yield to the wishes of my Burmese host. We didn't eat any sweets, for the Burmese neither like, nor make nor sell sweets. We ate delicious fruits only and drank several cups of tea while my host smoked long cigars. We spent the night at Kyaikto and next morning left very early in the morning by a bus which carried more ladies than men, and reached at the foot of the hill in about half-an-hour's time. From here we started on a seven miles' journey to reach the top of a hill about four thousand feet above sea level. On reaching the top we saw several shops and houses for the pilgrims to spend the night there. A very beautiful building near the Pagoda contained several statues of Buddha and of the head Phoongis.

The "Hanging Pagoda" itself is about 15 feet high, and is built on a huge rounded boulder which is perched on the very edge of a cliff rising up sheer from the deep valley below.

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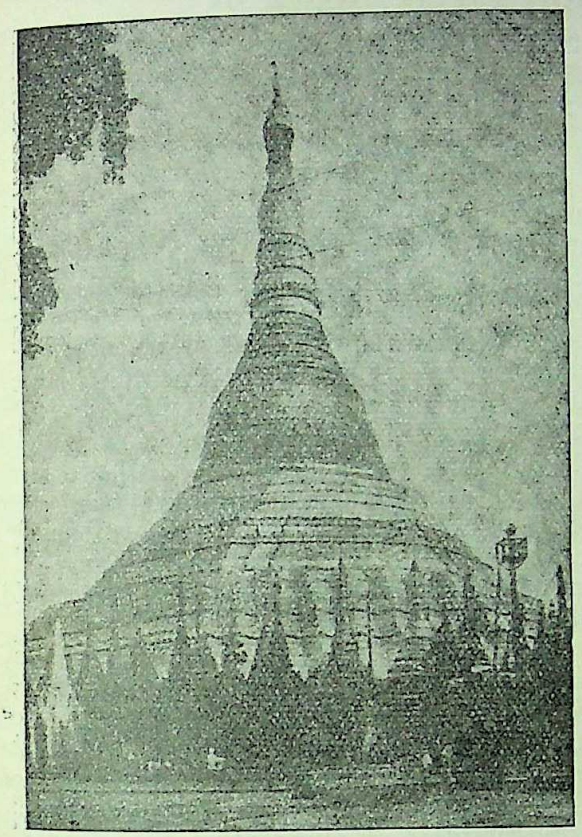
This big stone, on which this golden Pagoda rests, was easily made to swing about by a easy push by my friend and myself. It was really



The Shwe Dagon Pagoda, Rangoon

very amazing that this huge stone, which could be shaken by one or two men could have lain right on the edge of the rock, and not fall from there, whatever be the intensity of the shake. We also saw here a big piece of wood, which had turned into metal now, and resounded with metallic ring as we struck it with a hammer. We were told that a thin thread can pass through the bottom of this hanging rock even now, although, there was a time when the world was not so sinful as now, a thick rope could be passed under it, for then this rock stood in the air. The story about it is that Lord Buddha, before His death gave two hair of His head to the son of a Rajah of Thaton, as he was His favourite disciple. The Prince tried to hide them under this rock, which refused to put its weight on those divine hair and remained hanging in the air. But in these days when people have grown sinful and the precious possession is in danger of being stolen this big stone has come down and hidden those hair. How far it is true I leave it to my readers to judge for themselves, but I was certainly amazed to see this huge rock swinging at a small push. We were told that only recently gold worth thousands of rupees was scratched away by robbers from the surface of this stone. Almost all the pilgrims who come here place a few rupees worth of gold-leaves on this stone as their offerings.

We returned from this hill-top the same afternoon, and met on the way several pious, fat and tender ladies, going up, panting and resting very often. They greeted us with their sweet smile, and envied us for being so lucky as to return the same day. We spent another night at Kyaikto and returned to Rangoon next morning, and thanked Maung Tin Pe for such a nice trip.

XVII. Return Home

I bade farewell to this land and boarded *S.S. Karapara* for my return journey to India. I looked at the fading sight of the great city of Rangoon. The golden tower of the Shwe Dagon Pagoda still reflected the last rays of the sun which remained visible for a long time.

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KISAN SABHA, THE COMMON PLATFORM FOR GANDHITES AND SOCIALISTS

By Prof. N. G. RANGA, M.L.A. (Central)
General Secretary, All India Kisan Sabha

We all know that our Kisans are utterly poor and helpless, their houses are little better than hovels, their clothing is inadequate and of poor quality, their food lacks variety in addition to being of very poor quality and their social environment is extremely depressing. Who can say that our villages are really inhabitable, that the water our villagers get to drink is either good or wholesome, not to speak of being sufficient, and that the social life prevailing is either stimulating or inspiring? Is there then any wonder if the migration of rural folk to towns goes on unimpeded and our villages are denuded of almost every educated young man? Indeed, it is one of the ironies of our economic fate that the least educated man earns much more by becoming a teacher or a postal peon or a daffadar in a Taluk office than the most skilled Kisan, while all the time the former is having an easy time of life in his occupation when contrasted with the arduous and nerve-racking toils of the latter without any limitation of hours of labour or any regular holidays or even an assurance of a stable income, even if it be the smallest.

Both Socialists and Gandhites wish to end this miserable state of things. They sincerely desire that our Kisans ought to rise to their fullest stature and win an adequate place in our political system and enjoy a decent, self-respecting and progressive state of social existence.

Differences

But they seem to differ from each other in the approach they make to the Kisans' problems. The Socialists wish to help Kisans first by removing all those institutions and agencies which today drain away the resources of our Kisans. They argue that as long as the rents and land revenue demands, the interest charges and marketing costs remain so high, it is small consolation to our Kisans to be able to earn a little more, for out of every rupee they earn by their hard labour, the major portion goes to feed the various classes of parasites. Hence their primary concern with the fight for the elimination of these parasites. There is certainly reason on their side; because every year the State collects more than 25 crores of land revenue, the landlords 80 crores, the money-lenders nearly a hundred crores, whereas the merchants and traders absorb easily 150 crores. Thus if this drain is stopped, our Kisans will straight away be in possession of at least Rs. 350 crores per annum or Rs. 10 per annum per head as contrasted with their per capita income of Rs. 25 per annum. Hence their pre-occupation with the agitation to abolish the Zamindari and Sahukari systems, the middlemen and tax gatherers.

On the other hand, the Gandhites, impelled as they are by equally noble love for the welfare of our Kisans, think that it may take a long time to achieve the abolition of all these various exploiting agencies and that in the meanwhile, we cannot and shall not be indifferent to the possibilities of augmenting the slender resources of Kisans and otherwise minimising their day-to-day sufferings. Mahatma Gandhi himself contemplates the possibility of someday eliminating the Zamindari system itself. But he is not prepared to demand its immediate abolition lest it should jeopardise our present political fight. Therefore, they busy themselves with attempts to increase the avenues open to Kisans to earn a few more rupees.

Naturally the next point to be made clear is whether there is any real difference of views between these two schools of thought and two groups of workers. Yes, there is. The Socialists think that the interests of landlords and Kisans are irreconcilable and Kisans can be saved only if the Zamindari system is abolished. Similarly, they stand for the nationalisation of money-lending business and co-operatisation and nationalisation of agricultural marketing. But the Gandhites believe in class collaboration and so hope that some day the landlords will of their own accord, but of course in response to the exigencies of times, be willing to give up their worldly hold over Kisans and thus eliminate themselves as a class. Hence their opposition to the Socialist slogan for the abolition

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of the Zamindari and other parasitical systems.

But both these groups of workers are united in their anxiety to strive their best to ameliorate the existing conditions of Kisans to the extent possible under the present circumstances and thus if need be, to lessen the control of landlords, money-lenders. etc., over our Kisans' economic life.

Unfortunately, even in this attempt, they happen to pursue two different and almost antagonistic methods. The Gandhites attempt, as in Bihar, to bring about an agreement between tenants and landlords in order to pass any Tenancy Legislation even though they have had to fight in the general election the very same Zamindars on a definite economic programme enbracing tenancy reform. But Socialists think this procedure to be wrong and even unfair. They feel that even at the time of formulating the Congress election programme and later on, when the Bihar Tenancy Bill was being drafted, the Congress had taken note of the claims of Zamindars under the existing circumstances and therefore, to try to come to an agreement thereafter would only mean and had actually meant making further concessions to Zamindars at the expense of Kisans, for the questionable advantage of buying peace with them.

Moreover, there is one other but equally important difference. The very circumstances which necessitate certain reforms, oblige landlords to agree to them and make it possible for Congress Ministry to effect them, are themselves shaped into a political force and an economic portent by a conscious agitation of Kisans who are actuated by their desire to abolish the Zamindari system and ably assisted by the poignant economic and social sufferings of the Kisan masses. Therefore, Socialists maintain that unless they turn their backs on the class collaboration theory, they cannot bring about the "circumstances" which are taken to be our sanctions to oblige both the Government and Zamindars to yield to our immediate demands.

No Reason for their Mutual Non-co-operation

These differences, fundamental though they are, are not such as to force these two great groups of Kisan friends to non-co-operate with each other. Given their anxiety to serve our Kisans and their readiness to sacrifice their all for the service of these dumb millions, they must be willing to co-operate with each other on the expansive arena of rural reconstruction and Kisan regeneration.

Let us explore these possibilities for their mutual co-operation. They both can work together in framing schedules of the minimum and immediate demands of our Kisans, based upon carefully conducted economic surveys of our rural conditions and Kisan life. In conducting Kisan marches, celebrating Kisan Days and approaching the local authorities in order to represent to the public at large and the officials concerned the troubles and needs of our Kisans; in fighting corruption in the services and the collection of illegal exactions, they can work together. In spreading among Kisans nationalist and Kisan literature and in awakening in them an interest in education, clean and beautiful life, there is much scope for co-operation. The improvement of public health and sanitation of our villages, the beautification of our villages and modernisation of our homes need their joint efforts. To fight cholera and other epidemics and to minister to the needs for medical assistance of our Kisans as well as their cattle every one's help is needed. One can multiply many such needs of our Kisans to satisfy which every well-wisher of our rural folk can put his shoulder to the task without sampling about his differences with other workers over other matters.

A Common Platform

But what is the platform and the means through which both these two groups can co-operate with each other for the benefit of their common friend, the Kisan? I say, it is the Kisan Sabha. Immediately, a Gandhite may jump up and say, it is so much under the influence of Socialists. My answer to him is that it shall not be made a stumbling block to his offer of co-operation. Just as Socialists have loyally worked in the Congress under the orders of Gandhites who have been so preponderatingly in power in the Congress, so also Gandhites ought to be willing to utilise the Kisan Sabha platform in order so serve the Kisan, the common object of service. Moreover, my appeal for making the Kisan Sabha, the common platform for both the groups to render their service to our Kisans is also based upon the fact that it does actually attempt to implement the practical programmes of these two groups.

Just because the movement for the abolition of the Zamindari and Sahukari systems is of such paramount importance, and has such a wider appeal to the public that the other activities of our Kisan Sabhas have not attracted as much attention of the public as they deserved.

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Constructive Work of Kisan Sabhas

Like the Gandhites, our Kisan Sabhas have also recognised the advantages of attempting to put a few more pies into the pockets of our Kisans without any more delay by every possible legitimate means that offers itself. That is why our Kisan Sabhas are everywhere found enthusiastically supporting all handicrafts, which promise some more income to our under-employed Kisans. It is Kisan Sabhaites who are today co-operating with the A.-I. S. A. people in the Hissar, Talcher and Rayalaseema Relief Camps. The Andhra Kisan Sabha has taken the initiative in awakening the handloom weavers to organise themselves into their class organisations and so have the Kerala Kisan Sabhaites. The hand-pounding of rice and the hawking of the products of village industries have found enthusiasts among our Kisan Sabhaites.

What is even more surprising is that they find time, in the midst of their breath-taking propaganda against the systems of landlordism and money-lending, to persuade our peasants to grow more and more vegetables, to utilise all their refuse water to grow some plants and creepers in their yards or by their houses, to keep their houses and clothes clean and to simplify and beautify their villages and homes in a Gandhian manner.

Some Andhra Kisan Sabhaites have actually organised the Andhra Ayurvedic Veterinary College and trained nearly a couple of hundred Kisan youths in this medicine, thus doing poineering work for the whole of India. Today, there are 50 Veterinary Dispensaries all over Andhra, each one attending to the medical needs of the Kisans' cattle of the neighbouring ten or twenty villages. Surely, this is an achievement which can gladden the heart of the greatest Gandhite.

The Village Panchayat Movement also owes much of its progress in Southern India to our Kisan Sabhaites. It is no exaggeration to say that wherever a Kisan Sabha is organised there springs up in its wake, a local reading room or library, a night school for adults or a village public hall. The Village Panchayat and the library are usually followed by the establishment of roads and the provision of literature for our Kisans.

These are activities which are so familiar to Gandhites because they have been engrossed in them during the last twenty years and with such excellent results. It may be our Kisan Sabhas are not able to devote as much time to them as they ought to and as many of our Kisan Sabhaites as needed are not able to devote all their resources to them. But this account shows that our Kisan Sabha is alive to their importance and is anxious to devote as much of its attention and resources as it can, considering its poverty in men and money.

Therefore, it has a legitimate claim on the services and resources of all Gandhites.

Kisan Sabhaites appreciate Gandhian Services

Let no Gandhite be under the mistaken notion that Kisan Sabhaites, being mostly Socialistic in their outlook, are inclined to look down upon the activities of his group, for, I am glad to say, that our Kisan Sabhaites are realising more and more the extraordinary significance and the all embracing nature of the services rendered by Gandhites to our rural folk on the inspiration of Mahatma Gandhi. They are surprised sometimes, to find signs of tht slow but sure influence of Gandhian work in many aspects of our Kisan life. Starting from his income, we have the *charkha* and the A.-I. V. I. A. to minimise the under-employment of our Kisans and to increase his earnings. Such earnings may not be much but in the absence of any other source of additional income, they mean a lot. The Village Panchayat, and co-operative movements have won the support of Gandhites. Experiments are being made with the diet of the masses and the hand-pounded rice has already emerged as a full-fledged dietary improvement and Gandhiji is giving many points to Government experts on dietitics. Village sanitation is provided with the trench latrines, which are cheap to make and profitable sources of manure and commodious conveniences. The Mud and Naturopathy, Ayurvedic and Unani treatment, popularised at such great pains by Gandhiji are today lessening the dependence of our villagers on costly western medical treatment. The Ideal Home Exhibitions and the production of simple but decorative furniture and the designing of artistic but cheap patterns of clothes, all carried on under the influence of Mahatmaji are all showing the way as to how to make a poor Kisan's house and apparel both beautiful and cheap, enjoyable and attainable.

Gandhiji has realised that our agriculture is most inefficient and our Kisans very defective in their methods and highly incompetent to face the competition of the world market. Therefore, the Wardha scheme of education is devised to attain two ends at the same time; to train

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our Kisan youth in the arts of handicrafts and science of agriculture and also to provide free, advanced and modern education for all the masses.

Our Socialists may like our Kisans not to be lost in their attempts to gain a few more coins or to learn their craft a little better, to so great an extent as to become indifferent to the needs of organising themselves to fight their class enemies. But they are second to none in realising the real revolutionary as well as constructive significance of these and many such other constructive moves initiated by Mahatma-ji and implemented so enthusiastically by his disciples.

Therefore, I feel that there is at present a proper atmosphere in which both Gandhites and Socialists can genuinely co-operate with each other on the Kisan Sabha platform in order to save our Kisans from their economic and social degradation and help them to gain their proper place in the future governance of India.

They need not give up their respective fundamental positions in regard to their attitude towards the class war but subject to that difference they can certainly work hand in hand in our Kisan Sabhas for redressing the day-to-day grievances and disabilities of Kisans, in achieving their immediate demands *vis-a-vis* the vested interests as well as Government and in obtaining as much additional economic protection as possible.

THE THREE TYPES OF CIVILISATION IN THE RAMAYANA

By RAJANIKANTA GUHA, M.A

Introduction

Indian Cosmogony

For a view of the three types of civilisation in the Rāmāyana, it is necessary to keep in mind the ultimate unity of origin of the hero, his allies, and his enemies. A brief sketch of Indian Cosmogony is essential to a firm grasp of this unity.

In Indian Cosmogony, there is an unconscious anticipation of the modern theory of evolution. With variations as to details in the accounts found in the Mahābhārata and elsewhere, it emphasises the fundamental fact that all living things, including the vegetable kingdom, have one common ancestor. In the 166th Chapter of the Shāntiparva, the poet, inspired undoubtedly by the 129th sukta of the tenth Mandala of the Rigveda, sings that in the beginning the all consisted of one undivided ocean of water, without motion; the earth had not yet been differentiated from the firmament. It was solemn to look at, covered with darkness, void of sound, beyond touch, and without measure. Then Lord Brahmā, the grandfather of all, came into being, and created air, fire, the sun, the sky, the stars, the planets, the year, the months, the seasons, etc. Next He generated his sons Marichi, Atri, Pulastya, Kratu, Vasistha, Angirā and Lord Rudra. All living things,—the devas, the fathers (manes), the Gandharvas, the Rākshasas, the monkeys, the beasts, the serpents, the birds, the fishes, the vegetables—in one word, whatever animals are born from the womb, of the egg, or of hot moisture, are descended from the sons of Brahmā and their wives, the daughters of Daksha, sixty in number, who, according to another version, was born of Brahmā's thumb (Chap. 207, V. 19).

A further description of the origin of living beings is found in the sixty-fifth chapter of the Adiparva. It is stated there that the great sage Brahmā mentally begot six sons—Marichi, Atri, Angirā, Pulastya, Pulaha, and Kratu. Kashyapa was the son of Marichi; he is the progenitor of all beings. He married the thirteen daughters of Daksha—Aditi, Diti, Danu, Kalā, Danayus, Sinhikā, Krodhā, Prodhā, Vishwā, Vinatā, Kapilā, Muni and Kadru.

1. Of Aditi were born the principal devas (gods, mostly Vedic). Their names are Dhātā, Mitra, Aryama, Shakra, Varuna, Angshu, Bhaga, Vivaswan, Pushā, Savitā Twashtā, and the best and youngest, Vishnu.

2. Diti had only one son—Hiranya Kashipu. The Daityas are his descendants.

3. Danu gave birth to forty sons—they are known as Dānavas.

4. The sons of Kalā are called Kaleya among them may be mentioned Krodha and Krodhanta.

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5. Danayus was the mother of the Asuras—Vikshara, Vala, Vira and Vritra.

6. Sinhikā bore four sons, of whom the most famous was Rāhu.

7. Krodha had numberless children and grandchildren. They were all extremely cruel and known as Krodhabasha.

8. Prodhā had six daughters, one of them being named Manu, and the gods as sons. From her also came the Gandharvas and the Apsaras, such as Tilottamā, Rambhā, Monoramā, etc.

9. Vinatā was the ancestress of the birds. Tarkshya, Aristanemi, Garuda, Aruna, Aruni and Varuni were her children.

10. Kadru was the generatrix of the serpents : Shesha, Ananta, Vasuki, Takshaka and Kurma (tortoise) and Kulika came of her.

11. Muni gave birth to fourteen Devas and Gandharvas, she also had two other sons, named Kala and Nārada.

12. It is said that ambrosia, Brāhmana, the cow, Gandharvas and Apsarās were born of Kapilā.

No children are allotted to Viswā in this narrative. This scheme is tacitly accepted in the Rāmāyana.

Chapter I

The Dramatis Personae

The dramatis personae of the Rāmāyana, are men, Vānaras and Rākshasas. The protagonist is Rāma, the eldest son of Dasharatha, king of Ayodhyā, backed by his younger brother Lakshmana, the devoted companion of his exile. The antagonist is Rāvana, sovereign of the Rākshasas, with his seat in the city of Lankā, in the island of the same name. And the deuteragonists are Sugriva, chief of Kishkindha, the country of the Vānaras, Hanumān, the most intelligent valorous and loyal follower of Rāma in the auxiliary Vānara army, Angada, the crown prince and others. We are thus naturally introduced to three types of civilization represented by these three classes of combatants. Has the poet of the Rāmāyana succeeded in portraying three distinct stages in the advancement of civilization ? Or, to put it differently, do we find in the poem pretty nearly the same social structure and level of culture in spite of his exhibiting Rāma's forces as consisting of monkeys and his enemies as monsters ? The tests of civilisation are many and various; it is difficult to find unanimity about them. Still the problem has to be faced, and an intelligible answer to our query may be discovered in the light of (1) the characteristics of the three communities; (2) their material prosperity; (3) their polity and (4) social and religious customs. For this purpose we shall rapidly pass in review (1) Aryan Society (as revealed in the description of Ayodhyā; (2) The Rākshasas and the Vānaras; (3) the cities of Ayodhyā, Kishkindhā and Lankā; (4) the installation of Rāma, Sugriva and Bibhishana; and (5) the funeral rites of Dasharatha, Vāli and Rāvana. The form of government of the three states, and some of their social customs will be briefly touched upon at the end of this review.

Men, Monkeys and Monsters

This is the popular conception of the actors depicted in the Rāmāyana. But to the poet the differences among them were not as wide and great as to the scientifically-minded modern reader. From the viewpoint of the ancient bard, there ran a thread of uniy of origins throughout the universe of living and non-living things.

I

Rama

In the genealogy of the kings of Ayodhyā, it is stated that Manu, son of Vivasvān, son of Kāshyapa, son of Marichi, son of Brahmā, was the first king among men (*vide* Shāntiparva, Chap. 67). His son Ikshawāku was the first king of Ayodhyā. Rāma belonged to the solar race and was thirty-third in descent from Ikshawāku (Adikānda, Canto 70). He and his brothers are exalted as the incarnation of Vishnu, the most important member of the Indian Trinity.

II

The Vanaras

There is a real difficulty with the Vānaras. This was keenly felt by Michael Madhusudan Dutt, the famous epic poet of modern Bengal, while he was engaged in composing his *magnum opus*, the *Meghnādbadha Kāvya*. The difficulty arises out of the fact that the poet of the Rāmāyana could not maintain consistency in his depiction of the race he calls Vānaras or monkeys. At times he represents them as real monkeys, and tries to keep up the verisimilitude by various devices. The very first time Sugriva is mentioned, he is described as

"a Vanara Prince or most excellent of Vanaras most mighty, spirited, incomparably bright, true to his word, meek, patient, intelligent, great, able, quick-witted, shin-

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ing and possessed of unsurpassed strength and prowess" (III. 72. 13, 14).

This does not sound very much monkey-like. But the monkey-character is brought into view when Sugriva is painted as stricken with terror at the sight of Rāma and Lakshmana. In depicting the scene the poet uses, besides the word Vānara, a number of its synonyms, such as *plavaga, plavangama, hari, shakha-mriga* and *Kapi*. Hanumān, while trying to hearten him emphasises his monkeyhood, saying,

"O thou monkey (*plavangama*), how manifest is thy monkeyhood, inasmuch as thou, on account of the inconstancy of thy mind canst not steady thyself in any one thought" (IV. 2, 17).

Thereafter being reassured by the offer of friendship from Rāma—both being homeless wanderers—Sugriva met him 'in a form most handsome to look at' and Rāma held his right hand in his own right hand. Then Hanumān lighted the sacred fire; Rāma and Sugriva went round it, and so was consecrated the offensive and defensive alliance between the two in the right Aryan fashion; for real monkeys are ignorant of the use of fire, and can have no idea of its ceremonial significance. As a counterblast to this approach to humanism, immediately after Sugriva breaks off a many-leaved and many-flowered branch of a tree, spreads it out, and seats himself thereon with Rāma; and Hanumān in a similar kindly spirit, offers Lakshmana the branch of a sandal tree in blossoms (IV. 5, 8, 12, 15, 18, 19).

The poet attributes two characteristics to the Vānaras, which point to their being genuine monkeys: they fight with trees and rocks; and they have tails. The tail is not much in evidence in Vāli, Sugriva, Angada and others, but in the case of Hanumān it plays a most important part in his heroic feat of burning down Lankā.

This wavering of the poet between the two views of the Vānaras as monkeys and as human beings lands him at times in flat contradiction. It becomes glaring in the dialogue between Vāli and Rama. When Vāli, king of Kishkindhā, and his younger brother Sugriva were engaged in a life and death fight, Rāma according to the pact mentioned above, finding that Sugriva was gradually losing ground, wounded Vāli mortally with an arrow from his hiding place. The dying Vāli charged Rāma roundly with treachery and violation of a well-known rule of warfare; and while pointing out the needlessness of this unrighteous act, said that as he was a five-clawed monkey, his flesh and skin and hair were untouchable to Brahmins and Kshatriyas; Rāma's hunting him to death was therefore a purposeless deed of savagery. What are the grounds of Rāma's self-defence? One of them is that Vāli had been guilty of a gross violation of the moral code. A younger brother is like unto a son to the elder brother, and a younger brother's wife like unto a daughter. But disregarding this hallowed social usage, Vāli, after expelling Sugriva from the kingdom, had appropriated his wife Rumā. Rāma, as overlord of Kishkindhā, was in duty bound to chastise this flagrant sin of incest. What a nice application of the social laws of the Aryans to the community of monkeys! (V. Cantos 17, 18).

The contradiction is self-evident in several other respects, too. It will be seen later on that the inauguration of Sugriva as king of Kishkindhā, and the obsequies of Vāli followed Vedic rites. The commentator says in reference to the former:

"Hereby is shown the right of the Vanaras to perform those ceremonies that require the use of the sacrificial fire; inasmuch as all their practices were like those of men, and they had also a knowledge of the Vedas" (V. 26).

The masterly delineation of Sugriva, Hanumān and Angada and others, bespeaks a high grade of culture. Hanumān was not only distinguished for strength, intelligence and courage; he also knew how to act in consonance with time and place; he was moreover, a master of polity and morality, for which he is called by Sugriva *Nayapandita* (IV. 44. 7).

Rāma bears eloquent testimony to his deep knowledge of the Vedas, correct elocution and mastery of pure idiom. After Hanumān had delivered his address on meeting the exiled princes at the request of Sugriva, Rāma, turning to Lakshmana, said,

"None but a person who is widely read in the Rig veda, familiar with the Yajurveda and well versed in the Samaveda, can speak thus. He has without doubt mastered Grammar from beginning to end; (the proof of which is found in the fact that) he has spoken long, and yet not uttered a single impure expression. While he was speaking, no fault could be detected in his mouth, eyes, eyebrows, forehead, or any other part of the body. His sentences are short, terse, unequivocal and delightful to hear, and uttered from chest and throat in a medium tone. He spoke in logical order, neither too rapidly nor too slowly, so that his utterances charmed the ear." (IV. 3, 28, 32).

Vāli, son of Indra, was as valiant as Indra himself (IV. 19, 23), and came to meet his brother in the wrestling encounter, decorated with the jewelled chain of gold given him by the king of gods (IV. 17, 54).

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The Vānaras used clothes (IV. 12, 15)—how they managed the tail under their garments, we are not told—and their rulers and nobles used costly bed-steads, gems, jewels and pearls (IV. 33, 19, 20, 23). And occasionally, they used arms and armour like those of human beings. Angada fought with Vajradrangshtrā, with sword and shield, and cut off his head with the sword (VI. 54, 30). Hanumān killed Trishiras with a sword and Mahāpārshwa with a club (VI. 70, 142, 160). Sugriva wore a coat of mail in his fight with Mahodara, and clove his head in twain with a falchion (VI. 97, 16-33).

From all these considerations the conclusion is irresistible that the poet of the Rāmāyana did not really believe the associates of Rāma to be monkeys. They were in fact the non-Aryan hill-tribes of Southern India—as stated long ago by Gorresio, Wheeler and other savants—and being a good hater of men and things other than Aryan, he degraded them to the level of beasts, though in material civilization he portrays them as hardly inferior to the Aryans of Northern India. When Vishnu, at the solicitation of the gods, agreed to be incarnate, for the purpose of destroying Rāvana, as the four sons of Dasharatha, named Rāma, Lakshmana, Bharata and Shatrughna, he asked them to generate Vānaras who would be helpers of Rāma in the accomplishment of his mission. The kings and nobles of the monkeys were thus the offspring of the gods—Vāli of Indra, Sugriva of the sun-god, Hanumān of the wind-god, Nila of the fire-god, Nala of the world-architect, and so forth.

III

The Rakshasas

The antagonists of the hero of the Rāmāyana, the race of Rākshasas, are not congenial to the refined taste of modern times. The thread of unity of origin is here a help to overcoming the repugnance which is caused by the dark colours in which they are ordinarily depicted. Rāvana and his brothers Kumbhakarna and Bibhishana, and sister Shurpanakhā, were born of Bishravas and Kaikasi. Bishravas was the son of Pulastya, son of Brahmā, and his wife, the daughter of Trinabindu (Uttarakanda, 9; Sundara, 23; 6-8). Rāvana was therefore, of divine origin, and was a votary of Brahmā, also a member of the Hindu Trinity. It will appear presently that the poet of the Rāmāyana has lavished all the resources of his imagination on describing the splendour of the civilization of Lankā. In fact, the island was inhabited by a well-ordered and well-governed community, not exactly akin to the Aryans of India, but not like poles asunder. Kumbhakarna, who was a cannibal, gives a rude shock to this placid view, but, as an offset, there is Bibhishana, as good a soul as any painted in the great epic; and there are not wanting noble women like Mandodari, the senior queen, Saramā, wife of Bibhishana, and Trijatā. Even Kumbhakarna advises Rāvana to restore Sitā to Rāma. The Rakshasas, therefore, need not create any trouble for us.

Ravana

But a stumbling block to the modern reader is the popular conception of Rāvana as a monster with ten heads, twenty eyes and twenty arms. This conception, though supported by one or two passages in the Rāmāyana, (leaving out the Uttarakanda, which is a later addition), is counted by a number of descriptive sketches in which he appears as a normal human being. When Hanumān saw Rāvana for the first time, asleep in his inner apartment, he found that his two arms, wearing gold bracelets, were spread out, like unto the flagstaff of Indra. (The dual number is used throughout the description of the arms. Verses 15-12). The commentator observes on this passage,

> "As the poet speaks here of the two arms of Ravana, it is to be understood that he assumed ten heads and twenty arms at the time of fighting."

We shall see that even this limitation is not adhered to. When Rāvana made advances to Sitā, she indignantly repulsed them, and in course of upbraiding him in scathing terms, said,

> "O thou vile one, as thou didst cast thy grim, ferocious, copper-coloured eyes upon me, why did they not (start out of their sockets), and fall down on earth?"

Here also the dual number is used, and this is repeated a few lines below. Thereupon Rāvana, rolling his grim eyes, looked at Sitā, (the phrase is again used in 58, 75), and stood in all his glory before her with his two fully formed arms, like unto Mount Mandara with its two peaks. When the Rākshasis reported the doings of Hanumān to Rāvana, he blazed with anger like the fire of a funeral pyre, and drops of tears fell from the two eyes of that angry one, like drops of oil from two burning lamps. Later on, "rolling his two eyes in anger, he addressed his infuriated brother Kumbhakarna."

The observation of the commentator that Rāvana put on ten heads and twenty arms on

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the battlefield is not borne out by the Sixth Book (the Book of the War). There is no indication of it in the highly rhetorical description of him when he set out to meet the besieging host. At the very first sight of Rāvana, Sugriva rushed upon him, and in the wrestling bout that followed between the two, Rāvana caught hold of him by his two arms, and threw him on the ground; whereupon Sugriva rising forthwith like a ball caught hold of Rāvana by his two arms and threw him on the ground. (VI. 40, 30). In his first encounter with Lakshmana the latter was felled to the ground and rendered unconscious by the spear hurled at him. Rāvana tried, but failed, to raise him with his two arms. (59 111). After the death of his son Indrajit, the most valiant defender of Lankā, while he was marching out to fight with Rāma for the last time, "his left eye quivered and left arm trembled." (95. 45). In the duel that followed, "Rāma cut off the head of Rāvana shining with a flashing crown." (107. 54). Another grew in its place, this too was cut off, and so one hundred in succession. In every case, the singular number is used. While threatening Rāvana with extreme punishment before they closed in, Rāma used exactly the same phrase (103. 20). Rāvana is credited with one head in numerous other passages also. Trijatā, while narrating her ominous dream, said that she saw that Rāvana, tied by the neck, was being dragged towards the north by a Rākshasi in red clothes (V. 27. 26). Rāvana thus describes the curse of Brahmā on his rape of Punjikasthala :

"If from today thou ravish another woman by force, thy head shall certainly be riven into a hundred pieces (VI. 13, 14).

After his fall, Bibhishana, while bewailing him, spoke of Rāvana's two arms and one crown (VI. 109. 3). On hearing of the death of Rāvana, his wives rushed out of the inner chambers to the battlefield.

"Some fainted on seeing the face of the dead one; some, beholding his face, took his head in her lap and bathed her face in tears like a lotus bathed in snow." (VI. 109. 9, 10).

Mandodari, the eldest wife of Rāvana, in her lamentation for him, speaks of his exquisitely beautiful face, and says,

"That face of thine, O Lord, having been lacerated by the blood-spilling arrows of Rama and endued with the colour of blood, does not shine today." (III. 37).

There is one celebrated passage in which Rāvana is described as having ten heads and twenty hands. Hanumān, after taking leave of Sitā, whom he had discovered in his first visit to Lankā, destroyed the ladies' bower, burnt the palace and killed a number of prominent Rākshasas, including a royal prince, fought Indrajit, and then allowed himself to be captured, bound with ropes and barks of trees and brought into the presence of Rāvana. In the glowing description that follows we are told that Hanumān beheld Rāvana conspicuous by his ten heads and multiple arms decorated with bracelets and excellent sandal paste" (V. 49, 6, 8). The commentator's note on this text again is :

"It is to be understood that when Hanuman saw him, Ravana assumed a terrible form as he did in war."

We have seen that he did no such thing.

The word Dashagriva, he with ten necks, is constantly used of Rāvana as a sort of permanent epithet. It occurs in Sitā's reproaches to Rāvana immediately after she has spoken of his two eyes (V. 22. 20), and is on a par with Dasharatha. The legend that Rāvana had ten heads, twenty eyes and twenty arms, grew undoubtedly out of this epithet, and was intended to convey the idea that he was a warrior of unsurpassed powers.

The upshot of the discussion is that the Rakshasas were a highly civilised race—belonging to the Hamitic group, says Gorresio—who were hostile to the Vedic religion, and from their island-home, waged perpetual feuds with the Aryans on the continent of India.

The ultimate unity of descent of the three groups of the *dramatis personae* is a noticeable feature of the Rāmāyana.

CHAPTER II

THE THREE CITIES

I

AYODHYA

A City of the Plain

1. The City

There is a great, prosperous, and ever-growing realm named Koshala, extending on either side of the river Saraju, which is immensely rich in flocks and herds and wealth of grain. The world-famous city of Ayodhya, built in days of yore by that king of men, Manu himself, lies in this dominion. This great and most beautiful city is two hundred and eighteen miles long and seventy-two miles broad. Her gates stand at even distances, and the highways running out of them are wide, and well-laid. She is beautified with broad royal roads which are straight and nicely planned, and laugh with blooming flowers and are constantly watered. Like the king of the gods in heaven King Dasharatha, the winner of great kingdoms (by his wise and righteous rule) considerably added to the population of the city. She has a number of gates and arched door-ways; her streets are symmetrical, with measured spaces between; and are lined with elegant shops. Every description of artists dwells in that city and she is equipped with all manner of weapons of offence

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and defence. Numerous bards and chanters of hymns of praise are to be found in this brilliant queen of cities, while there are in her numbers of high, storeyed houses decorated with flags fluttering on the roofs, and her ramparts bristle with deadly arms. The whole city is full of women's theatre, and flower-gardens and mango-groves; and she is belted round with towering *sal* trees. Ayodhya is circled by a deep and wide and unfordable moat, and therefore difficult of access even to friends, and is quite unapproachable to the enemy. Cows and horses, and elephants and camels and asses there are in the city without number. Groups of feudatory kings, paying tributes, and merchants from various countries are found in rer. She is resplendent with mountain-high palaces glittering all over with gems, and has in her, like the celestial city of Indra, numerous pleasure-houses for women. This city of gold has her houses arranged with wonderful regularity; her women are lovely and she is rich in all varieties of jewels, and adorned with mansions seven-storeys high. She is situated in a champaign land, the home-steads lie close together, there is not an empty dwelling-place in her. She abounds in paddy and rice, and her water is as sweet as the juice of the sugar-cane. The note of the lyre and the sound of the drum and other musical instruments are frequently heard in Ayodhya, and so her greatness is unsurpassed among the cities of the world. This heavenly city on earth is inhabited by a great multitude of most virtuous men, and defended by myriads of doughty warriors skilled in arms, who never transgress the rules of fair fight.—I. 5. 5-22.

2. The Inhabitants of Ayodhya

And as Indra rules Amaravati, Dasharatha, the prince true to promise, pursuing harmoniously the demands of righteousness, wealth and pleasure, presided over that noblest of cities. In that acme of cities, the men were happy, virtuous and widely-read, and each contented with his own possessions, free from covetousness, and truth-speaking. In that premier city there was none whose store of wealth was scanty; none with dependent kinsmen who lacked in the necessaries of life and was not well off in cows and horses and corn and coins. It was not possible to see anywhere in Ayodhya a man abandoned to lust, or stingy or cruel or unlettered or atheistical. All the men and all the women were virtuous, marked by perfect self-mastery, joyful, and both in respect of conduct and character, spotless like the great sages. There was in Ayodhya not one who did not wear ear-rings, and coronets and garlands; not one who did not abundantly enjoy the good things of life, was not clean, had not the person anointed and perfumed, did not feed on pure food and give away in charity, wear ornaments on the breast, the arm and the hand, and had not conquered the passsions. There was in Ayodhya none who did not tend the sacrificial fire and perform the sacrifices, or was mean-minded or was a thief; none vicious or of impure descent.—I. 6. 5-12.

3. Ayodhya in her Gala Dress

As soon as the people of Ayodhya heard that Dasharatha had decided to instal Ram as crown-prince, they were wild with joy. The royal roads and streets and squares were filled with a mighty multitude; all the public thoroughfares were blocked by an immense concourse of men, eager to witness the ceremony on the morrow, and their joyous shouts and acclamations made them resound as it were with the roar of the billows of the sea. The streets were swept clean and watered; the houses were decked with banner raised aloft on the roofs and the front-doors had garlands of wild flowers hanging from them. All the inhabitants of Ayodhya men, women and children, were eagerly looking forward to the dawn of the day which would behold the consecration of Rama.—II. 5. 16-19.

No sooner had the day dawned than the citizens of Ayodhya began to decorate the city. The temples towering like the snow-capped peaks of the Himalaya, the cross-ways, the streets, the sacred fig trees, the palaces of the great, the houses of the merchants filled with varied stores of goods, the beautiful mansions of the rich householders, the places where people meet, and tall trees, everywhere flags and banners floated to the wind. The people of Ayodhya heard songs, charming to the ear, of actors and dancers and signers. The citizens congregated in houses and squares, and were talking on the coming installation of Rama. Even children, playing at the doors of their houses, were engaged with one another in colloquies on the consecration. In expectation of the inauguration of Rama the royal roads were strewn with flowers by the inhabitants, and rendered fragrant with the burning of incense, and for the purpose of dispelling the darkness of the night by illumination, they set up a large number of lamp-posts with branches like those of trees on both sides of the streets. So the city, adorned by the citizens, stood in her gala dress.—II. 6, 10-20.

II

KISHKINDHYA

A City in a valley surrounded by hills

Then Lakshmana, the vanquisher of foes, invited in the name of Sugriva, entered the beautiful city of Kishkindhya. He, the graceful one, saw, lying before him in the valley, the extensive celestial city, rich in jewels and flowering gardens, beautiful and possessed of untold wealth. It was full of palaces and temples, decorated with jewels of various descriptions, and trees in flowers yielding wished-for fruits at all seasons. Its beauty was further enhanced by monkeys, children of Devas and Gandharvas, who could assume different shapes at will, wearing celestial robes and garlands. It was fragrant with the perfume of sandal, aloe and lotus, and its highways were redolent of the liquor maireya and honey. He saw there many a lofty palace consisting of several storeys, and comparable in its height to the Vindhya and Meru, also mountain-streams of pellucid water. Lakshmana beheld on either side of the royal road the beautiful dwelling-houses of the princes and nobles, viz. Angada, Mainda, Dvivida, Gavaya, Gavaksha, Gaja, Sharabha, Vidyutmali, Sampati, Suryaksha, Hanuman, Birbahu, Subahu, Nala, Kumuda, Sushena, Tara, Jambuban, Dadhibaktra, Nila, Supatala and Sunetra. The magnificent palaces shone like pale clouds; were adorned with fragrant garlands, filled with riches and beautiful with choicest women. And there stood before him the residence of the king of the monkeys, enclosed by a crystal rampart, and so inaccessible, beautiful, like unto the mansion of Mahendra, surmounted with bright turrets as the loftiest heights of mount Kailasa, beautified with blooming trees yielding all varieties of desired fruits, the gifts of Mahendra; they were charming and resembled blue clouds and cast a cool delicious shade with their celestial fruits and flowers. Its gate was guarded by a band of mighty monkeys holding weapons in their hands; its portals, white and coverd with celestial wreaths, flashed like molten gold. Such was the picturesque palace of Sugriva, which Saumitri entered unchecked, as the sun passes into a mass of clouds. He, the pious one, passed through seven courts filled with seats and conveyances, and saw at last the extensive

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inner apartment hidden from view. It had an abundance of gold-and-silver bedsteads and couches, all richly spread with costly coverlets. No sooner had he entered the inner quarter of the royal abode, than he heard uninterruptedly the sound of music, the voice and the notes of the lute keeping perfect measure. The hero saw in the mansion of Sugriva a multitude of women of varied forms, proud of their beauty and youth. He saw there women of noble birth, wearing gay garlands, engaged in stringing charming chaplets and adorned with the best of ornaments. Lakshmana observed the attendants of Sugriva, contented, and without hurry in offering their services, and not exhibiting precious ornaments on their persons. And then the graceful Saumitri was filled with shame as the sounds of women's girdles and anklets struck his ears.—IV. 33, 1-24.

III

LANKA

A City on the peak of a mountain

And Hanuman, taking his station on the top of that hill beheld woods and groves and Lanka situated on Mount Trikuta. He saw before him trees of various descriptions—saralas, karnikaras, kharjuras (dates) profusely in flower, piyalas, muchilindas, kutajas, ketakas, priyangus emitting sweet fragrance, nipas and sapta chhandas, asanar, kobidaras and blooming karaviras, and also trees bearing a load of flowers, as well as those just in blossom,—they were full of birds and their tops swayed in the wind. And he saw ponds filled with swans and karandavas, and bright with lotuses and lilies, and charming sporting hills and expanses of water of various kinds, encircled by trees bearing flowers and fruits in all seasons; he also saw numerous beautiful gardens. Now Hanuman drew near Lanka, the city protected by Ravana—it was rendered beautiful by moats full of lotuses and lilies; was well-guarded by Ravana on account of his having carried off Sita, with bands of Rakshasas, carrying deadly bows and patrolling all round. The great beautiful city was girded by a golden rampart, and filled with mansions as high as cliffs and resembling autumnal clouds. It was intersected in all directions by high pale-looking roads, lined by edifices, and hundreds of banners and streamers floated on the houses and the turrets. The gateways of Lanka gleamed with gold and plants chiselled thereon. Hanuman beheld Lanka as the king of the gods would his own seat.—V. ii. 8-19.

The sun having set at night, Hanuman, reducing himself to the size of a cat, became wonderful to behold. At dusk, he sprang up and entered the beautiful city of Lanka which was divided up by broad highways. It was covered with mansions having pillars and net-works that looked like gold, so that it might compare with the metropolis of the Gandharvas. And he saw that great city containing seven-storied and eight-storied houses, with surfaces studded with crystal, and adorned with gold. The dwellings of the Rakshasas shone with edifices so adorned. And the variegated gold gateways of the Rakshasas cast everywhere a splendour upon Lanka adorned in all possible ways.—V. ii. 47-51.

On entering Lanka at night, Hanuman found that the city protected by Ravana, was rich in charming woods and waters, beautified with edifices resembling autumnal clouds, resounding like the sea and refreshed by the sea-breeze; strongly defended by well-equipped forces, like Vitapabala, the city of Kuvera. There were intoxicated elephants stationed at her beautiful gateways, and the gates with the arches were of a pale complexion; so that Lanka looked like Bhogavati, the city inhabited and defended by serpents. It also resembled Amaravati, the seat of the gods, pervaded by clouds, charged with lightning, and illuminated by bright luminaries, and roaring with the blasts of violent winds. It was girt round by a great wall of gold, and embellished with pennons tinkling with numberless tiny bells. Hanuman was glad at heart as he surveyed the city; he approached the rampart, and was filled with wonder as he again cast his gaze on every quarter of it. He observed that its doors were of gold, which were made splendid with quadrangles of lapises pavements studded with gems, crystals and pearls, and intoxicated elephants made of burnished gold and spotlessly white silver. The stairs were of lapises; and the houses to which the doors belonged had their interior inlaid with crystal and was free from dust; they were so tall that they seemed to touch the sky. The whole city resounded with the notes of kraunchas and peacocks; it was the favourite resort of swans; and everywhere resonant with the sounds of trumpets and ornaments.—V. iii. 1-11.

On catching sight of Lanka, Rama exclaimed to Lakshmana, "Behold, the city of Lanka, towering up as if scraping the sky, built on the peak of a mountain by Visvakarma, as it were, with the mind. It was built in days of yore, crowded with seven-storied mansions, extending like the atmosphere covered with pale clouds."—VI. 24, 9, 10.

"It was ninety miles broad and one hundred and eighty miles long."—VI. 39, 20.

Having entered the beautiful city of Lanka at night, Hanuman proceeded along the highway strewn with flowers. He found that the charming city was resounding with graceful sounds mixed with laughter, and ringing with blasts of trumpets. It shone with mansions having the forms of the thunderbolt and the hook and adorned with diamond windows—with the cloud-like edifices it looked like the firmament with clouds. At that time with the splendid, variegated palaces of the Rakshasas, resembling white clouds, and constructed according to different laws of architecture. Lanka shone forth in indescribable effulgence. And Hanuman was delighted as he saw that the city was decked with variegated wreaths. Moving from one house to another he observed on all sides dwellings of diverse forms and colours and heard captivating songs sung in the three tones of bass, tenor and treble, by damsels mad with love, like the songs of Apsaras in heaven. He also heard the jinglings of girdles and tinklings of anklets; and sounds of footsteps on the staircases of the mansions of the nobles. And he heard here and there loud noises proceeding from clappings of hands and war-cries. He heard in the city people engaged in reciting the mantras and studying the Vedas in the houses of the Rakshasas. And he saw demons and Rakshasas chanting eulogies on Ravana, and shouting, and behold, there was a mighty concourse of Rakshasas covering the highways.—VI. 4, 1-14.

Ravana's Palace

Hanuman, capable of assuming any form he chose, having ranged on the roofs of seven-storied houses, began wandering through the city with speed. At length he reached the palace of the sovereign of the Rakshasas, encircled by a dazzling wall of the colour of the sun. As a great forest is protected by lions, it was guarded by terror-striking Rakshasas. As he saw the palace, he began searching for Sita with the help of the moonlight. It was full of beautiful arches fretted with silver and embellished with gold, and of splendid courts and doors. It had elephant-drivers mounted on elephants, and warriors who knew no fatigue; and horses

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of irresistible speed tied to chariots; these, and curious vehicles, covered over with skins of lions and tigers, and resounding with tiny bells, and containing effigies of ivory, gold and silver, were ever coursing round the palace. It contained measureless jewels and was beautified with most costly seats, and was the emporium of mighty cars and the home of great heroes fighting in chariots. It was filled everywhere with many thousands of birds and beasts of diverse kinds, most beautiful to behold. The palace was closely guarded by meek warders at the outskirts, as well as by Rakshasas; and it had a multitude of most handsome women of the highest rank. The mansion of the king of the Rakshasas was surrounded by the dwelling-houses of the nobles, and resounded like the sea with the sounds of matchless ornaments. It was furnished with the famous regal insignia and sandal of the best kind, and crowded with mighty warriors, like a vast forest with lions; it was resonant with trumpets and drums and ringing with the blares of conchs, where the ever-adored offspring of Parvas was always worshipped by the Rakshasas. Hanuman saw that majestic mansion of the high-souled Ravana, grave like the sea, resounding like the sea, possessed of an inexhaustible store of precious stones, flashing with rich jewels and containing a vast crowd of horses, elephants and chariots;—as he saw the palace, he deemed it to be the crown of Lanka. Next he surveyed the mansions of the princes and the nobles like Bibhishan, Indrajit, and others. At length he came to the residence of Ravana; and he saw there various bands of Rakshasas and Rakshasis, and steeds of exceeding fleetness, red, white and black, elephants graceful to behold and capable of vanquishing enemy elephants. And he saw cars of various forms of burnished gold, bedecked with golden networks, bright as the newly-risen sun; and charming bowers; and picture-galleries, sporting-halls anl sporting mounts of wood, and saloons designed for dalliance and saloons for dalliance during the day. The palace had quarters for peacocks and had a forest of pennons and flagstaffs, it was a very mint of innumerable gems, a net of treasures cast all around. By virtue of the lustre shed by the gems as well as the lustre of the valour of Ravana that palace was resplendent like the sun shining in the glory of its rays. Hanuman also saw bedsteads and seats of gold and bright vessels. It was slimy with intoxicating liquor, contained numbers of begemmed vessels and was loud with the sounds of anklets and tinklings of zones as well as the beat of drums of the variety of mridanga. —V. Canto 6, (abbreviated).

The Sleeping Apartment of Ravana

Coming down from the car Pushpaka, Hanuman approached the sleeping apartment of Ravana. It was wide and graceful, of transcendent beauty, comely like unto a lovely lady; having staircases made of jewels and windows of gold network; the pavement was covered with crystal, and it contained statues of ivory, pearl, diamond, coral, silver and gold; it was adorned with jewelled pillars; they were large and numerous; on all sides the hall was gorgeously decked with very tall and straight pillars of equal dimensions; so that it seemed as if the structure were flying to the sky with these pillar-wings. It was laid out with particoloured woollen blankets of a square shape like the earth, and broad as the earth with kingdoms and dwelling-houses. The apartment resounded with the cries of intoxicated birds; was redolent of celestial fragrance; furnished with most costly coverlets, and inhabited by the king of the Rakshasas. It was thick with the smoke of *aguru* and *dhupa*, spotless, and of light white colour like the swan. With an abundance of garlands of leaves and flowers, it looked like the spotted cow of Basistha. It was illuminated by golden lamps; but their light was bedimmed by the splendour of Ravana. The brilliance of the lights, the splendour of Ravana and the brightness of the ornaments all combined made Hanuman fancy that the sleeping hall was on fire.—V. 9, 22-32.

CHAPTER III.

CORONATION CEREMONIES

Preparations for the Installation of Rama as Crown-prince

At the request of Dasharatha, Vasistha ordered the counsellors, saying:

"Do ye early in the morning provide in the sacrificial hall gold and gems, and articles for worship and a complete assortment of drugs, white garlands, fried paddy, honey and clarified butter in separate vessels, cloths fresh from the loom, and a car, every kind of weapons, the fourfold forces, an elephant with auspicious marks, a chowrie and a fan, a banner and an umbrella of a pale white colour, a hundred pitchers of gold, with fire-like gleam, a bull with horns coated with gold, a whole tiger-skin, together with whatever else may be requisite. And do ye decorate the doors of the inner-quarter of the palace as well as of the entire city with garlands, with sandal-paste and fragrant *dhupa*. And do ye tomorrow morning bestow upon the principal Brahmanas nice and refined rice mixed with curd and milk, so that hundreds of thousands may be fed to satiety, giving to them moreover clarified butter and curd and fried paddy and abundant alms. Tomorrow as soon as the sun rises, the preliminary rites will be finished. Do ye invite the Brahmanas and provide them with seats. And do ye set up flags, and water the highways; and let musicians and courtesans wearing handsome ornaments repair to the second quadrangle of the palace and stay there. In the sanctuary of the gods and under the sacred fig trees should be separately placed fragrant flowers and boiled rice and other eatables, with alms. And let warriors, properly attired, mailed, and wearing leather fences for the left arm, with long swords hanging from the girdle, enter the courtyard of the paramount king, which is bubbling forth with the joy of the great festival.—II. 3, 8-20.

(The preparations proved abortive, as on the day intended for the installation, Kaikeyī, the second queen, entrapped Dasharatha into exiling Rāma to the forest for fourteen years. Rāma's consecration as King of Ayodhyā took place on his return at the end of that period).

The Consecration of Rama as King of Ayodhya

Then Bharata said to Sugriva, "Lord, command envoys (to bring sacred water) for the consecration of Rama." Sugriva immediately gave four jars of gold adorned with all kinds of gems, to four chief monkeys, and said, "Wait early at dawn with the four jars filled with the water of the four seas." So commanded, the monkey, comparable to elephants, forthwith flew up into the sky with the speed of Gadura. Jambuban and the swift-footed Hanuman and Rishava brought jars filled with the water of five hundred rivers. And Sushena, full of might, brought a bejewelled jar filled with the water of the eastern sea. Rishava quickly fetched water from the southern sea in a jar of gold, coated with red sandal and camphor. Gabaya, swift as the wind, collected cold water from the western sea, in a jar of precious

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stone. Lastly, Hanuman, endowed with all noble qualities, and swift as Gadura, fetched water from the northern sea. Seeing that the chiefs of the monkeys had collected the water Satrughna consulted with the ministers, and communicated the fact to the chief priest and the friends of the royal house. Then that old and holy Basistha with other Brahmins, seated Rama with Sita on a throne adorned with jewels. Vasistha and Bijaya and Jabali and Kashyapa and Katyayana and Gautama and Vamadeva sprinkled the pure scented water on Rama, the tiger of men, as the Basus had done on Indra. At the desire of Vasistha, priests, and other Brahmins, and sixteen maidens, and ministers and warriors and merchants also, with heartfelt joy, sprinkled the water on Rama. All the gods, gathered together in the sky, with the guardians of the four quarters of the world, distilled on his head the juices of all kinds of medicinal herbs. There was a crown fashioned by Brahma long ago, decorated with precious stones, with which Manu was consecrated in days of yore; and after him generations of kings were consecrated one after another with that crown, bright with the flash of many a gem, in a court overlaid with gold, decorated with immense riches and dazzling with most picturesque jewels of various kinds—in such a court Vasistha seated Rama on a jewelled throne, in due form, and next put the crown on his head, and the other priests decked him out with ornaments. Shatrughna held on him an umbrella, propitious and of pale white colour; Sugriva fanned him with a small white fan; another, white like the moon, was waved by Bibhishana, King of the Rakshasas. The wind-god at the persuasion of Indra, presented to Rama a gold necklace shining with lustre, made up of a hundred lotuses, containing all kinds of precious stones and beautified with gems. And lo! there was universal rejoicing among gods and men.—VI. 128. 48-71.

II

THE INSTALLATION OF SUGRIVA AS KING OF KISHKINDHYA

Sugriva having entered the pleasant inner apartment of his brother, his friends, (following the direction of Rama) consecrated him as King of Kishkindhya. They brought for him a golden umbrella of pale colour, a pair of white chowries with brave golden staffs, all kinds of jewels and a complete assortment of seeds and drugs; aerial roots and flowers of fig-trees, white clothes, white sandal-paste, fragrant garlands, water-flowers, and land-flowers, splendid sandal, various scents in large quantities; fried paddy, gold, the aromatic plant called *priyangu* honey, clarified butter, curd, a tiger-skin, and a costly pair of shoes; and there came sixteen noble maidens, beaming with joy, carrying articles to anoint with such as gorochana (a bright yellow pigment prepared from the bile of a cow) and red arsenic. Then the principle Brahmins were gratified with jewels, cloths and eatables with a view to their installing Sugriva, the chief of monkeys. Thereafter men conversant with the mantras, offered clarified butter, sanctified by mantras, to the fire lighted on a bed of *Kusha* grass. And next in a golden hall situated on the summit of the beautiful palace, spread with magnificent coverlets and decorated with variegated garlands, they placed Sugriva on a grand throne, facing the east, with mantras duly uttered; and collecting pure water in jars of gold from all the seas and rivers and holy places in all quarters of the globe, the chief of the monkeys—Gaya, Gabaksha, Gabaya, Sharabha, Gandhamadana, Maindya, Dvivida, Hanuman and Jambuban—sprinkled the pure, performed water on Sugriva with auspicious horns of bulls and golden jars, according to the rites prescribed by the Shastras, and the great sages, as the Basus did on Indra. On the consecration of Sugriva there was universal rejoicing among the monkeys.

Thereafter Sugriva, carrying out the instructions of Rama, installed Angada as crown-prince.—IV. 26, 22-38.

III

THE INSTALLATION OF BIBHISHANA AS KING OF LANKA

Rama asked Lakshmana to consecrate Bibhishana as King of Lanka. So commanded, Lakshmana, exceedingly delighted, took up golden jars, placed them in the hands of the chief monkeys, and ordered them to fetch the water of the four seas. The most excellent of the monkeys, swift as the mind, went forth very speedily, and came back with water, taken from the seas. There Lakshmana, surrounded by his friends, taking a jar, and placing Bibhishana on a rich seat, consecrated him with the water of that jar as King in Lanka, at the behest of Rama, in the midst of the Rakshasas, according to the Vedic rites. Then all the Rakshasas and the monkeys sprinkled the water on Bibhishana. And his ministers and the other Rakshasas, who were attached to him, were highly delighted, and Rama and Lakshmana were also exceedingly pleased.—VI. 112, 8-18.

CHAPTER IV

FUNERAL RITES

I

The Funeral Rites of Dasharatha

Finding that Bharata was beside himself with grief at the death of Dasharatha, Vasistha, the priest, reminded him that the time was come for the performance of the King's funeral rites. Bharata, in obedience to his words, asked the ministers to make preparations for the ceremony. The corpse was taken out of the cauldron of oil, and placed on the ground, the face was sallow, but it seemed as if the King were sleeping. It was next placed on a splendid couch adorned with various jewels. Bharata again bewailed his father in piteous words, and was exhorted once more by Vasistha to rise and do the last rites of the departed monarch. Thereupon he became quiet and urged speed upon the sacrificial priests, the family priests and the instructors. Then the priests offered oblations into the same fire which had been brought out of the fire-chamber of the King. Then attendants, with their throats thick with grief and minds distressed carried the dead King in a litter. Men, scattering about in the street gold and silver and various kinds of cloth, went before the bier. So others collecting sandal, and resinous incenses of different sorts, and fragrant fuel, approached the funeral pyre on which the King was laid and cast them on it. The priests kindled the fire, offered oblations in it and recited there these *mantras* as prescribed in scriptures; and chanters chanted hymns from the Sama Veda. And the wives of the King went there from the city, by litters and other conveyances, according to their ranks, surrounded by elders. The priests went round the corpse of the King, who had performed many sacrifices, keeping it on the left side. His wives, headed by Kausalya, burning with grief, did the same. Then was heard there the loud wail of women stricken with grief and weeping piteously by the thousand like Kraunchis. Then the wives of the King weeping again and again, and abandoning themselves helplessly to grief, went to the bank of the Saraju by cars, and alighted

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there. They, together with Bharata, the ministers and the priests, having performed the water-rites, returned to the city with their eyes filled with tears, and lying down on the ground, spent ten days in mourning.—II. 76, 1-23.

The Shraddha of Dasharatha

On the expiry of the ten days, Bharata became free from uncleanness, and performed the Shraddha of his father on the twelfth day. He gave away to Brahmins money and gems, and rice in abundance, and herds of goats, and silver in profusion and cows without number, and maid-servants and man-servants, and conveyances and very large mansions. On the morning of the thirteenth day, Bharata overpowered by grief, burst into lamentation. He gathered the (unburnt) bones and ashes of his father on the same day.—II. 77, 1-4, 8, 22.

II
THE FUNERAL RITES OF VALI

After Rama had spoken words of consolation to Sugriva, Tara and Angada, Lakshmana addressed Sugriva, saying: "Do thou with Tara and Angada, perform the funeral rites of Vali. Do thou order to be collected dry wood in large quantities, and precious sandal for Vali's cremation. Console poor Angada, beside himself with grief, and be not like a person of weak understanding, for this city is now under thee. Let Angada bring garlands, cloths of diverse kinds, scents, clarified butter, oil and whatever else may be requisite. Do thou, O Tara, go and fetch speedily a litter; for speed is a special virtue on an occasion like this. Let the monkeys, who are capable of carrying the litter, be ready, only those of the monkeys, who are strong and capable, will carry Vali to the cremation ground." Having spoken thus to Sugriva, Lakshmana stood beside his brother. Hearing the words of Lakshmana, Tara hastened and went immediately into the city. Taking with him a litter, which was carried by monkeys and was worthy of being carried by heroes, Tara came back again. It was provided in the centre with an excellent throne, and was like unto a chariot. It had birds painted on it and was decorated with the pictures of trees. It was painted on all sides with figures of foot-soldiers beautifully arranged, and like the chariot of the *Siddhas*, furnished with latticed windows. It was spacious and well-jointed and skilfully built by artisans, and looked like a wooden hill with its artistic carvings. It was adorned with exquisite ornaments and variegated garlands, made stout with closely-laid upper ribs and decked with red sandal. It was completely covered with abundant flowers and lotus-garlands, shining, and of the colour of the newly-risen sun. Beholding such a litter, Rama said to Lakshmana, "Let Vali be carried to the cremation-ground, and the funeral rites be performed." Thereupon Sugriva, weeping, with the help of Angada, raised Vali from the ground, and placed him on the litter. Having placed on the litter the lifeless Vali decorated with various ornaments, garlands and clothes, King Sugriva, Lord of monkeys, issued the following command, "Let the funeral rites of the venerable one be performed at a suitable place. Let some of the monkeys go before scattering large numbers of jewels of various kinds, and let the litter follow behind. Let the monkeys perform the last rites of their master with the grandeur, which is witnessed among the Kings of this earth." Vali's funeral rites were thus performed with a grandeur befitting his riches. Tara and other monkeys, bereft of their patron, having embraced Angada, proceeded weeping. Then all the female monkeys, who had been under the rule of Vali, gathered together, and wailed crying, "O hero, O hero." All the female monkeys, headed by Tara, bereft of their patron, followed their husband, lamenting in a piteous voice. The roar of lamentation of the female monkeys resounded from forest to forest and was echoed by mountains. A large number of the monkeys, roaming in forests, set the funeral pyre on the solitary bank of a hill stream on a spot enclosed on all sides by water. Thereupon the noble monkeys taking down the litter from their shoulders, stood apart, all stricken with grief. The Tara, beholding her husband lying down on the floor of the litter, placed his head on her lap, and bewailed, overwhelmed with grief. The other female monkeys harrowed by sorrow, raised Tara up, thus bewailing, and plunged in grief for her husband. Then Angada, weeping, and with his senses clouded with grief, placed the corpse of his father, with the help of Sugriva, on the funeral pyre. And applying the fire to it in due form he, with dazed senses, went round his father keeping him to the left, who had departed and set out on a long journey. Having duly cremated Vali, the chief monkeys came to a river of auspicious water, with a view to performing the water-ceremony. And all these monkeys assembled there, with Sugriva and Tara, and placing Angada before them, sprinkled water. Thus the hero Rama, as sad as he and equally grieved with him, caused the obsequies of Vali to be performed by Sugriva.—IV. 25, 12-40, 48-53.

III
THE FUNERAL RITES OF RAVANA

In reply to Bibhishana, Rama said, "Ravana was great and mighty and a terror of people. Enmity lasts till death; our object has been realized. He is now the same to me as to you. Do thou perform his funeral rites according to prescribed forms. Thou wilt win renown thereby." Hearing these words of Rama, Bibhishana hastened to make preparations for the obsequies of Ravana, his dead brother. He went into the city, and came out quickly with Ravana's sacrificial-fire. He collected wooden carts, fire, priests, sandal wood, fuel of various kinds, fragrant aguru as well as sweet scents, gems and pearls and corals. He returned in a moment surrounded by Rakshasas. Then with the help of Malyaban, he entered upon the ceremony. Brahmins with tears trickling down their cheeks, placed Ravana, sovereign of Rakshasas, clad in a linen garment, on a superb golden litter, welcomed with brayings of trumpets of different kinds and panegyrics chanted by bards. They all raised the litter made picturesque with banners of diverse colours and garlands of flowers, and headed by Bibhishana, proceeded towards the south; they also carried wood. Fires lighted in vessels by priests went at that time before the procession. All the women of the harem, weeping, quickly followed behind; not being accustomed to walking, they seemed to be bounding as the way. Having reached the cremation-ground, they heavy with grief, placed Ravana on a pure spot, and made the funeral pyre with sandal and other fragrant wood, such as *padmaka* and *ushira*, according to Vedic laws; they also spread upon it the skin of a spotted antelope. They performed magnificently the ceremony of the sacrifice to the Manes for the king of the Rakshasas. The Brahmins made the altar to the south-east of the pyre, and placed the fire thereon. They then laid on Ravana's shoulders a vessel filled with curd and clarified butter, a cart at his feet, and a mortar on his thighs. They offered a complete set of wooden vessels, a pair of sticks used to make a fire by friction, and a mallet, in proper places, and thus went through the sacrifice to the

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Manes. Then they killed a clean beast in accordance with the prescriptions of scriptures, and of great sages, for the sake of the lord of Rakshasas, made a covering paste of its fat mingled with clarified butter, and placed it on the mouth of the King. They, as well as Bibhishana, with disconsolate minds, decked Ravana with perfumes and garlands and cloths of diverse kinds, and scattered upon him fried rice, with tears streaming down their faces. Then Bibhishana applied the fire to him in prescribed form. Thereafter he bathed, and in wet clothes, offered duly sesame mixed with Kusha grass and water. Bibhishana, the chief of the Rakshasas, then tried to console those women again and again, and asked them to go back to the city. After they had re-entered it, he went back to Rama and humbly stood by him.—VI. 111, 100-122.

Conclusion

It is evident from the above sketches that the poet of the Rāmāyana was acquainted only with one type of civilization. The kings of Ayodhyā, the Vānaras and the ruler of Lankā, together with his brothers, are all descended from the gods of the Aryan pantheon, and profess the Vedic religion, the Vedas are studied with reverence at Ayodhyā, Kishkindhyā and Lankā, and their injunctions strictly followed by the three races of men, monkeys and monsters in the installation and obsequies of their kings. Brahmins were indispensable even at Lankā. The poet does not hesitate to apply the Aryan standard of morality to a people whom he holds up to ridicule as veritable monkeys. In material prosperity there is not much to choose between the three cities; Kishkindhyā vies with Ayodhyā in wealth and physical comforts, while the state which was protected by that prince of iniquity, Ravana, surpasses in beauty and splendour the other two.

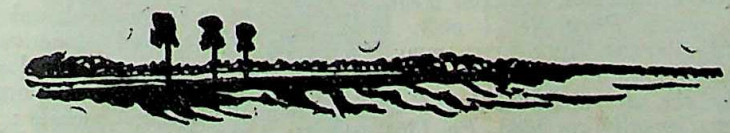
Artistic strokes are met with here and there, intended to differentiate the three types of civilization from each other. The Vānaras, and more than they, the Rākshasas, are addicted to heavy drinking, but intoxicating liquors are not banned in the kingdom of Kosala. And the fratricidal feud of Vāli and Sugrīva, as well as their sensuality, and Rāvana's violence and abandonment to the lust of the flesh, are possibly meant as betokening a lower grade of civilization; but the history of the world provides abundant proofs that the path of intellectual progress does not always run parallel to that of moral development.

The structure of society and the form of government are the same throughout the epic. The poet recognizes only the patriarchal state in the one, and monarchy in the other. Dasharatha is not less polygamous than Rāvana, and Sugrīva's espousal of Tara, after the death of his elder brother Vāli, finds its echo in the bitter reproaches of Sīta when, at the crisis of her fate, she charged Lakshmana with harbouring the wicked design of seizing upon her in case Rāma fell at the hands of the Rākshasas in the Dandaka forest—a clear proof of the existence of the like practice among the Aryans. A minor point of resemblance in social custom is the seclusion of women in the three kingdoms. They ordinarily live in the inner apartments, but follow the funeral procession to the cremation ground on the death of the king. In all the three communities, Aryan and Non-Aryan, the position of women is the same.

Another point worth noting is the council of elders which is consulted on all important occasions by the rulers of Ayodhyā, Kishkindhyā and Lankā. The administrative machinery appears to be the same among men, monkeys and monsters.

But there is a broad line of demarcation in the depiction of the three races which should not be lost sight of. In the Aryan society, as painted in the Rāmayana, the supremacy of the Brahmins is unassailably established; it, therefore, naturally centres round the hermitage. There were Brahmins or priests, non-Aryan perhaps, among the Vānaras and the Rākshasas too, but we do not hear of hermitages at Kishkindhyā or Lankā. The Aryan poet has given us an idealized picture of the post-Vedic Aryan civilization in India.

The general sameness of the civilizations of Ayodhyā, Kishkindhyā and Lankā is, however, relieved by some features of the funeral rites of Rāvana, which are absent from those of the other two monarchs. The orientation of the altar, the placing of various articles on different parts of the corpse, at its feet, and around it, the sacrifice of a clean beast, and the death-mask—these are items peculiar to the obsequies of the king of Lankā. They perhaps point to his non-Aryan origin, but the clue to their significance is not to be found in the Rāmāyana.



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THE HINDU-MOSLEM PROBLEM, AND A MOSLEM NATIONALIST OF BENGAL

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A Review*

OF ALL the problems that retard the progress of India, the knottiest is the "Moslem Problem," relating to the inter-relation of the Mohammadan elements in the population of India and the Hindu and other elements. Such a "problem" cannot be expected to rise in any reasonable society; but unfortunately in India things are not always guided by reason, even in simple matters, and prejudice or fanaticism which is the effect of ignorance or false perspective controls our attitude and action. The "Moslem Problem" has taken its present form in India largely through a wrong orientation of the Indian Mohammadans with regard to their racial and cultural affinities. Of course, educated Indian Musalmans are quite alive to the fact that they are mainly of Indian origin, and are of the same race and culture as the Hindus; but unfortunately those who frame the ideology of the masses of the Indian Moslems are not always clear in their own views, and they make a hash of history and religion and race; and by emphasising upon the differences between the extreme types of Islamic theological notions on the one hand, and certain Hindu usages and practices, which appear to go counter to these notions, on the other, they are constantly helping to retain and even widen the cleavage between the two communities (for which Hindu exclusiveness also is to some extent responsible), making those who are brothers in blood feel like aliens with regard to each other and behave like enemies. There is no interest felt in the Indian bases of their life and culture, as many of the Indian Musalmans have been taught to believe that the mere fact of adherence to the cult of the Prophet of Arabia has made them the inheritors of the traditions and glories of the worlds of the Arabs, Persians and Turks, and has taken away from them, at least for the time being, the right and the desire to feel a pride in the achievements of their ancestors, the ancient Indians, or even to feel comfortable is a *milieu* which does not at every step remind them of the Islamic lands of the west. The conflict of interests and ideals between the invaded Indian and the invading Turki, Afghan and Persian Mohammadan who took up the self-appointed task of fighting God's battles against the heathen and thereby profiting both in this world and the next, has to a large extent been perpetuated—even when the descendants of the Turki or Irani invader ceased to be a foreigner and became a full-blooded Indian af generations of inbreeding with Indians, and when t full-blooded Indian himself adopted the religion of the Ar Turk and Persian and affiliated himself to the gro of the descendants of the foreign Mohammad conquerors. An Indian Mohammadan mentality has be formed, mostly in Northern India, which is that of once-ruling people who are God's *elite* and whose anc tors or spiritual teachers conquered the land with th swords. Behind this, there is also an ill-understood a vaguely suppressed feeling of self-reproach in the min of those Mohammadans who are conscious of their pu Indian origin—a feeling which is bound to be engender by the very presence of the Hindus exulting in th national religion and national traditions. As a necessar counterpoise to such a feeling, latent or manifest, Pa Islamism, and latterly an intransigeant and all-exclusi Moslem attitude, has been the natural refuge of tho Indian Moslems who lay greater stress on creed than o life, on religion than on the race.

Closely interwoven with a spiritual struggle like th above are other forces, which are more vital even thoug they are operating under the surface, namely, economi and political, the desire to acquire and retain and th desire to control. These other forces have different impli cations in different parts of the country. They have go one aspect in Hyderabad State, a different one in th United Provinces, and a third one in Bengal. The ide logy working in the minds of and occasionally guidin the Moslem *intelligentsia* in the different parts of Indi may be the same, as ideologies are easy to acquire; bu the economic and political problems are not the sam everywhere. In the United Provinces, it is a Moslem minority which largely furnished the ruling aristocracy for the last six hundred years and which built up th latest phase of Indian civilisation—the Indo-Moslem one: this Moslem minority is conscious of its past achievement and at the same time is apprehensive of being absorbed within the rising tide of the Indian, Hindu nationalism of the surrounding Hindu majority. In Bengal, on the other hand, the Mohammadans form the bulk of the agricultural masses, particularly in East and North Bengal and till recently they were but Mohammadans in name only, being dominated by the Hindu upper classes (of the same race and speech with them) in all spheres of life. The Mohammadan movement in Bengal has as its objective the economic and cultural establishment of an economically and culturally backward group now for the first time conscious of its number and the power that comes from it, and assured of the moral support of the British eager to punish an overweening Hindu *intelligentsia* which has as its avowed object the freeing of India from British domination. In the anti-Hindu ideology of the North Indian Musalman, who places creed before race, a good many Bengal Moslems have found a source of strength in the struggle for economic and political as well as cultural predominance which has become their avowed objective. In this way, so far as Bengal is concerned, the ideology evolved by North Indian Moslem aristocrats has been eagerly adopted by the Bengali Moslem masses: and the result has been the Hindu-Moslem problem of Bengal, quite unique of its kind in India.

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3. JAGRIHI (Awake!—Papers on Literature, Religion, Politics and Education, in Bengali): *By Rezaul Karim. Published by the Aryya Publishing Co., 22, Cornwallis Street, Calcutta. Bengali Year 1345. Pp. 136. Boards. Price Re. 1-4.*

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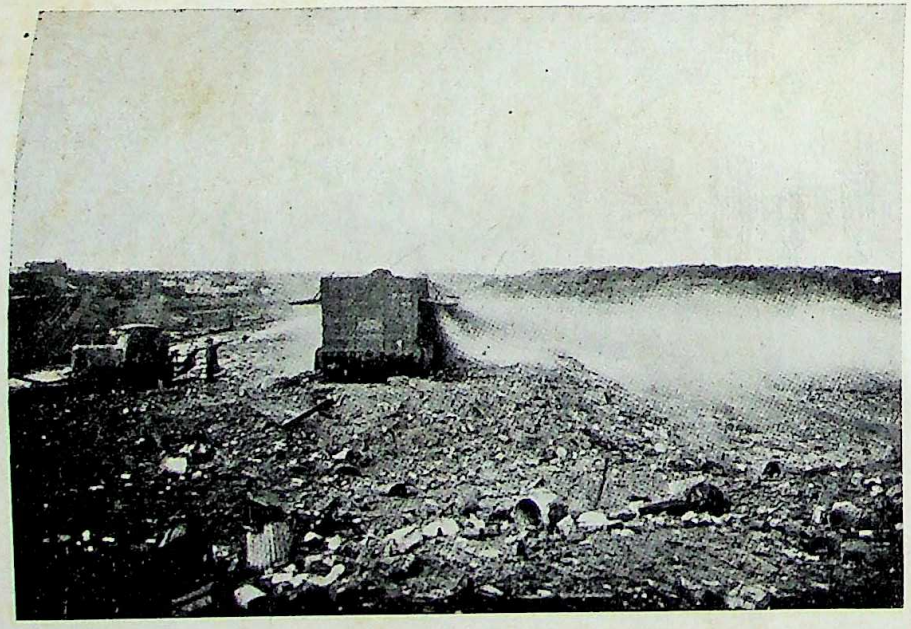
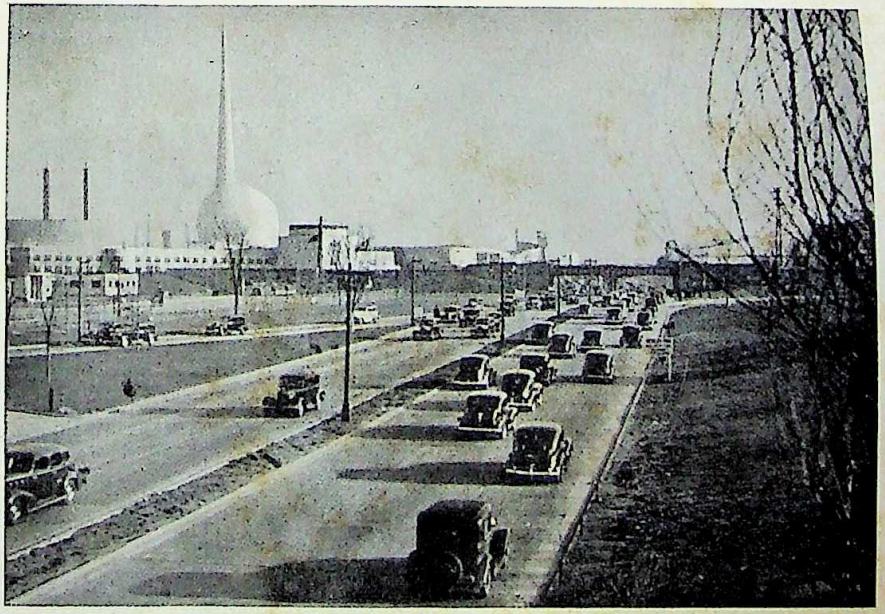
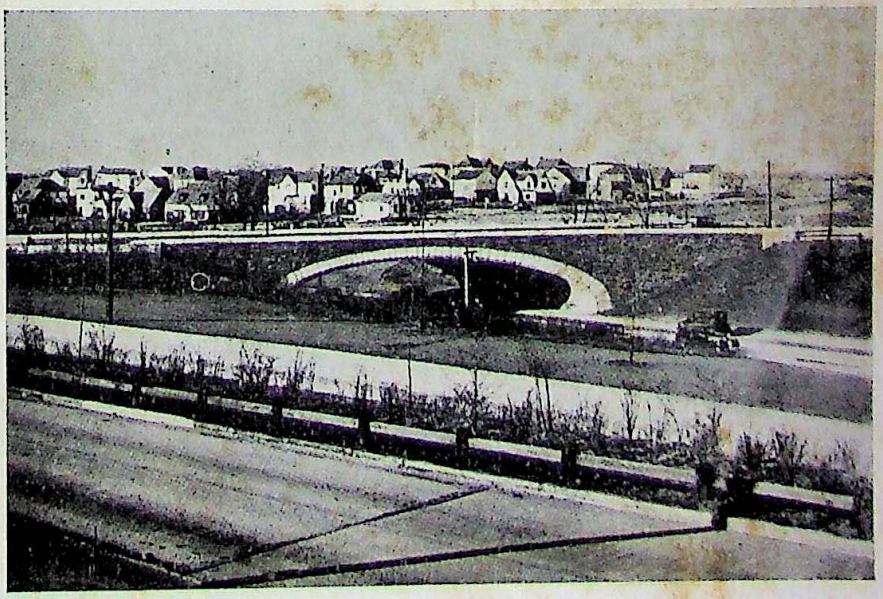


The site of the Exhibition (Waste-dumping ground) before the work started



Grand Central Park—way through the Park



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A typical house in the Padang Highlands, Sumatra

A delightful view of Harau Canyon, near Fort de Kock, Sumatra

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The main economic and political issues have been overlaid by religious and supposedly cultural differences. Economic reasons for a class struggle are there, and these concern Hindu and Moslem Bengal in the same way. Power and prestige through predominance in the public services and the professions which the Hindus have been wielding so far through their superior education, are now sought to be transferred to the Moslems even when they are not ready educationally and otherwise. The conflict is for wealth and power; and religion has been invoked, and all that Hindu and Mohammadan Bengal has jointly built up or has been enjoying as a national heritage, is sought to be crushed or distorted, to make it supposedly more compatible to the new ideology of Indian Moslemdom.

The Musalman Bengali too finds himself in the midst of a conflict of ideas. He is bewildered by being lashed into the narrow path of orthodoxy which places religion above racialism or nationalism; he is losing his bearings more than ever. His want of imagination, and his want of proper education, make him think that the narrow path is the only path for him. He does not usually find any light from the teachers of his community who mostly harp upon the negative aspects of his Indian or Bengali Moslem position. He has not realised himself as yet, and consequently he cannot build up something positive—in literature or art or music, in a higher cultural life. He is taught to look upon a nationalism that transcends religion as something to be avoided. The voice of orthodoxy is a very loud voice in the Islam of India today: it makes the call to a reasonable attitude to life and to things in general merely a wail, a cry in the wilderness.

But it must be said to the credit of Indian Moslemdom in Bengal, as in other parts of India, that this call is not wholly absent. There is in Bengal as in other parts of India, a noble band of thinkers and writers among Moslems who refuse to make a man's creed the sole test of his excellence, who believe in harmony and not strife as the basis of human relations, particularly within a people of one language, one history, one culture and one race, and who do not think that a particular religion or creed makes an individual or a community *ipso facto* good or bad. Prominent among such Moslem writers in Bengal is Rezaul Karim. With his facile and convincing pen in both English and Bengali, he has been an indefatigable soldier in the fight for the cause of sweet-reasonableness in the domains of life and literature wherever it concerns the Moslems. With rare courage in a society not conspicuous for education or culture in Bengal, the masses of which are dominated by a most unthinking priesthood which is ever ready with threats of spiritual punishment not infrequently attended by personal violence and social ostracism, Mr. Rezaul Karim has been preaching what 'Islam' really means—*Peace*. In the midst of raucous voices proclaiming war, and war to the death, between the Moslem brotherhood on the one hand, and other communities on the other, his has been the still small voice of his people, a voice which can never be in vain and is bound to be heard when the din and the wrangle of the present day subside. I consider Mr. Rezaul Karim's papers which he contributes frequently to the leading English and Bengali journals of Calcutta, dailies, weeklies and monthlies, to be among the sanest and most thoughtful things on current Indian politics, particularly in connexion with their communal or Hindu-Moslem relations.

From his writings, Mr. Rezaul Karim appears to us to be an ardent Moslem patriot who believes that the Hindu and the Moslem can live in peace and amity and build up a great Indian nation. In an air surcharged with mistrust and jealousy sedulously cultivated by a peculiar kind of mentality which places the good of the Moslem people of Arabia and Egypt and Morocco as of a sort of chosen people of God above that of the Hindu brothers of the Indian Musalmans, Mr. Karim is frequently forced to be controversial and argumentative, critical and destructive, in his essays. But generally, Mr. Karim has stated the case for a sane and a reasonable attitude towards Indian problems on the part of the Indian Musalmans, and at times on the part of the Hindus as well. He is a Moslem nationalist of a radical type, who pins his faith on the Indian National Congress, and is against the Communal Award, that monstrous institution which has done incalculable mischief to Indian humanity by fostering and accentuating communal disunion and strife.

The titles of some of the various articles in the English book by Mr. Karim will indicate the scope of his discussions: *Indian First and Indian Always; I Salute the National Flag; Congress is India and India is Congress; Toleration in Islam; The Prophet of Islam and the Non-Moslems; Prince Dara Shikoh's Philosophy of Life; An Open Letter to Sir Mohammad Iqbal; What is Muslim Interest? H. H. the Aga Khan's Mission; Kill Communalism; Mr. Jinnah and the Muslim League; The Genesis of the Communal Award; Who Suppressed the Muslim? Is Islam in Danger?*

In his Bengali book *Jagrhi* some of the subjects discussed are: *Religion and Literature; Conversion; What Destroys Religion? Khilafat Without the Khalifa; Pride of Community; The Present Social Order; The University of Calcutta and the Musalmans; Crisis in Moslem Education; the Question of 'Sri' and the Lotus in the University Crest, and Bengali Moslems; What One should read and what One should not.* The articles in the other Bengali book are mostly in connexion with communalism in politics.

Mr. Karim writes in a very calm and dispassionate manner, and there is an atmosphere of culture and high seriousness in his writings which make them very forceful: some of his papers on cultural topics should have a permanent place in the field of the Bengali essay. It is unfortunate that a section of the Moslems of Bengal in their failure to appreciate the sanity, the urbanity and the moderation of his views brand him as an enemy of their community: but we know that under certain circumstances, censure is high praise.

One swallow does not make summer: but when we find at least one voice like that of Rezaul Karim in the field of Indian and Bengal politics, we need not despair. And Mr. Karim knows, as we also know, that he will receive recognition from his community in due time, as one who could survey the field above the storm, and tried to pour oil on troubled waters, in the best interests of all the communities that go to make a common Indian nation.

I can only finish by quoting what Sir Praphulla Chandra Ray has said about Mr. Rezaul Karim: "It is a hopeful sign that New Bengal has a worthy son in the person of Mr. Rezaul Karim. He is thoroughly against Communalism. Without fear he has announced in a clarion voice in his book the terrible mischief communalism is doing to the country and to society. In this, he is in the forefront of our political writers, and I should think he is unique. Through various reasons the political horizon of India is blackened with storm clouds; I believe that will be dispelled by forceful writers like Rezaul Karim."

I hope that Mr. Karim's English book will have a place in all libraries in India, and I cannot think that any library in Bengal can afford to be without these works by Mr. Karim which discuss in such dispassionate yet forceful manner what is the most most vital problem of Bengal and Indian life.

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Book Reviews

Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in THE MODERN REVIEW. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.
—Editor, THE MODERN REVIEW.

ENGLISH

WORLD FEDERATION: *By Oscar Newfang.* FEDERATION UNIVERSELLE: PAR *Oscar Newfang. Traduit par Pierre Gault. Barnes and Noble, inc., New York. Price not mentioned.*

This important volume contains Oscar Newfang's work in the English and French languages.

The author shows in this book that the way to permanent peace lies through world federation. The two conditions of permanent peace are political unity and economic freedom:

"1. a single, effective, acceptable authority throughout the whole area in which the peace is to be kept, and

"2. free movement of goods, money and persons throughout the same area."

The whole argument of the book has been outlined in about five pages. The outline enables the reader to grasp what the author wishes to establish. The book is written throughout very lucidly and methodically. It is divided into three parts. Part I treats of the conditions of world peace, of which the two basic ones have been mentioned above.

"The history of many centuries and of many lands shows a continuing tendency of the peoples of the world to unite into ever larger governmental units. While the dawn of history displays mankind as a very large number of constantly fighting family clans, and later as a large number of fighting tribes formed by the union of these family clans for the sake of safety, later and more authentic history portrays mankind slowly uniting into less numerous groups of small principalities, and still later exhibits the slow and painful union of these small principalities into our modern nations.

"With each advance in the size of governmental units peace has been established within the enlarged area of each unit, and as the size of the units reaches the dimensions of our modern nations, peace has been fairly well-established within the whole area of each of these national units. There now remain in the world only about sixty sovereign units as compared with many hundreds in past centuries. This is the present stage of the evolution of mankind."

At this stage many attempts have been made from time to time to form larger units than the national ones by means of alliances, treaties, councils and confederations. But these attempts have succeeded only partially and temporarily in establishing a precarious peace throughout the territories of these larger units.

The author points out that the great problem before mankind now is to find the conditions under which permanent peace throughout the world may be achieved, and thus to lay the foundation for an advance in the welfare of all peoples far surpassing anything that the world has thus far seen.

In order to find the minimum conditions under which permanent peace is possible the author has presented in this work a study of the actual achievement of peace within the four countries of Great Britain, France, Italy and Germany. The reasons why the League of Nations has failed to establish permanent peace are set forth. In Chapter XI the author shows how the League of Nations can be developed into a world federation by developing its Assembly into a world legislature, granting compulsory jurisdiction to the world court, developing its Council into a world executive cabinet, gradually transferring the armed forces from its member states to the central authority, giving the central authority the power of taxation, gradually removing trade barriers, and establishing a world monetary and banking system.

In order to facilitate the taking of these steps a revision of the League Covenant is suggested in detail.

So far as the reasoning of the author in the abstract is concerned it is convincing. But what may look easy on paper may be very difficult of achievement in reality. The writer knows the difficulties to be overcome and points them out.

We are living in a critical period of human history. We must either go forward to world-law and world-order, or go back to anarchy and war.

THE MAN BEHIND THE PLOUGH: *By M. Azizul Huque, Speaker, Bengal Legislative Assembly, and Vice-Chanceller, Calcutta University. The Book Company, Ltd., Calcutta. Price Rupees Five.*

This book enables the reader to form an idea of the condition of the Bengal peasant, by placing before him facts relating to the regional geography of Bengal, by enumerating the natural calamities in the five Divisions of the province in chronological order, and by describing in detail all the various conditions under which agriculture has to be carried on in it.

The author is well qualified for the task which he imposed upon himself. As he was the president of a Village Union Board, the chairman of a municipality, the vice-chairman of a district board, and the member of various committees and boards like the Provincial Banking Enquiry Committee, Bengal Jute Enquiry Committee, Indian Franchise Committee, the Board of Economic Enquiry and the Board of Industries, and as he has toured through almost every village in his own district and through every district of Bengal and every province of India, he had ample opportunities to study the realities of rural life.

The book deals with agriculture in Bengal in general and with its main crops. Though cotton is not at present

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a main or even a subsidiary crop of Bengal, its possibilities might have been pointed out. There are chapters dwelling on the cost of agriculture and the family budget, the average holding, incidence of rent, revenue and taxes on land, and the displacement of agricultural workers. Other chapters are devoted to cattle, rural indebtedness, and debt and co-operation. One chapter treats of the "problem of over-population." The Land System is first treated of historically and, in part, with reference to some other countries and then the Permanent Settlemen, Tenancy Legislation after 1793, Enhance and Contract, Transferrability, Summary Procedure and Certificate Power, and Abwabs are elaborately described and discussed. The book concludes with a chapter on "Prospect and Perspective," of which two paragraphs are entitled. "The Heart of Bengal is Corroded," and "They (Bengal peasants) are Gallant Gentlemen." Appendix E supplies information relating to agriculture and allied industries in many foreign countries and Appendix F briefly enumerates recent agrarian reforms.

There are 82 statistical tables in the book.

By working very hard the author has produced a very useful book, which no one who is interested in the welfare of the Bengal *raiyat* can do without.

SERMONS OF HEM CHANDRA SARKAR, *M.A., D.D. Edited and published by Miss Sakuntala Sastri, Vedatirtha, M.A., B. Litt. (Oxon), 210-6, Cornwallis Street, Calcutta. Crown 8vo. Pages 159. Price not mentioned.*

Dr. Hem Chandra Sarkar was one of the most enthusiastic and active ministers and missionaries of the Sadharan Brahmo Samaj. He was an erudite scholar and a man of faith. The sermons of such a devout and faithful servant of God cannot but make edifying and inspiring reading.

THOUGHTS OF SHAKESPEARE: *By Nar Bir Sen. Published by the Author, post-box No. 7832, Calcutta. Price Rs. 5.*

Dr. Sir Gokul Chand Narang has contributed a foreword and Dr. Sir P. C. Ray an introduction to this book.

It is an anthology of quotations from Shakespeare's works arranged according to subjects in alphabetical order.

Sir P. C. Ray rightly observes that the subjects chosen are highly representative and one may safely remark that the works of the greatest recorder of human passions have here been made sufficiently handy to suit the busy world. The book will be of great help to writers and speakers who want to embellish or add force to their writings and speeches.

CONFERENCE NUMBER OF "INDIAN JOURNAL OF ECONOMICS": *Papers read and discussed at the 22nd Conference of the Indian Economic Association held at Nagpur, December, 1938. Issued by the Department of Economics and Commerce, University of Allahabad. Price Rs. 3-8.*

As most of the papers in this volume relate to debt legislation, the publication of this volume is very timely. It will prove useful to members of legislatures, journalists and other publicists and students of economics in general.

D.

CHRISTIANITY AND MODERN PROBLEMS THE CHRISTIAN CHALLENGE TO CHRISTIANS: *By Kenneth Ingram. Published by Messrs. George Allen and Unwin, Ltd. 1938. Pages 223. Price 6s. net.*

This book is appropiately described as a challenge. Evil of any kind, physical suffering, life maimed and distorted are a challenge to men of goodwill. Social maladies, economic maladjustments and industrial hardships of our day constitute a challenge to the Christian who believes in a kingdom of righteousness and prays for its coming.

This challenge is not a new phenomenon in history. Mr. Ingram finds a parallel in the transition from the feudal form of society to capitalist organization at the begining of the present era. He could have gone farther back when Christianity faced a slave-ridden society. Social life is in a state of perpetual flux and the permeation of Christian ideals and principles is naturally a lengthy process. Centuries were to pass from the time St. Paul proclaimed the equality of all men in the face of God till slavery was abolished. "There is neither Jew nor Greek, there is neither bond nor free, there is neither male nor female: *for ye are all one in Christ.*" Galatians 3.28. These great Christian ideals act as explosives. But how long does it take to become actual possessions of mankind! And when one generation has cured certain social evils, does not another arise which brings into existence other kind of social evils? The battle against slavery was won after centuries of struggle only to find that a new slavery was brought in. Students of industrial conditions assure us that the slavery in our industrial conditions does not very much differ from conditions in the Graeco-Roman world.

What is the Christian to do in the presence of so much suffering caused by our industrial conditions? Is he to be contented with religious practices, going to Church, worship God and develop his own religious life, leaving the maladies of this world to be healed in another world where irritating inequalities will be levelled up and the crown of thorns of physical suffering would be replaced by the joys of Heaven? Or should he concentrate his attention on the removal of suffering, in the amelioration of mankind and on healing social diseases? The challenge stated in such dialectical terminology is sure to receive an inadequate answer. In real Christianity, the love of God and the love of man constantly act and react one upon the other. Love of mankind, humanitarian virtues, are like fruits which can be enjoyed only for a time if they are cut off from the tree. Sooner or later the fruit grows woody and withers, and we have to return to the living tree for more sap and vitalising energy. Christian effort may succeed for a time in softening the hardships of modern life—and there are some who would consider Christianity important on this account only: but the inspiration of Christian endeavour is not mere fellow-feeling but the transcendent implications of the Incarnation of Jesus Christ.

Love of God and love of man can not be separated. Both spring from the same source. Both are the result of the inspiration of a person, the life and death of Jesus Christ. Christian living—observes a writer in *The Expository Times*,—is the assimilation of the principles (which were expressed concretely by Jesus in His life and in His teaching); an assimilation largely induced by the contact with the personality of Jesus. And these principles have to be re-expressed in ways appropiate to the individual circumstances of place and time. Christian living is thus never stereotyped. It is individual and it is creative.

Christianity is not going to help solving the problems of our time by becoming Socialist or Totalitarian, by turning to the Left or to the Right, but by bringing men and women into a living contact with Him Who is the Saviour of the World.

P. G. BRIDGE

THE DEVELOPMENT OF LOCAL BOARDS IN THE MADRAS PRESIDENCY: *By M. Venkatarangaiya, M.A., Head of the Department of History, Economics and*

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Politics, Andhra University. Published by the Local Self-Government Institute, Bombay. Price Rs. 4.

Prof. Venkatarangaiya has made a useful and a readable survey of the development of local boards in the Madras Presidency and has ably discussed the problems involved in the extension of Local Self-Government in rural areas. He is right in holding that Self-Government in local areas was impractical under a bureaucratic regime and also in pointing out that democracy to be real must be based on a fully developed system of Local Self-Government. As Laski insists, the individual can govern only in a small locality. Professor Venkatarangaiya is, therefore, an enthusiastic supporter of the policy of reviving village panchayats and of entrusting them with larger and more varied functions. I am afraid, experience in England is not very encouraging in this connection. The parish there has proved too small a unit for most purposes.

Prof. Venkatarangaiya has rendered valuable service in emphasising the distinction between the work of local boards and their elected Chairman and the permanent staff. In a country like India, particularly at this stage of inexperience and prominence of minority questions, this distinction is of supreme importance. I am definitely of opinion that the success of Local Self-Government in India will depend to a very large extent upon the creation of an honest and efficient Local Government service in each province and upon the establishment of healthy relationship between the Chairman and members of the boards and the permanent staff of the type that exists in England.

Professor Venkatarangaiva has also discussed the problems of local finance and of central control and his conclusions will be generally approved.

Students of local administration would have wished for more details in regard to the constitution of local boards and their functions than are given in the book but they might have made it less interesting for the general reader. The book deserves to be read widely.

GURMUKH NIHAL SINGH

TWELVE RELIGIONS AND MODERN LIFE: *By Har Dayal, M.A., Ph.D. Published by Modern Culture Institute, Edgeware, Middlesex, England. Pp. 250. Double foolscap 16mo. Price 2s. 6d. net.*

The author, whose recent death in the U. S. A. we lament, reviews in this little book Zoroastrianism, Judaism, Shintoism, Taoism, Confucianism, Hinduism, Jainism, Buddhism, Christianity, Islam, Sufism and Positivism as religious systems from the standpoint of Humanism. There is also, in the Appendix, a brief account of the Modern Culture Institute at Edgeware, of which the author was the founder, and where the philosophy of 'Dayalism' is practised.

The practical ethical enthusiasm and the spirit of culture and go-aheadness, which are the characteristics of Humanism as a religious (?) system, shine brightly in this little book. The criticism of religious systems is both rational and trenchant, but the appreciation of their good points is quite warm. The author's virulent opposition to belief in God and in life after death often leads him to bitter invective. In spite of this little blemish the book, which is well docketed, amply repays perusal.

S. C. C.

THE FOUNDATIONS OF LIVING FAITHS, VOL. I: *By H. D. Bhattacharyya, M.A., Head of the Department of Philosophy, University of Dacca. Published by the University of Calcutta.*

This book incorporates what the author himself has described as the "Indian Gifford Lectures" *viz.*, the Stephanos Nirmalendu Ghosh Lectures of the Univers of Calcutta for the year 1933. We have here only t first volume of the Book containing the materials of t first six lectures. The second volume is yet to appe Any criticism of the author at this stage must, therefo be somewhat premature.

These first six lectures have been split up here in ten chapters, which, besides discussing certain gene propositions about religion, enter into a detailed examin tion of the religions of the Hindus, the Jews, the Christia and the Mussalmans. These discussions are undoubted full of information and learning. A cursory glance the footnotes of the pages will reveal the extent of t author's reading and scholarship. The historical materia have been forcefully presented and constitute pleasa reading. But as we have not reached the end of t book, we are left without any definite and final conclusio One cannot even be sure if the author will at all tak his readers into his confidence and reveal to them t final conclusions of his thinking on the subject. It almost an obtrusive fact that his learning conceals h thinking. This is really unfortunate. Perusal of t book may make one learned but may not make hi religious. Any but an expert reader may miss the fore in the trees.

Materials have been carefully collected; collecte materials have been well-digested; and the expositio leave little to be desired. But sometimes the reference to authorities are aggressively advertising. Should w quote an authority in support of every important state ment that we make? Is it really necessary? A truth will not cease to be so, if no distinguished name can b cited as having mentioned it. And association with a distinguished name does not make an untruth true. I is arguments rather than authorities that we should think of in these connections. Too many references to and quotations from authorities leaves this unfortunate impression in the mind that one would not have made a statement if it were not supported by some one of high distinction.

The author's reviews of some of the living cults look like special pleading. The *apologia* for the phallic cult (Ch. V) is an instance of the kind. Impurities in religious rites and thought should be frankly recognised as such. A philosopher need not invent an allegory to hide a manifest error or perversion, nor need he ransack the archives of history to prove that the origin of an indecent cult was not itself indecent.

The Preface of the book, though not too long, contains, besides the usual series of thanks-giving, some rather curious statements about the author himself which were not necessary for the appreciation of the book and might well be regarded as not only irrelevant but undignified. No reader of the book would care to know that the author 'had not crossed the seas' and that his reputation as a writer and a speaker 'was confined within the limits of India.' That he is an orthodox Brahmin but was educated in a missionary college, may be useful material for his biography but is not necessary for the understanding of the book. The presence of the founder of the Lectureship at the meeting of the Selection Committee which recommended his appointment is not of importance to the reader of the book. This piece of information might easily be passed on in private conversations but one fails to see how it augments the author's prestige. Nor is the value of the book enhanced by the announcement (page XI) that following his 'usual practice' he delivered the lectures *extempore*. We are reading a carefully prepared book, not newspaper reports of lectures. So also the author's preoccupation with the Dean's office at his University (p. X) will not

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interest any one outside the circle of his personal friends. The book will be judged by what it contains, not by the important offices that the author held or still holds.

U. C. BHATTACHARJEE

CALENDAR OF PERSIAN CORRESPONDENCE (BETWEEN THE E. I. CO. AND INDIAN RULERS AND NOTABLES), VOL. VI. 1781-1785. *Published by the Imperial Record Department, Delhi. 1938. Pp. 441+18+28. Price Rs. 15-2.*

The preceding volume was published in 1930, bringing the record down to the end of 1780. The present volume completes the period of the administration of Warren Hastings and ends with January, 1785. In point of historical information based on despatches, it fits in exactly before the first volume of the Poona Residency Correspondence (*Mahadji Sindhia and North Indian Affairs*) which begins about the middle of the year 1785. It, therefore, supplies a long-felt want. The speedy continuation of the series had been pressed upon the Department by the public at many sessions of the Indian Historical Records Commission, and we are glad to see some fruit of this agitation. But a record for four years which takes eight years to compile, though it runs up to only 441 pages in print, does not speak much of the activity of the Department. We trust that greater vigour would be infused into the work and the publication would reach the year 1799 in no distant time, as after that year, owing to the copious English records of Marquess Wellesley already available in print, these Persian letters lose their importance to the student of British Indian history. The volume under review is invaluable and has been neatly printed on good paper, though we must add that its price is prohibitive to private students.

BRAJENDRA NATH BANERJI

CATALOGUE OF THE LIBRARY OF THE INDIA OFFICE. VOL. II. PART I. REVISED EDITION. SANSKRIT BOOKS: *By Prana Natha, M.A., Ph.D., D.Sc. and Jitendra Bimala Chaudhuri, Ph.D. Section I (A.-G). London, 1938. 8vo. Pages i—xxiv+1—990. Price £1 1s. 0d.*

We have here the first of the proposed four sections of a revised and up-to-date edition of the India Office Catalogue of Sanskrit Books. It will be four times the size of the previous edition, published in 1897 which had registered 6200 publications, while the present edition will, it is stated, register upwards of 26000 separate works and editions. It includes accessions to the Library up to the year 1932 as regards the entries under the letters A—D, and up to the year 1935 as regards entries under other letters. 'In form this is a dictionary catalogue, in which titles of works are the main entries, cross-references from authors, editors and series being included in the same alphabetical sequence.' 'Parts of larger works which have a recognised separate individuality are registered as independent works.' These two facts are greatly responsible for the considerable swelling of the bulk of the book. As regards the separate registering of parts, this is rather a difficult task as some of these small parts are quite likely to escape notice. As a matter of fact, occasional, but not always unusual, omissions are noticed in this respect. The Vedic *Devisukta*, for example, which is included in almost every edition of the *Devimahatmya* as also of not a few ritualistic works containing miscellaneous topics, is mentioned as a separate heading which refers to only a few of the editions of the *Devimahatmya* alone, even omitting some of these editions which expressly mention the *Sukta* as one of the main items of their contents. Similar defects in connection with the *stotras* or hymns to various deities would possibly be detected when the work comes to be completed.

It is unfortunate that while translations of works into European languages are included in the work, translations into an Oriental language are not included 'unless the Sanskrit text is printed with the translation.' This would make it difficult to ascertain the actual position of a particular work in so far as its translations are concerned.

However, in spite of these minor shortcomings the Catalogue will be highly useful not only to scholars using the library, but also to all serious students of Sanskrit literature all over the world, who will be eagerly waiting for a speedy completion of the work. This, like the British Museum Catalogue of Sanskrit books, will be indispensable to every library of Sanskrit printed books and manuscripts.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI

ENGLISH RADICALISM (1853-1886): *By S. Maccoby, Ph.D. Published by George Allen & Unwin, Ltd., London. Price 16s. net.*

Dr. Maccoby's first volume covered the period between 1832 and 1852, and, this second deals with a period "which is even more in need of historical revision." Again in his study the writer goes well behind what is known as 'standard history,' which all too often "has become a *fable convenue*." Dr. Maccoby, pursuing the method of the Webbs, tries historical revaluation and makes an original contribution supported by his amazing industry in research. Rightly, as he points out in the preface, to most students of the period many of the "progressive" forces which worked underneath the political and social scene are unknown. "How many students have ever heard of the India Reform Society of 1853, the Financial Reform Association of Liverpool or the Administration Reform Association of 1855?" asks the author. "Yet the first was active in propaganda for the end of Company rule in India, conceded in 1858; the second deserves much of the credit for the virtually unopposed extension of Free Trade in 1853 and 1860; and the agitation of the third forced the appointment of the Civil Service Commission." Similarly, movements and measures of the later decades under the author's examination have been forgotten, and, 'standard history' knows little of them. Yet the period was great and eventful—it witnessed the remarkable triumphs of the two great statesmen, Gladstone and Disraeli; and advance in progressive thoughts and measures as well as in the imperialist adventures of Disraeli, Great figures play on the English political stage—Bright and Cogden, whose names are called up as the word Radical is heard; and later emerge on it Chamberlain and his 'Caucus,' and the Labour in a socialist colour, reluctantly break away from the Radicals. The problem of Ireland becomes acute to make shipwreck of Gladstone's hopes and plans as we close the period before us.

The thorough and painstaking research that Dr. Maccoby presents gives a close and consistent study of these men and movements, and the whole is organically related with the political developments of the time. It is an enlightenment to accompany the author through this page of history, and, to be favoured with a minute but accurate view of the contending forces of the political life of England.

It is not a small praise to admit that this immense amount of labour and research leaves no weariness on the reader, and, the volume keeps up the interest through an

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admirable presentation of facts and forces. The volume will add to the solid reputation that the author attained for himself with the previous one.

BHARADVAJA

THE WORKING CONSTITUTION IN INDIA: *By S. M. Bose. M.A., LL.B. (Cantab.). Barrister-at-Law. Member, Public Service Commission, Bengal. Oxford University Press. Price Rs. 20/-.*

The Government of India Act, 1935 introduces many fundamental changes in the governmental organisation of the country. It provides for a federal constitution for India, prescribes responsible parliamentary government for the Centre and for the provinces by replacing bureaucracies by popular government; settles the competence and the mutual relationships of legislature, executive and judiciary; widens the suffrage which is made almost equal for men and women; removes the public service as a body of officials beyond the reach of the executive, safeguards the interest of the minorities and lastly, defines precisely the spheres of administration from which is excluded the ministerial responsibility. This book reproduces the Act with commentaries which throw light on the system of administration which is now partially in force and will be brought into full operation as soon as sufficient number of Indian States accede to the Federation. Mr. Bose has set out with admirable skill and judgment the significance of the Act and his comments are always learned, ingenious and stimulating of thought. He sums up accurately the principles which regulate the relations between the Indian States and the Paramount Power and concedes the powers which the Butler Committee claimed for the Paramount Power in its residuary jurisdiction in its dealings with the States. His views on the collective responsibility of ministers are likely to be acceptable to all those concerned with the working and interpretation of the Constitution. Mr. Bose foresees that the logical development of Cabinet government in India will be the irresponsibility of the Governor-General or the Governor and his exclusion from the deliberations of the Cabinet. He finds "no logical principle underlying the allocation of seats, either among the units of the Federation or among the various communities," in the Federal Assembly. "There are multifarious interests, political, religious and economic, which make broad alignments on a two, or three, party-system impossible," and it is very likely that the group-system will prevail in the Federal Legislature as effectively corresponding to the division of public opinion. The consequence will be, as Mr. Bose points out, to aggregate power around persons rather than about principles. His comment on the distribution of powers and the allocation of revenues are as accurate as they are instructive. Intricate subjects as "foreign jurisdiction", 'Rule of Law', 'Acts of State' have been lucidly explained. Where broad propositions have been enunciated, they have usually been supported by reference to appropriate case-law and other approved authorities. Mr. Bose advances an opinion that "it may be possible, without amendment of the Act, for India to attain the position of the Dominions." After seeing provincial autonomy in practice for upwards of two years during which there has been no occasion for exercise of special powers by the Governor, there will be found many, who will be disposed to agree with Mr. Bose. The book is a store-house of information and should prove helpful to students and public men. A detailed index adds to the value of the book.

SUKUMAR BOSE

EXPERIMENTS IN BEE-CULTURE: *By S. Narayan Ayyar. Published by S. V. S. Vasan, Coo. Pages 63. Illustrated. Price Re. 1-8.*

The book is intended for the amateur bee-keeper pointed out by the author in his concluding rem He observes: "In the foregoing pages I have tried express my experiences of bee-keeping. I am aware there are various other aspects of bee-keeping, whi have not referred to at all. I leave such a task to a hands, as my aim has been merely to rouse an inte in bee-keeping in all those, who want to take it up amateurs, and not as businessmen with the eye on profit which can be made out of it."

Successful bee-keeping is an art, and a book bee-keeping is therefore expected to contain all neces details and should deal with them thoroughly, whether an amateur that takes advantage of it or one who wa to utilise it for profit.

Investment of money for purchase of hives a appliances, yield of honey per year and total ma value of the yield are factors to be counted in succes bee-keeping. The author says that he has had "luxur prices by sale of honey which have covered all expenses. This piece of information will not be of m use to his readers unless actual figures are given.

As to bee-keeping proper, necessary details are la ing when he says that in spite of his efforts in keep down the number of his colonies the bees thrust him thirty working colonies though twenty colonies h absconded. Details as to the number of colonies w which the author began, increase in the number of hives and yield year after year, his efforts and meth employed in checking swarm, reasons why so many his colonies deserted hives are necessary if one is benefit by his "experiments." We hope the author w add these important details in the next edition.

SATISHCHANDRA DAS-GUPTA

THE MARIA GONDS OF BASTAR: *By W. Grigson, Indian Civil Service. Oxford University Pre 1938. Pp. xxi+350. Plates 23+8 figures, 8 appendic Price 30s.*

The author is a member of the I.C.S., and one those who believe that "anthropology has a very practic value to all charged with the administration of oth races if it can discover the thoughts and need of tho races" (p. xvii). Personally he professes a deep lo for the Maria Gonds, for he finds that "their mental pr cesses are not unlike ours, when allowance is made f their centuries of isolation; they are certainly more r ceptive than the ordinary villager of British India, whos thought has for generations been stunted by the cu brous wrappings of caste and debased Hinduism" (p 93). Mr. Grigson was in charge of the administrati of Bastar State for four years, and initiated certa reforms by way of partial reintroduction of the old trib system of government. He therefore knows his subjec intimately and has presented us with a picture of the material, social, religious and ceremonial life derive under such favourable circumstances.

The Marias are divided by him into the hill Maria and the Bison-horn Marias. The latter have come mo under the influence of surrounding tribes than the forme and the author carefully draws a distinction between th two throughout his description of their culture. He th gives enough tangible proof of the different influence to which the two sections of the Marias have been su jected in the past. The treatment of material life and c ceremonialism is fuller than that of social organizatio

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and of social changes; that being evidently due to the fact that investigation could only be carried on, in patches, between heavy administrative duties. But in any case, the description of facts is always characterised by precision, which is a comparatively rare quality in Indian anthropology.

There is one observation which the reviewer wishes to make with regard to the fundamental approach of the author. The Marias seem to be a cheerful and happy people in spite of the fact that they have suffered heavily from centuries of isolation. They are steeped in superstitious fear of tigers and witchcraft and of all kinds of hostile spirits. After unfavourable contact with the Hindus, they have also lost some of their finer traits of character, and much of the old social administrative system. Under these circumstances, we believe it is a wrong policy to restore part of the old tribal government by an administrative fiat, and then wait to introduce suitable reforms slowly through tribal leadership; in the meantime allowing the Marias to continue substantially the old system of production. Ours should not be a short-sighted paternal sympathy which spends itself in trying to preserve something which cannot be preserved except behind "tariff walls." On the other hand, we believe that, if we are really to help the Marias to survive, we should change their productive system first of all, so that it will fall in line with that of the modern world. This should be brought about with the minimum of suffering. And when that is being done, we should try to preserve as much of the old culture as possible, provided it is worth preserving. It is this fundamental alteration in the anthropologically minded administrator's attitude that we recommend to Mr. Grigson's consideration.

The Anthropologist should not merely *know* how things have shaped themselves in the past, but also how best to *change* them for the future. These two functions can, of course, be kept separate; but that has not been done in the present book. We are offered here technical and objective descriptions, as well as implied suggestions as to how to turn the Marias into a happily governed people. Hence the necessity of the above remarks.

NIRMAL KUMAR BOSE

FRENCH

VIEILLSES BALLADES DU BENGALE: *Translated by Madeleine Rolland. Published by C. A. Hogman, Editor, Mouans-Sartoux, near Cannes, France. Price 50 Francs.*

When Dr. Dinesh Chandra Sen and his colleague Chandra Kumar De collected the *Mymensingh Ballads* which were published by the University of Calcutta, few could suspect that those unwritten ballads of Bengal would rouse the enthusiastic appreciation of a world-artist like Ramain Rolland. His talented sister Madeleine Rolland is one of the most loyal friends of India in Europe. Immediately after the World War, when we had the privilege of knowing her, she had already translated the *Dance of Shiva* by Ananda Coomaraswamy. She had established her reputation as a translator of Thomas Hardy and H. G. Wells. She translated the *Chaturanga* of Tagore and was the most devoted helper and collaboratrice to her brother Romain Rolland when he composed his superb studies on Mahatma Gandhi, Ramkrishna and Vivekananda. Miss Rolland took up the study of Bengali and kept herself in touch with Bengali literature through the *Prabasi* of Calcutta, which she reads regularly. She came in friendly collaboration with Andree Karpeles, another staunch admirer of Bengali culture and art. Celebrated already in the art-world of Paris, the latter worked in Santiniketan, imbibing the spirit of the art of rural Bengal, and so she has enriched this first French selection from our *Mymensingh Ballads* with exquisite designs which are deftly printed with the text from her masterly wood-blocks. The editor, Mr. C. A. Hogman, no less than Miss Rolland and Madame Karpeles, deserve our best thanks for this superb production, which should be in the library of all bibliophiles. The editor of *Feuilles de l'Inde* series has already made his mark in the publishing world of France and the series will be strengthened when this beautiful book on Bengal Ballads reaches all the corners of the book-world.

In a short yet masterly introduction Miss Rolland draws a vivid picture of Bengal, its rural landscapes and human types as reflected in these ballads of the 15th, 16th and 17th centuries. The laws, the manners and customs of that Dark Age of Indian history were a queer mixture of almost inhuman harshness and unbelievable forgiveness, of cruelty and refinemnt, of social injustices and sublime devotion and of love stronger than death. The female characters easily dominate the portrait gallery. Mahua, Chandrabati, Lila, Kamala and Malua shine like brilliant stars in the night. Through the sensitive prose-rendering of Miss Rolland, the cultured public of the Western world, will now have the opportunity and pleasure of tasting the sublime tenderness and pathos in the life of rural Bengal. She has rendered thereby a real service to literature and to India for which we should be grateful.

KALIDAS NAG

SANSKRIT-ENGLISH

MINOR UPANISHADS: *With Text, introduction, English rendering and comments. Published by the Advaita Ashrama. Price Re. 1/- only.*

This book contains eight minor Upanishads in all, namely, Paramahamsa, Atma, Amritabindu, Tejabindu, Sarva, Brahma, Aruneyi and Kaivalya. The importance of these Upanishads lies in the fact that they discuss, in some way or other, the same theme as the principal Upanishads.

The English rendering is faithful and the comments are exhaustive. The get-up of the book is nice.

ISAN CHANDRA RAY

BENGALI

BRAHMANANDA KESHAB CHANDRA SEN O TANHAR MAHATTVA (*Brahmananda Keshab Chandra Sen and His Greatness*): *By Sri Girish Chandra Nag, late of the Bengal Civil Service. Published by the author from Wari, Dacca. With a Foreword by Sir P. C. Ray and a portrait in colours of Keshab Chunder Sen. Pp. Crown 8vo. vii+192. Price Re. 1.*

This book was written and published on the occasion of the centenary of the birth of Keshub Chunder Sen. In it the author has narrated the life story of the great religious and social reformer in chaste Bengali. As a man of religion he reduced to practice the inspiration which he received in his soul. The appreciation of and respect for all faiths which in modern India first found expression in the life and works of Raja Rammohun Roy were further developed by Keshub and found concrete shape in some of his religious disciplines and the works of his colleagues. In modern India he was the first all round social reformer in actual practice. He was not merely a religious and social reformer. As a journalist, an author, an orator, an educationalist and a philan-

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thropist his achievement was great. All the phases of his versatile genius are clearly brought out in this book.

D.

JAKSHMA O TAHAR PRATIKAR (TUBERCULOSIS AND ITS PREVENTION): *By Dr. Bidhu Bhusan Pal, retired Teacher of Medicine, Dacca Medical School. Published by Purnendu Bhusan Pal, 39/5/1A, Gopalnagar Road, P.O. Alipore, Calcutta. Pages 97. Price Rupee One only.*

The author has discussed in a very able manner the various aspects of Tuberculosis and the means of combating it. This communicable and preventible disease is intimately connected with the social and economic condition of the people and it is imperative that the general public should be acquainted with as much details about the malady as possible. This concise but authoritative book is eminently suited to that purpose.

A list of Hospitals in Bengal and Sanatoria in India for tuberculous patients and tables of weight in relation to age and height will be found to be very useful.

M. N. DE

HINDI

HISTORY OF THE DUNGARPUR STATE (in Hindi): *By M. M. Rai Bahadur Gaurishankar Hirachand Ojah. Ajmir. 1936. Pp. 256. Price Rs. 4.*

M. M. Gaurishankar Hirachand Ojah hardly needs introduction to scholars as he shines in solitary grandeur in his own field of research in the history of Rajputana. He has devoted his whole life in the cause of reconstruction of the history of the Rajputs which Tod had attempted a century back with so limited resources and yet with such conspicuous success. Mewar has consumed greater part of the life and energy of the hoary-headed historiographer, and with the publication of the volume under review he brings to a close the history of the Guhilots only. Sir Jadunath Sarkar in reviewing M. M. Ojah's History of Rajputana (vol. ii, part 3) in the columns of this journal in June, 1931, said in anxious solicitude, "Will the veteran Pandit live to accomplish this task?" We, however, hope Panditji will accomplish the task and score his century too. M. M. Ojah's present volume has in no way suffered in quality, historical or literary, though the theme is much less attractive and materials less plentiful than that of the earlier portion of his work.

The modern Rajput States of Dungarpur and Banswara were in origin one single principality of Bagar or Baggar founded by Maha-raval Samanta Singh in about 1175 A.D. after his expulsion from his ancestral kingdom of Mewar by troops of the Chalukya king of Gujrat. He seized the eastern portion of Bagar by surprise from its Bhil chieftain Chaurasi-mal, and made Badauda his capital. The present ruling houses of Banswara and Dungarpur are descendants of Samanta Singh, and being the senior-most branch of the Guhilots bear the title of Maha Rawal. Kumar Singh, younger brother of Samanta Singh, was granted the fief of Ahad by the ruler of Gujrat and a few years after he not only shook off the vassalage of Gujrat, but also became the master of the whole of Mewar which he and his descendants continued to rule with the title of Rawal. After the death of Rawal Ratan Singh, the reputed husband of the queen of fiction, Padmini, Lakshha Singh of the Sisode branch of the Guhilots succeeded him with the title of Rana, later on magnified into Maharana.

The small principality founded by Samanta Singh aggrandised itself at the expense of Mewar, the Chappan district of which was seized by its ruler Bi Singh. Next king Devapal-deva conquered the Param dynasty of Athurna in Bagar and his son Bir Singh-de annexed to his patrimony the tract around the town modern Dungarpur by killing a powerful Bhil chieft named Dungaria. The fortunes of the dynasty began decline with the rise of the powerful Muslim kingd of Gujrat and revival of the ascendancy of Mewar un Maharana Kumbha who overran Dungarpur and put ruler Gaipal (Gopinath) to flight. Maharawal Ud Signh of Bagar joined the army of Maharana Sanga Khanwa and died fighting Babar. He had two so Prithviraj and Jagmal, to whom he had assigned durin his life-time the western and the eastern half of Bag But Prithvi Singh drove away his younger brother Jagm who fled to Gujrat for shelter. In 1531 Bahadur Sh Gujrati invaded Bagar and forced Prithviraj to give the tract east of the river Mahi to his brother. Banswa became the capital of Jagmal and Dungarpur that of elder brother Prithviraj. From this time onward t history of these two kingdoms becomes the side-issu of the history of Mewar and the Delhi empire. Fro the time of Maharana Pratap Singh down to Mahara Sangram Singh II, every ruler of Mewar attempted conquer Dungarpur and Banswara but without success.

M. M. Ojah has spared no pains to clear ever doubtful point in the chronology and line of successi of the rulers of Dungarpur. There is only some sco for improvement by a more thorough study of the co temporary Muslim histories of Gujrat and the Mugh empire, which, however, the author has carefully utilise so far as they are available in translation. We hope th volume will receive as warm a reception as the earlie volumes from Panditji's prolific pen.

K. R. QUANUNGO

MAISUR-MEN: *By Mr. Gurunath Sarma. Publish ed by the Desi Rajya-Sahitya Mandir, Madras. Pp. 10 Price As. -/8/-. 1939.*

This nice little book informs all about a moder progressive Native State of India, *viz.*, Mysore. The autho puts in a nutshell what its administrators have done an are doing for the people in all spheres of their life. Me of northern India will know of a portion of the Decca where Indian statesmen are at the helm of a big Stat There are several good illustrations.

VICHARA-SUMANAVALI: *By Swami Kailasnand Published by the same from Bhikangaon, Indore State Pp. 218. Price As. -/8/-. 1939.*

More than one thousand good thoughts and counsel are arranged in three divisions, on Love, Truth an Service. Thoughts well-expressed are always cherished.

RAMES BASU

MARATHI

VIMALADEVI: *By Ramchandra Ganesh Pradhan, B.A. LL.B., Advocate, Nasik. Pages 76. Price annas twelve.*

It is a Marathi garb put on Maurice Maeterlink's *Monna Vanna.* It seems that this Marathization has no done justice to the original. Though the spirit is con veyed, the form has become so inflexible that the play is not stageable. Dialogues have become artificial, and the book appears to be a mere translation.

SHIVAJEE ANI NAPOLEON: *Written and pub lished by Dr. Shreedhar Ramachandra Desai, M.D., Desai Art Printing Works, Gwalior. Pages 234. Price Re. 1-8*

Comparative estimates of extraordinary personages are difficult, but interesting, and they are rendered stil

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more so when the criterion of comparison is philosophic. It is commendable that the writer of this book has picked up resemblances in the careers of Shivajee and Napoleon, and his book has the least tinge of the affectation of a blind hero-worshipper.

The novelty of the book lies in its semi-religio-ethical stand. The division of human temperament into qualities 'devilish' and qualities 'divine' as given in the Gita, has been taken to be the basis of judgment. This novelty has proved to be the limitation of the book: half of the book is quotations, from Luduig, Abbot, Perri and Morris, though at places, hastily translated, they reveal a sane historical sense of the compiler; but where the author has started interpreting those quotations he has missed the socio-psychological possibilities of interpreting history. Consequently the book appears to be merely a defence of Napoleon, justifying his claims for being ranked along with Shivajee. Yet as the book is of its own kind in Marathi, it will be immensely valuable to the students.

P. B. MACHWE

GUJARATI

HINDU SANSKRATI AND AHIMSA: *By Bhaskar Rao Vidwans. Printed at the Virvijaya Printing Press, Ahmedabad. Pp. 330. Cloth bound. 1937. Price Rs. 2-8.*

Dharmanand Kausambi is known all over the world as a sound and well read Buddhist scholar and Pandit. He has examined the culture and civilization of India, past and present, in this book originally written by him in Marathi and now translated into Gujarati—from every possible point of view, Vedic, Shraman, Pauranik (mythological), and Western, and brought to bear on it his vast knowledge of the Buddhist, Jain, Brahmanic—Vedic and post-Vedic literatures, and analysing the attitude of the followers of the different faiths, some of them (faiths) now dead, and shown how the original tenets have suffered in practice and led to their decline and decadence. Buddhists and Brahmins vied with each other in quitting the path of simple and hard life and taking to self-advancement and luxurious living. Ahimsa, as propounded by Gandhiji even, does not appeal to him (p. 319), and he shows by historical instances, how it fails to appeal to the ordinary mind. On the whole, we find it to be a very thoughtful and remarkable work; very few such books are to be seen in these days of "light" literature.

SAHITYA KALA: *By Professor Mohanlal P. Dave, M.A., LL.B. Printed at the Surat City Printing Press, Surat. Pp. 250+9. Cloth bound. 1938. Price Re. 1.*

Prof. Dave is a sound scholar, both of Sanskrit and Gujarati literatures. Thirty years ago, he wrote an essay on Sahitya Kala and that furnishes the title of the book under notice, which consists of a reprint of some other similar writings, consisting of speeches and written literary contributions. Garden of Gujarati Literature, Literature and its Ingredients, Translations, Art of Criticism, Humour, Why Literature, Youth and Literary Activity are the subjects on which he has given his observations and they display the views of a deeply read and ripe scholar and thinker.

VED DHARMA VYAKHYANMALA: *By Pandit Bhattacharya, B.A. Printed at the Jain Vijaya Printing Press, Surat. Thick Card Board. Pages 270. 1938. Price Re. 1-4-0.*

Nine discourses on the Philosophy embodied in the Vedas are reprinted in this book. Panditji is very keen on Fire and Sun worship and desires that in every Hindu temple provision should be made for the worship of Bhagwan Omkareshwar who exists in the Sun and should be approached through Fire (Agni). He has partially succeeded, he says.

NAMAN NAN TATTAVAO: *By Kishorilal G. Mashruvala and Jethalal Jivanlal Gandhi. Printed at the Navjivan Printing Press, Ahmedabad. Cloth bound. Pp. 452. 1938. Price Rs. 2-8-0.*

"Elements of Book-Keeping" is the title of the book. Gujaratis are experts at keeping of accounts or Book-keeping, being a commercial community. As they learnt the elements of the art either in their primary schools or while apprentices at shops, they did not stand much in need of guide books, in the past, although a few elementary ones existed. Schools do not teach *Namun* now and accountancy classes teach the English mode of account keeping. For this reason, a book which would treat of the subject both from the Indian and English point of view was a desideratum and this book eminently supplied the want. It is almost a scientific treatise on the subject; and at the same time takes the place of a teacher. The treatment is simple *i.e.* non-technical, which is a great advantage. Two glossaries of English-Gujarati and Gujarati-English technical terms at the end add to the usefulness of the book.

K. M. J.

BOOKS RECEIVED

ADULT EDUCATION AND THE PROGRESSIVE WRITERS: *By S. Subba Rao. Published by The Andhra Desa Adult Education Committee, Kovver, West Godavari District. Sole Agents—The Hindustan Publishing Company. Limited, Rajamundry, Andhra, South India. Pages 100. 1939. Price As. 8, foreign 1s.*

"MODERN GIRL" LOVES TO BE "JULIET" TO HALF A DOZEN "ROMEOS": *By T. K. Datta. Published by Doaba House, Mohan Lal Road, Lahore. Pp. 160. Price Re. 1-4.*

INCOME TAXATION (IN THE LIGHT OF THE PRESENT SYSTEM): *By K. K. Roy, M.A. To be had of J. M. Jaina and Bros. P.O. Box 76, Morigate, New Delhi. Pages 45. Price Annas eight.*

PERSIAN PATHMALA IN GUJARATI FOR BEGINNERS: *By Adam B. Patel, B.A., S.T.C.E., Persian Teacher, Baroda High School. Pages 51. 1939. Price Annas Ten.*

INDIANS IN MALAYA: *By M. N. Nair, M.A., LL.B., S.T.C., Vakil, Ernde. Pp. 124. 1937. Price Re. 1.*

WORDS OF WISDOM (COLLECTED FROM THE SPEECHES OF HIS HIGHNESS SIR KRISHNARAJENDRA WADIYAR BAHADUR IV, G.C.S.I., G.B.E., MAHARAJA OF MYSORE): *By D. R. Ramaya, B.A. Bangalore City. Fifth Editoin, 1939. Pages 170. Price Re. 1.*

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THE CONGRESS

By RABINDRANATH TAGORE

I SIT down to write to you in a perturbed state of mind.

There was a time, not so very long ago, when the mind of the great mass of our countrymen was desert-like, its unfertile expanse divided into isolated sections between which all commerce was obstructed, resulting, for India, in a succession of poverty-stricken epochs. All of a sudden came the rise into power of the new Congress organization, a wide-branching tree that held out large promise of future fruit. Surprising was the change it wrought in the mass mind, as it learnt to hope, forgot to fear, and ceased to shrink from the very idea of casting off its bonds. What had seemed a while ago to be beyond the bounds of the possible, was no longer felt to be unattainable. The feebleness of spirit that dreaded to desire was at length cured. And this stupendous change was due to the unbounded faith in India's destiny of one single man,—a fact which already shows signs, here and there, of fading from public recollection.

Of course I know that, however dependent the new Congress regime may be on the personality of its founder, and great though that personality undoubtedly is, it will nevertheless be necessary from time to time to enlarge its scope and improve its working. But too much of a hurry to disturb the adaptation to its present circumstances which has grown with the growth of the Congress, may break up its very foundation. For it has to be admitted that no other genius seems to have arisen amongst us who is competent to bring about a radical change in it without damage to its organic cohesion. That is why I think that this vast field of endeavour, where the different forces of the country may meet and join hands, needs must continue to be developed, for the present, under the guidance of the Mahatma who gave it birth.

As you know, I have never been a blind follower of tradition,—that is to say, I have not believed that our national welfare could be made secure by fixing once for all some principle or method that was once found to be good, nor do I now feel it to be true that, however great the Congress organization may have grown, its aims and objects should be stereotyped for all time,—rather do I devoutly wish that such a calamity may not befall it. At the same time, whenever I realise the immense value of this organization as created by a great-souled Master, I cannot but be perturbed at the possible consequences of piecemeal attacks on it from the outside. Such reforms as are found to be necessary must come from within itself.

Many of us still remember the original National Congress that started political agitation in India. It made no attempt to look into, to awaken, the mind of the people,—its appealing glances were all directed to the authorities above. What it called freedom lay in the law of dependence on others,—this was the obsession it could not or would not get rid of. I need hardly remind you that I have never hesitated to cry shame on the poverty of spirit of the begging and praying Salvation Army into which that Congress had resolved itself.

We all know whose was the magic wand that touched into life the deadly torpor into which the country had fallen, making it conscious of its own powers, proclaiming non-violence to be the true creed of the brave. Of this new life which Mahatmaji gave to India, the stage of initiation is not yet passed, and further advance along its way should still be under the guidance of the Master. Like Nandi who stood guard at the entrance to Shiva's hermitage, I must raise my warning finger, for all that the Mahatma has to teach may not yet have reached us. When the rigour of Shiva's meditation was untimely broken, a raging conflagration was the only result.

So far for one side of the question. The other side also deserves anxious consideration. When the powers of the Congress had but begun to unfold, it had little to fear from within. Now it is at the height of its prestige; it has gained world-wide recognition; the doors of Government at which its predecessor of old had vainly knocked, are now hospitably open to it, even ready to show it honour. But Manu, the ancient law-giver, has warned us to beware of honour. For where power rises into eminence,

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toxins are created that eventually destroy it,—be it Imperialism or Fascism, have they not been generating the seeds of their own downfall? It may likewise be that the heat created by the growing power of the Congress is rising to an unhealthy temperature. The higher command who are at its helm are apt, in moments of crisis, to lose their head, and cannot hold to a straight course. Have we not seen lapses in regard to the vital matters of mutual courtesy and forbearance, of constitutional procedure which had hitherto been sources of its strength,—lapses at the bottom of which lies pride of power?

The Christian scriptures have warned us how difficult it is for bloated prosperity to pass through the narrow gate of the Kingdom of Heaven. Freedom can be won only by putting forth the best in man—that is what I understand the teaching of the Mahatma to be. But those who have come together to control the field of our high endeavour—are their minds broadly tolerant, unswayed by personal bias? When they create ruptures by wounding one another, is that for the sake of pure principle,—is there no trace in it of the heat that is born of love of power, pride of power? The cult of Shakti that is gradually growing up within the Congress fold shows itself in its true colours when Mahatmaji's followers find it in their hearts to proclaim him as the equal of Hitler and Mussolini. Can it be at all possible for those whose reverence goes out to these gatherers of victims for human sacrifice, properly to maintain the purity of the citadel of Truth built by the selfless ascetic whom they would follow? I have the highest respect for Jawaharlal, who is always ready to lead an assault against abuse of power by wealth, or blind faith, or imperialistic politics. Of him I ask whether the keepers of the Congress stronghold have not on occasions shown dangerous signs of the intoxication of personal power? I have my own doubts, but at the same time I do not hide from myself the fact that my knowledge of political happenings is very insufficient.

On this point it is necessary to say something further. Bengal seems to have made up its mind that at the last sitting of the Congress Committee the Bengali people were treated with contumely. To be too ready to believe such a charge is nothing but a sign of weakness. It is hardly a proof of political sanity to allow ourselves to be continually afflicted with the suspicion that every one around us is conspiring against us. But the fact remains that in spite of the uniting centre which the Congress represents, the provinces are showing lamentable signs of separatist tendencies.

The Hindu-Moslem disunity is both lamentable and alarming, because nothing is more difficult to bridge than the gulf created by religious differences. On the other hand, the disunity between the provinces is owing to a lack of proper mutual understanding, due to differences of habits and customs. Thus Religion and Custom have between them usurped the throne of Reason, thereby destroying all clarity of mind. In countries where customs are not blindly sacrosanct, where religious beliefs have not cut up society into warring sections, political unity has come as a matter of course. Our Congress has not had the advantage of being able to grow up in an atmosphere of social tolerance, rather it has had to function in spite of social antagonisms which have set up impassable barriers every few miles apart,—barriers which are guarded night and day by forces wearing the badge of religion.

Whatever the reasons may be, the fact remains that our provinces have not been welded together. I remember to have said somewhere that a coach of which the wheels are wobbly, the box shaky, and the whole body creaky, is all very well so long as it remains propped up in its stable,—there it may even be admired as a whole; but if it be dragged by horses through the street, it loudly complains of the lack of inward unity. That is what the Congress has done. It has dragged the provinces of India out on the highway of a common political freedom, and its internal discords are thereupon becoming apparent at every step. This being our plight, it behoves the authorities of the Congress to be very circumspect in their movements, for mutual suspiciousness is lying in wait to exaggerate the implications of every lapse, or inconsiderate gesture. That is what seems to have happened in the case of Bengal, and the relations between it and the Congress high command have been strained to breaking point. Personally, I am not aware that anything has happened which made this inevitable. And yet, while the popular mind is thus exercised, it will be difficult for the leaders of Bengal to steer a correct course.

To me it is evident that Mahatmaji, having mapped out a particular line along which he advises the country to travel on its way to freedom, is naturally on the alert to see that no disturbing factor be allowed to bring about a deviation from it. Having successfully steered the ship of Congress so far, his reluctance to let

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it be taken out of its appointed course cannot reasonably be construed as a desire to wield dictatorial power. Men of genius would be unable to fulfil their destiny unless they had unbounded confidence in themselves, a confidence which they are wont to fortify by their faith in divine inspiration. In spite of occasional serious mistakes, Mahatmaji may claim to have had sufficient proof in his successes of his being on the right track, and he is, moreover, entitled to believe that none but himself can worthily complete the picture of national welfare which he has conceived and outlined. It may well be that he has many a further touch in mind with which it is to be perfected in due course. If these finishing touches are not given under his direction, with the patient attention and reverence due to the master from his followers, the picture as a whole may suffer. In these circumstances, say I, we needs must rely for its completion on its creator, especially as it is still in the stage of unfinished growth.

Here I should confess that I do not always see eye to eye with Mahatmaji, by which I mean that had I been endowed with his force of character, my scheme of work would have been different. What that scheme is, I have indicated in some of my previous writings. But though I may have the imagination to conceive, I have not the power to carry out. Only a few men in the world have this power. And since our country has had the good fortune of giving birth to such a man, the way should be kept clear for his progress—I certainly would never think of impeding it. The time will doubtless come when Mahatmaji's errors and omissions will have to be made good; then will each one of us, according to his zeal and capacity, have the opportunity of making his contribution. For the present, let the Congress proceed to the destination towards which it is heading. I will not say, like a blind follower, that there can be no other bourne beyond. Others there may be and are; but the time to take on other pilots will come when the first part of the journey is over.

I have referred to my own scheme. That was the outcome of my conviction that politics is but a part of the social system,—as is borne out by the history of every country. To be enamoured of some political system apart from its social foundation, will not do. Triumphal structures of different shapes and sizes raise their heads on the other side of the seas: We may be sure that none of them are built on foundations of sand. And when we set to work to imitate any superstructure that has caught our fancy, we should not forget the necess of fitting it to some adequate foundation in depths of our own social mentality.

I have recently taken refuge on a seclu hill-top, far from the scene of the recent politi excitement, and after a long time I am gett the opportunity to survey both India and own attitude with dispassion. I can see clea that politics has to do with two different sets forces,— one may be called mechanical, other spiritual. In these days of crisis Eur is pacing backwards and forwards between two. Neither is easy to secure, or work wi both have their price, the proper applicati of both require long preparatory training. who have been so long in subjection know wh the impact of mechanised force is like, but cannot even dream of bringing it under our o control. The utmost we can think of is purchase the alliance of some other power getting into its debt. But history has sho us that to cultivate this kind of unequ friendship is like digging a channel to give en to the crocodile, resulting in a feast for t latter at the expense of the digger.

There was a time when the issue of batt depended on personal bravery and physic strength. Now has come the day of weapo wrought by science, which require a high degr of intellectual skill for their proper use. A fight with these is unthinkable for us, with o empty till, our untrained body and mind. Th was realised from the very beginning of o political life, wherefore our former leaders we content with launching their fleet of petitio carrying paper-boats. But this reduced o politics to a mere game. Then arrive Mahatmaji with a solution for our utter lac of material equipment. Unflinching he cam with head held high, to prove that battle cou be effectively waged against wrong witho mechanical resources. He started experiment campaigns along different lines, and though none of them can it be asserted that he has wo through, he has extracted from his very defea lessons showing the way to ultimate victor He has been busy ever since inculcating in th country the need of training in restraint an spiritual faith necessary to wield the weapo of non-violence.

It is comparatively easy to raise an arm for violent warfare. A year's drilling sufficient to fit men to be sent to the seat of wa But to train the spirit in the methods of no violence takes more time. We have had enou of attempts to get together a rabble of u trained enthusiasts. Such crowds may be us

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to break down the work of rivals, but they cannot build up anything of value. They go to pieces when met by a determined counter-attack. Those nations of the world who are now in fighting trim, rely for their strength on the education of the masses of their people. The present age is the age of the trained mind, not of blustering muscle. And everywhere in the East, to say nothing of Japan, educational institutions have been made available for the people at large. So long as our masses remain bound to blind tradition it is hopeless for us to expect to make any move forward. And so, after his discovery that an undisciplined mob is not a fit instrument for non-violent work, Mahatmaji has cried a halt in his campaign of civil disobedience, and turned his attention to mass education. So far all is fairly clear.

But when I come to the contending political groups of the day, with their rival methods of political advancement, round which endless controversies are raging, I am beset with doubts, and cannot see the issue clearly. My main difficulty in arriving at any definite conclusion may be due to my very meagre knowledge of what is actually happening in the different political circles. I know that those who have the power can make possible the seemingly impossible. Mahatmaji is one of those who have this power; but it would be going too far to say that he is the only one, or that all he undertakes must be successful. And if any other powerful personality inspired with a different ideal should arise, the latter, in turn, will not stay his hands because of the doubts or protests of others. It may even be that he will have to cut adrift from the main body and work alone to form another organization, of which it will take us time to appraise the proper value. Should such a personality come forth from within the Congress, I would watch his progress, and wish him success—but from a distance. The responsibility would be so great, the effects so far-reaching, the consequences so incalculable, that their burden could only be shouldered by one who has the necessary degree of self-confidence. It would be beyond my capacity, altogether out of my sphere of work, to join hands with him in any way.

Our scriptures tell us that the worship of Ganesha, the Lord of the Masses, must come before all other worship. In the service of our country our first duty must be to work for the welfare of the mass of its people,—to make them healthy in body and mind, happy in spirit; to foster their self-respect, to bring beauty into their daily work, their daily life; to show them the way to strive together, in mutual respect, for mutual welfare. So far as my limitations have permitted, I have been doing this for the last forty years or so. And when Mahatmaji's call awakened the country, it was my fervent hope that he would rouse the powers of all sections of our people, in all their variety, to work in the different departments of national endeavour. For it is my belief that a realization of the country's welfare means to believe in it, to know it in its fullness. Its true freedom would consist in gaining the fullest scope for its now obstructed powers.

I can see that the leadership of Bengal has now fallen on Subhas Chandra. My knowledge of the all-India politics in which he tried to secure the first place, is admittedly insufficient. There party feelings are raging stormily, and I am unable to look into the future through the dust that has been raised. Buffeted by this turmoil my mind naturally clings to Bengal. I welcome the valiant Subhas as our leader in the hope that he will take on himself the burden of ridding Bengal of its weaknesses, external and internal, and in this work he may freely claim whatever help it may be in my power to give, in my own line of work. May his high endeavour raise Bengal to the height from which she will be able to take her due place in the counsels of all India.

Before ending this letter I should like to say something which may not be strictly relevant to what has gone before. An injustice has been done in determining the respective shares of Hindu and Moslem to Government patronage. This led the Hindus to make a representation to the Governor, to which I, with great reluctance, added my signature. Weakened as we have been through long years of reliance on Government favour, it goes against my grain still to keep on scrambling for it. If its door is going to be closed to the Hindus so be it; it will impel them to be self-reliant, to find independent means of subsistence. Suffering will no doubt be entailed but that suffering will help to bring in a new era of uplift. Why then did I sign the petition? For one reason only. If Government shows undue partiality to one section of the people, they of course know best what the consequences for themselves are likely to be. But it was of the country I was thinking. Undue weightage on one side in the vital matter of means of livelihood is bound to increase communal tension in every department of national life, to such a degree that it may become next to impossible to allay it. That is what my protest was against.

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Hitler and Mussolini have in themselves the power that enables them to commit injustice with impunity, nay even to extort a kind of admiration while so doing. The power to be partial that our Ministers have is derived from the misguided policy of a higher authority. As such its exercise will be greeted not with any respect, but only with the contempt of their victims. But our problem, I repeat, is not concerned with the fate of the persons in power. They will come and go, but Hindu and Moslem will for ever remain side by side, as partners in the good and bad fortunes of India. And some thoughtless Government drives thorns in their midst, their bleeding wounds will not heal easily. So the apparent advantage which to-day may look like a profit for the Moslems, may in the long run prove a weak spot leading to eventual loss. That, however, can be no consolation for the Hindus—because the Balance sheet of India is not two, but one.

Letter to Dr. Amiya Chakravarti, translated by Surendranath Tagore.

THE STORY OF CHANDIDAS

By Prof. PRIYA RANJAN SEN, M.A., P.R.S.

[Chandidas, ordained as a priest and singer for the goddess Basali at Chhatrina, united to Rami in spiritual companionship, had become widely known for his devotion to God, love of men and excellent poetry. The Raja of Bishnupur royally entertained him in his Court; and he was invited by the Nawab of Pandua who sent out an envoy as a mark of distinction. While on his way to Pandua, Chandidas rescued a young and beautiful maiden from the clutches of a *tantrik* Sadhu, converted him to a better life and married the two; he also converted two Sakta Brahmins of Nannur to his own doctrine. At Pandua, the Nawab was so far influenced by him that he turned from an enemy to a devout admirer. He stopped with the Nawab for a considerable time and left in order to effect some reconciliation among his admirers at Ranganathpur. The saint proved as efficient in bearing down village opposition, as he was skilful in polemics, and the personalities of Chandidas and Rami co-operated often in righting wrongs, individual and social. In the midst of all this success a visit from Vidyapati and Rupnarayan who had been travelling all the way from Mithila to meet the Poet, known to them so far only by repute and through his exquisite songs, made the cup of their happiness full to the brim. He was now about to return home from which he had been long absent, but work at hand engaged his attention: at Kenduli where he had lingered to pay homage to the spirit of Jayadev, the great Vaishnav poet, he was detained to prevent mischief being done by a malicious spirit, and he was involved in a fight between the Prince of Jamkudi and the Rani of Bishnupur, championing the former, which he did and that successfully.]

VI

Religious Discussions and Controversial Matters

After the last great success which Chandidas had won, when peace was established between the Rani and the Jamkudi Prince, and Kalyani was united to her husband, Chandidas was brought to Bishnupur with great rejoicings, and he was lionised as much as in his first visit (if possible, more) years ago to this town. The streets were crowded so much that all traffic had to be suspended. It was impossible to do anything except watch men, wildly cheering the saint with their shouts of welcome. A hoary-headed scholar of Navadvip, Viswanath by name, who had been sojourning there, was attracted by the noise and called on the "paragon of virtue and saintliness" in his resort. Chandidas, in all humility, rose at his approach and greeted him with reverence. The Pandit queried, "Where did you get this 'popularity' trick, eh? What is this religion of yours? Have you seen the Atman? Just a device of the brain, and no more, to delude poor weaklings into admiration. A combination of material causes has led to this world, in its several parts and also in its integrity; take the causes away, and you break the whole. Kapil, Jaimini and the Buddha—they all realised this, and if you want to convince yourself of the same truth, all that is necessary for you is to put off this beggarly dress as you have put on now, and then to please yourself, to live a life of pleasure. Therein lies the happiness of life. Tell me, what is the good of inflaming people's minds even if you have the power, when you cannot make yourself happy?"

Viswanath was a great scholar; and his knowledge of the materialistic argument was considerable. He spoke not only on his behalf

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but was also the representative of a class of people. Chandidas praised his scholarly attainments and replied with a smile: "I plead I have very little knowledge of the Shastras, and I have been unfortunate in not getting so long anybody competent to advise me. Tell me, your reverence, how to get peace of mind." "What have I been dinning into your ears all along?" "But that does not lead to anywhere. It does not solve for us the problem of creation. When the world comes to its end at the *finale* of a *kalpa*, one of the cycles of creation, how can there be creation again? If cremation or burial could give a quietus to the soul, there would have been an end of it: this applies both to the individual and the race. It is this starting point of creation that is a poser. The seeking spirit enquiries; but the enquiry starts from the Being that creates, or it must lead there. It is not the eye that sees, but the mind, and to see only the form is to see nothing. The comet rises in the sky and is visible to all, but it bears different meanings to a boy, an ignoramus and a scholar. The knowledge of our senses deceives us; and to swear by Kapil and the Buddha against the Vaishnav is to miss the link and lose the true significance of either. The eye must learn to see, and to see the truth; to penetrate beyond the world of appearances. Go, Brahmin, and think of this universe as something more than limited by the senses, your own or other people's." Thus admonished by him, the old scholar realized the error of his ways, and went away to live up to a new faith preached by the saint.

Chandidas was destined to come in for more polemical discussion before leaving Bishnupur. It was given out that he would start next morning for Chhatrina. People came to bid him good-bye; who knew for how long it would be! He had been for some years travelling abroad, and life had its limit, after all. He spoke to all, and exhorted them to follow the truth. Dayananda now came up, and bowing down to him spoke of his desire to go to Benares in a brief while in order to worship Siva and take his *nirmalya* (holy blessing in the form of a leaf and flower actually used in the worship) daily; indeed, he pleaded, that was only the proper thing for a Brahmin to do, and Dayananda felt his years heavy on him.

All this talk annoyed Chandidas and there was an outburst. "Why this craze for the worship of Siva? Are you not a Brahmin versed in the Vedas? Siva is not even a Vedic god; and worship of the *lingam* has been forbidden in the Puranas and the Smritis. You are strictly enjoined not to accept the *nirmalya*; what do your authorities say on the point?" Dayananda did not all at once yield his ground but retorted: "Why then did you worship the stone image at Benares?" Chandidas replied with a smile: "Well, did I? Now that I remember it, yes; but I really worshipped my mother, the stone was but an emblem." "Does it not strike you that the sun-worship of the Vedas and the worship of the *lingam* of the tantras are quite alike? Both are worshipped as manifestations of the Brahman." "Yes," rejoined Chandidas, "the same rice is food for the poor man and the prince. But the former takes it from an earthen platter, while the prince's plate is made of gold. Now listen: the worship of stock and stone is the way of the ignorant; one who boasts of a little intelligence will prefer an earthen image. The scholar will be absorbed in the contemplation of the Brahman;—this is as it should be, and it illustrates my point also in reference to you."

"But I hear," urged Dayananda, nothing deterred, "that you offer daily worship to Siva every morning the first thing after your bath. Why do you do it?" "Well, if you must now —it is the necessary preliminary to all worship, calculated to lead all unertakings to a successful issue. And if you go away at all, renouncing the world, why not go to Brindaban—the only spot in the world where you can realize what pure joy means? But in case your heart is set on Benares, go there by all means." Satisfied at heart, Dayananda took leave of the Saint, and Chandidas started for Chhatrina followed by Rasmani, the whole of the population of Bishnupur wistfully gazing after them as they went out.

Return Home

Early in the morning, when the gentle breeze blew, cool with the dew-drops that fell overnight, Chandidas entered Jubrajpur. He called on Puranjan, waked him up and learnt from him that his mother had long been dead; so had been his father, about forty years now, along with his uncle. These enquiries perplexed Puranjan, who wanted to know who the strangers were. He learnt that his interrogator's name was Chandidas who hailed from the same village and who had returned to his native place in order to stay there till death. He proposed to stop with Puranjan; the proposal angered Karuna, Puranjan's wife, because the old man was accompanied by a widow—and who could vouch for the character of their association? And she was afraid Puranjan might agree to put

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them up at his place—he was soft-hearted. Did he not prove unreasonably kind even to a dog who had spoilt his food or to a cat that might have licked up his milk? Karuna went off in a huff to her mother-in-law to complain; still, Puranjan would risk all to serve the *Sadhu* as he thought Chandidas was. For the privilege of service is worth any cost and trouble. Chandidas persisted in asking him: "But how can you look after me? You are a poor man; how can you feed both of us?" "My strength is a matter of pride in the village, I feel strong as a tower and can put in ten men's work single-handed. I can walk sixty miles a day. My voice is excellent, and when I go out on my daily rounds chanting the holy songs of Radha and Krishna, princes will give up their wealth and become beggars. So why should I bother myself about the future, about the ways and means, and so forth? Only one thing strikes me as odd: why have you picked me up as your host?" "Did you never hear of Chandidas, as one of your relations?" "Yes, he was my uncle, but he has been dead long since. Suspecting him to have been a rebel, the Nawab of Bengal had him put to death on the sly; and then Rami, so the legend ran, had been forced into the harem" The strangers laughed and declared:—"We are here, Chandidas and Rami, your old relations." But he shook his head and said, "I do not believe you, I cannot." "If you mistrust us, if you think that I am not Chandidas but a spurious Sadhu, only a pretender and no better, why show me any attention? Why not shove me out, instead?" "Because," paused Puranjan in his reply, "one can never tell; I will bow to all people dressed as Sannyasins, the right type is bound to pass by sooner or later." "Well, if he never comes, all your energies, all your devotion will run to waste." "It cannot be"; he replied. "I have a conviction that guides me. If the embankment gives way, the smaller fry may rush on at first, but the bigger shoal is sure to swim in at last, and we may wait for that in patience." Chandidas, delighted with the reasoning and the sentiments of Puranjan, embraced him. Everything became quiet now and even Karuna was silent when her mother-in-law, Rohini, now an old woman, came in and after some hesitation recognised Chandidas and Rami.

The news spread like wild fire that Chandidas had returned to Chhatrina. The name was unknown to the youth, to the old it had a faint ring of familiar reminiscence, and to the elderly it was associated with the poems of Radha and Krishna. People rushed for *darshan* and bowed to the saint who had come back to village after a long period of absence. talked with all, asked how they had been do and filled them with the spirit of love. T many men came in and went away every d lifted unconsciously to a higher plane wh malice and mischief were unknown, and to wh love was the key-word. The Raja Hamir-Ut was one of the many who loved to stay n him as long as possible. The whole village w as it were transformed, oblivious of its sorro and difficulties. The presence of Chandidas h changed it, even if it were for the time bei

The End

But this even tenor of life had to be d turbed. Their bodies had become old a decrepit; why drag them any more? It w better that they should be abandoned. auspicious *ekadasi* day (eleventh day of moon) was near at hand, and it would serve an excellent opportunity. Thus counsell Rashmani when she could get a word w Chandidas in private. "And what about you he asked. "Hereafter,—just as now and here Then he smilingly asked her to give the necessa directions. He would observe silence on t next day from sunrise, and touch no food; a when he was dead, the body should on no accou be burnt but buried under ground at Nannur, t body of Rasmani to be buried by his side. I there be *Hari Sankirtans* (musical service Hari) day and night. It was no easy matter Puranjan to receive these instructions and cal ly to follow them, but he steeled his heart a made necessary arrangements. Meanwhile, t villagers also came to learn about the decisi and realized what it meant to them.

The night was at last over and the morni dawned. The birds began to chirp and life w on the move. Chandidas had lapsed into silen his eyes were closed in holy meditation; and t spirit of nature as well as the divine spirit voic forth glory for all. The atmosphere of the pla made a wonderful response. The villagers e gaged themselves in religious thought; even t boys spent their time in writing sacred names trees and walls. The livelong day was spent this quaint manner, and people retired to th own homes in the evening wrapped up in melancholy mood. Then came the influence sleep, enjoined by nature; every one, young old, succumbed to it. Puru only kept gua over his host and master, and protected hi fan in hand, against the ravage of biting fli Again the spell was broken by the morning sl and the people of Chhatrina, waking from sle

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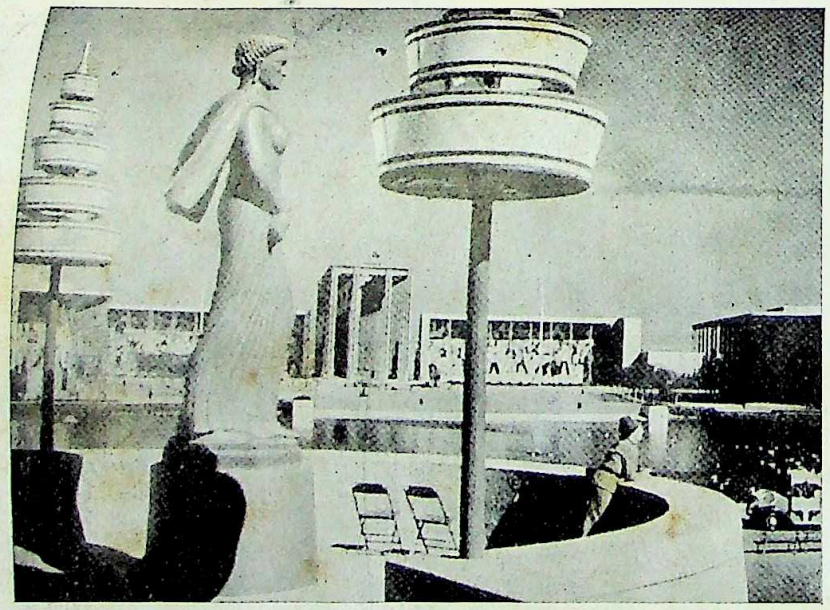
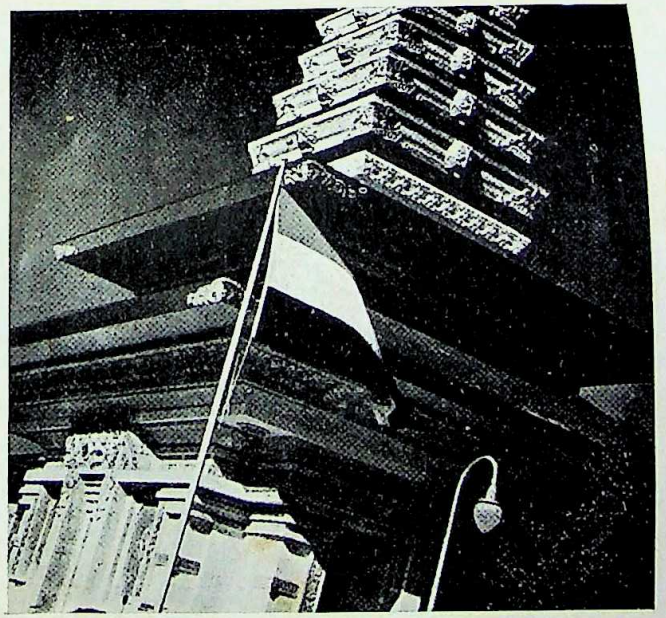


The Federal Government Pavilion and part of the Oriental Section



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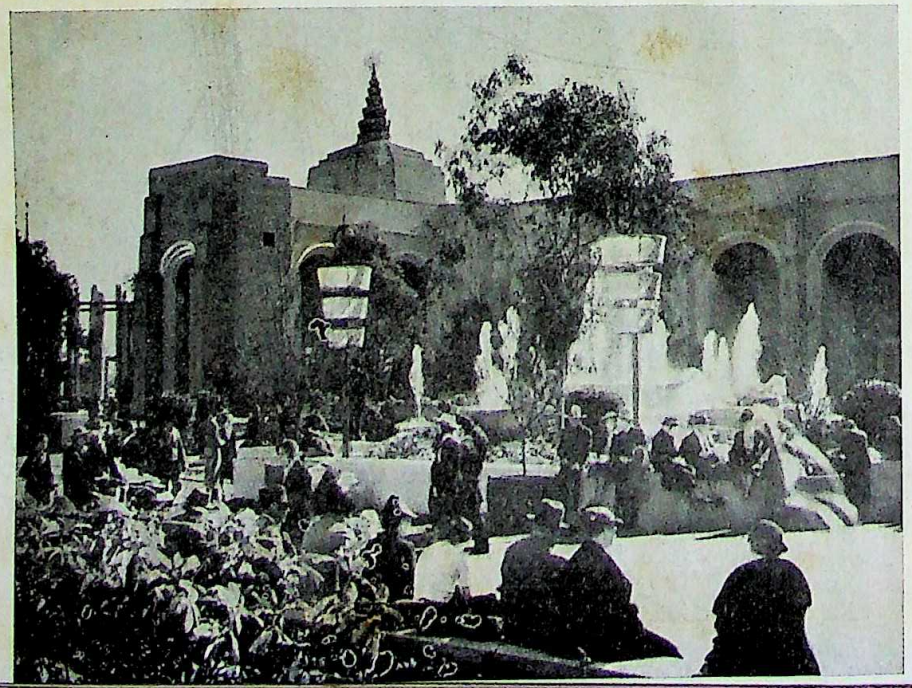

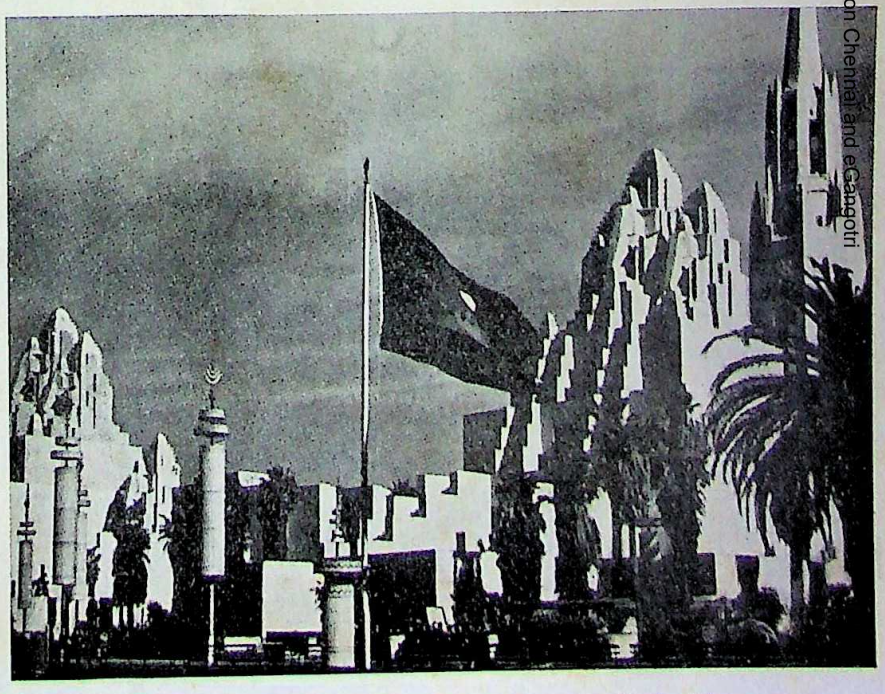

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Treasure Island, showing the Sun Tower

The Royal visit to Canada. The arrival of the King and Queen at the Montreal Stadium

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gathered round the saint. They shouted 'Hari' 'Hari' round and about him; and Rami with great care and affection wrote the sacred name all over his body. Ladies adorned him with flowers; music poured in from flutes and conches were blown. Some chanted the Vedas, others recited the Chandi.

The saint puckered his brows; all at once there fell a hush on the assembly. Everybody understood that the fateful hour was fast approaching. Somebody called for a *Vaidya*, a physician, for the body must be tended and all rational attempt must be made to save it from disease and decay,—at least that was what the holy books enjoined. But even as the physician came, numbness sped through the limbs and the saint laid himself down to sleep, to sleep the sleep that knows no waking. The air was rent with deafening cheers; drums and trumpets, flutes and pipes and other musical instruments, declared the event. The women burst into tears. And simultaneously with it, Rami, who had cast her gaze overhead maybe for a sign, fell down all of a heap. They rushed to her, felt her pulse, examined her in other ways. But all that was useless; life was extinct in her body; she had faithfully followed the instructions to which she herself had been a party.

Was there a whisper about her caste or about the loss of caste suffered by Chandidas through his sticking to her despite all threats? There might have been, but it mattered not. Their bodies were carried through mysterious agency to the field at Nannur, and there deep trenches were dug, the dead bodies were dressed in new clothes, made to sit face to face and buried in that position.

The people who had attended came back, heavy at heart. Could they form a proper estimate of the mighty mind, singer and saint, lover and poet, whose mortal remains they thus buried that day—the mind whose fervour and music time has not damaged to the slightest extent even though centuries have intervened? Controversies have waged and will wage about the detailed incidents of his life, or about the nature of his teachings, but the immortal dust of Chandidas lies enshrined in the heart of Bengal, young and old, secure against all disturbance for all time to come.

(*Concluded.*)

A POEM

Do not insult thyself by yielding to diffidence.
Be not downcast at the menace of danger.
Be free from fear.
Rouse thine own power to conquer all peril.

Protect the weak, resist the evil-doer.
Never own thyself to be poor in spirit and helpless.
Be free from fear.
And keep firm thy trust in thine own strength.

When duty sends her call to thee,
silently and humbly offer thine all.
Be free from fear
and prove thy manhood in difficult endeavour.

RABINDRANATH TAGORE

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THE PARTING OF THE WAYS IN THE INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

A Rapid Survey

By Professor NRIPENDRA CHANDRA BANERJI, M.A.

The first serious attempt to overthrow the British yoke in India came in 1857, exactly 100 years after Plassey. The so-called Sepoy Mutiny was really a partial rebellion of the Indian people against Imperialist British domination; it was defeated, amongst other reasons, by the lack of cohesion amongst the leaders, by the lack of a sense of All-India nationalism, by the inertia of the masses and by the superiority of the British morale and organization. The basis of administration had to be changed after this big revolt and open and crude exploitation made way for a practical doctrine of 'benevolent trustee-ship' and the assumption of the reins of government directly by the British Crown and Parliament with assurances of complete religious neutrality and equal opportunity for all castes and creeds in the organizational structure of government.

Then followed a quarter of a century of British consolidation and at the end of it, in 1885 was founded the Indian National Congress, the joint creation of Britisher and Indian, a 'safety-valve' for repressed and discontented Indian opinion, a machinery to acquaint the British agencies in India and the authorities in Britain with the 'Indian' viewpoint in matters of urgency and importance. Its official language was the language of the ruling race, most of its members declaimed in the English tongue and dressed in English clothes and its cry was in the main a cry for increased representation of the Indian element in the higher 'services,' latterly supplemented by a cry of protection of newly started Indian industries mainly in Bombay.

Then 20 years after, in 1905, the Congress was spurred to real political and economic activism by Lord Curzon's administrative measure called the Partition of Bengal, a measure which had a far-reaching political aim—to drive a wedge between Hindus and Muslims and to stifle the renascent political fervour of Bengal which then led all India.

This was the first trial of strength after a long lapse between the forces of British Imperialism and Indian Nationalism : the weapons of economic boycott, positive Swadeshi a National Education were used with great effi and tenacity; the movement spread all o India; in its later phases it was enforced methods of secret violence and terrorism; a after six years of struggle, the 'settled fact' the Bengal Partition had to be 'unsettled' a the King-Emperor had to be brought over re-capture the imagination and loyalty of Ind by the pageantry and pomp of the De Durbar in 1911. The leadership had by t time passed from the 'Old Guard,' Surendran Banerji and Gokhale and others, to the 'n bloods,' Aurobindo Ghosh, Bepin Chandra P Lokmanya Tilak, Lala Lajpat Rai.

In 1915, occurred an event of first magn tude to the subsequent political developments the re-migration of M. K. Gandhi, of Sou African 'Satyagraha' fame (not so very dazzli then, but fairly well-known) to the soil India; the application of non-violent princip of mass-resistance in the fight against t indigo-planters of Champaran in Behar wi evident success; the enrolment of Rajend Prasad amongst others as Gandhiji's chief lie tenant.

Meanwhile the world-war had begun in 1 and after many a turn and counter-turn of t diplomatic wheels, the support of Gandhiji w enlisted on the British drive for men and mone in India with an assurance of self-rule f India at the end of the war thrown in. India resources were drained mercilessly for t purpose with the express consent of the India people sponsored by Gandhiji's moral backing

In 1919, India was shocked to find, that t net result of the British pledges was (1) promise of so-called Montagu-Chelmsford R forms giving a sort of hybrid administrati called 'Dyarchy' where real responsibility an authority continued fully in the hands of t Britisher and (2) the gift of the Rowlatt Ac which aimed at killing all open political li and activity in the country. This was followe by the hideous frightfulness of Jallianwalaba and martial law in the Punjab. The whole o India was stirred as it had never before bee

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since the days of the Indian Mutiny. Meanwhile Tilak had died and the new leadership passed almost insensibly into Gandhiji's hands. With great adroitness, Gandhiji linked up the anti-British feeling in Mussalman ranks regarding the abolition of the Khilafat in Turkey with the nation-wide resentment against British officialdom in India and made out of two *negative* inter-linked demands, 'the redress of the Khilafat grievance' and 'the redress of the Punjab wrongs,' a *positive* demand for Swaraj —full self-rule, the main plank of the Indian National Congress.

The creed and policy of the Congress was declared to be the attainment of Swaraj by peaceful and legitimate means and the four-fold programme for Swaraj within a year—the boycott of Councils, the boycott of British law-courts, the boycott of schools and colleges, the boycott of British, specially Lancashire goods, euphemistically called 'Swadeshi' and reinforced by the cult of the *charka* and *khadi*, was formally ratified at Nagpur in 1920. The Ali Brothers, C. R. Das, Motilal Nehru, Lala Lajpat Rai, amongst others joined the fray and Gandhiji became the nation's generalissimo in this intensive fight of non-violence and the honorific title of *Mahatma* was conferred on him (by whom and when exactly, it is difficult to trace).

In Bengal, amongst Gandhiji's ardent followers and C. R. Das's local lieutenants, several men came to the fore : Subhas Chandra Bose, J. M. Sen-gupta, B. N. Sasmal, Prafulla Chandra Ghosh, Suresh Chandra Banerji and the speaker.

In 1921, a concerted drive was made all over India for 1 crore of Congress members, 1 crore of rupees, 1 crore of charkas, and the three boycotts (of law-courts, schools and colleges, British goods) succeeded enormously. The Councils boycott did not succeed, for the stalwart Surendranath and his erstwhile following deserted the Congress, fought the elections and accepted dyarchy.

In Bengal, Surendranath's gift to the nation was the democratically re-organized Corporation of Calcutta; and the Congress rebels' achievements were the storm-centres specially in Chittagong and Midnapore.

Even on a modest appraisal, the movement of 1921 had been a signal success : it had called out the inherent bravery and sacrifice of the people, had thrown thousands of non-violent resisters into jail, had laid the groundwork for village reconstruction, had made the demand of Indian freedom a nation-wide demand. It had also visibly strengthened the trade-union movement and labour-organization activities in coal-fields, tea-gardens, railways and steamships.

Lord Reading faced with an imminent visit by the Prince of Wales made a pacific gesture, but the country was seething with grave discontent, there were big riots in Bombay during the Prince's landing and Lord Reading's negotiations for a settlement with the Congress broke down.

The movement, however, was stopped by Mahatma Gandhi himself after the violent outbursts at Chauri-Chaura (U. P.). Gandhiji was sentenced to six years' imprisonment and there was almost a death-lull in the country, a reaction and a stagnation.

It was at this stage that the genius and personality of the two leaders, C. R. Das and Moti Lal Nehru, conceived a way out and formed the *Swarajya Party within the Congress* —a minority in 1922, converted into a majority in 1923—to capture Councils and all local self-government bodies, on the platform of responsive non-co-operation, seeking to make administration of Dyarchy impossible 'from within.' In Bengal, the Calcutta Corporation was captured by C. R. Das and Congress, and in Bengal and C. P., the Congress party secured a majority in the Councils and produced a series of 'deadlocks.' In the Central Assembly also, Nehru and Vithalbhai Patel scored a success and Vitalbhai created new precedents as President of the Assembly and eventually resigned with the honours all on his side in 1929.

Das and Nehru perfected the Congress parliamentary machinery and put it in fighting trim, the results of which India is reaping today. Das's two-fold programme of *village re-construction and parliamentary activity* still holds the field.

Das died prematurely and suddenly in 1925. By this time Mahatma Gandhi had been released from jail. He came over to Bengal and invested J. M. Sen-gupta with the so-called 'triple crown'—of Mayoralty, of leadership of the Council party, of leadership of Bengal Congress. Subhas Chandra Bose had been thrown into prison under the Defence of India Act and was rotting with many other lieutenants of Das in Burma prisons. He was let out in 1926.

After this ensued party-factions in the Bengal Congress, led by Sen-gupta on one side and by Bose on the other. Inspite of faction, the organizational work of Congress went on and there was never a set-back, for Bengal's political instinct has been always sound.

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The big cities in India had been organized by the Congress by this time; but not the countryside, so effectively. Gandhiji's programme of cottage industries backed by campaigns against drink and untouchability helped the Indian villages to be brought within the Congress orbit.

The emergence of Subhas Chandra Bose as leader of the left wing materialized in the Calcutta Congress of 1928, when it required all the adroitness of Mahatma Gandhi and Nehru to defeat his motion for complete independence.

The Lahore session of Congress led by Jawahar Lal Nehru, however, adopted this motion, which is today the accepted objective not only of the Congress but even of communal organizations like the Muslim League, the Hidu Mahasabha, the Sikh League; the independence motion had an easy way at Lahore, for the British could not give any pledges that they would implement the fundamentals of even Dominion Status at the Round Table Conference. This was followed by the great upheaval of 1930, the Dandi March, the 'salt-satyagraha': the movement was suppressed by law and force.

After many parleys and negotiations, the Britisher prevailed upon the Congress to send its representative to the Round Table Conference: the Congress appointed Mahatma Gandhi its sole representative at the Karachi session (1931); he was out-manouvred and check-mated by British diplomacy with the help of communalists and the result was the Reforms Act (Government of India Act, 1935) based *on the Communal Award*, which are permanent recipes for keeping Hindus and Mussalmans politically apart and in the name of bestowing some slight powers in the guise of provincial autonomy, retaining all authority for essential subjects, finance, taxation, trade and foreign policy, defence, relations with Indian States, railways and ports etc., in the hands, for all time, of the Britisher.

From 1932 to 1933, Gandhiji, a sadder and a wiser man, had to launch another civil disobedience movement. Forces of violence had also re-asserted themselves since 1930. The British reply was an era of ruthless repression. The Congress became practically inoperative from 1933-36. Meanwhile Gandhiji must have formed his plans on the *Das-ite* model and with the vital energy and tremendous personality of Jawharlal Nehru to back him and his local lieutenants in the Provinces, the Congress secured a thumping majority in 7 out of 11 provinces in the new elections of 1937 and the conquest of the N.-W. F. by the Red Shirts Abdul Gaffar Khan, Gandhiji's new disci was the biggest feather in the Congress during this election campaign. After m hesitations, the seven provinces took o under Congress aegis and today practically out of 11 provinces have either Congress, Congress Coalition, or Congress-prote governments.

This has had tremendous influences for g and evil. The Congress membership is 45 lacs and the imagination of the masses been to a certain extent captured.

But the Congress ministries are fac great opposition: the people are clamour for the early fulfilment of election pledges peasant and labour demands; the Mus League and the Hindu Mahasabha are try to forge ahead and India is faced with the ca mity of a people divided into two facti racialisms and ideologies; the Kishan Sab and Labour organisations are clearly maki for a proletariat drive on the lines of Socialis and Communism.; and the Princes are a ranged in opposition to the Congress inspir tion and encouragement of the states' peopl movement.

The Congress is also faced with inter disruption due to corruption and opportuni and the clash of ideologies.

It is these problems that are coming to t forefront since the election for the second ti as Congress President of Subhas Chandra Bo by the majority of Congress delegates in 193 This was the first (*in fact the second*, for t first challenge was successfully made by C. Das in 1922) challenge in recent years to t Gandhian dictatorial leadership: for Subh Chandra Bose had been elected in spite Gandhiji and the Gandhite High Command.

What happened at Tripuri and afterwar in Calcutta have widened the breach: f Mahatma Gandhi and his followers massed the Gandhi Seva Sangha (a socio-economi organisation now seeking directly to domina Congress politically) do not believe that the is at present the requisite atmosphere of non-violence and unified organisation for a mass struggle against British Imperialism. One the leading leftist, Jawaharlal Nehrufi is 'sicklie over with the pale cast of thought,' and ow that he does not see his way through the fogs and he is sitting on the fence.

Subhas Chandra Bose tried his level be to come to terms with Gandhiji and his follow ing, but he has been ousted from the Presiden chair and compelled to come out and try t

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organise the leftist forces under the caption of the 'Forward Bloc'.

Meanwhile Mahatmaji's failure over the states' people's problem at Rajkot has been colossal and he has practically advised the suspension of the whole movement. His ministers pledged to non-violence have to use all the forces of the police and the military and of the law to keep down Kisans and labourers; a permanent solution of the national problems of unemployment, stark poverty, indebtedness, emasculation, dirt and disease can never be found within the frame-work of the new Constitution. Communalism is raising its ugly head both in Congress and non-Congress provinces. Gandhiji's new line of parley, negotiation, suspension of fight, no-fight, is evoking wide criticism and creating resentment. His followers' methods are gradually becoming suspect. A parting of the ways is a historical necessity and the active forces of the country are wide awake of the possibilities of the international situation and eager to stage a crisis. Many are advocating anti-war propaganda and an overthrow of the corrupt socio-economic order which keeps the present political order in power.

Russian methods, along non-violent ways, are openly being talked of; rapid industrialization of the country is being regarded as urgent; cottage industries as handmaids to political struggle are being looked at askance; the entire Gandhian creed, policy and programme is being challenged.

A new orientation is the need of the times, a new leadership backed up by mass-resistance. The genius of India will surely choose its course and new History will be made. This much is sure : the rest is on the knees of the Gods.

The new 'bloc', in my opinion, can be operative :

(a) if it will accept non-violence as a policy underlying the practical programme of Congress but no longer as a credal religion

(b) if it pledges itself to a policy of 'no-surrender' to the forces of British Imperialism

(c) if it relegates cottage industries to their proper place and forges ahead with a programme of rapid industrialisation on a planned basis, running cottage industries also with machinery and electricity

(d) if it concentrates on the ideal of a worker's republic, where liquidation of poverty and unemployment by an economic order guaranteeing equality not only of opportunity but of income to every grade of worker will be the chief assurance

(e) if it visualises the organisation of the fighting powers of the nation under the National State : for a state must depend on two interlocked supplementary forces, the force of the vote and the defensive force, if it wants to operate as a free state

(f) if it pledges itself to withdraw all support from the Britisher in the event of war

(g) if it proceeds on with the freedom movement of the states people with courage and determination

(h) if it sedulously and consciously fosters the revolutionary urge along the paths of a non-violent strategy in all fields.

The immediate need of the Congress is to weld all the forces inside it on such a 'forward' programme and reorganise the entire machinery on a fighting basis.

[This article is a resume of a talk by Prof. N. C. Banerji, a prominent Congressman and educationist, at the Political Club, Calcutta. A gist of the other contributions to the discussion will be published in the next issue.—Ed., *M. R.*]

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THE LIMA CONFERENCE

By SATYA N. MUKERJI, M.A.

THE Lima Conference opened a new chapter in the history of the Western Hemisphere. It marks the beginning of a new outlook of life for the New World. At Lima twenty-one republics met to discuss the ways and means of finding a common agreement to stand together in the face of the most disturbing world conditions. After a prolonged discussion of the many problems which confront the two Americas in the light of the new developments in Europe, the twenty-one republics unanimously signed, "the Declaration of Lima."[1] I think, it is the most important document since the signing of the Declaration of American Independence in 1776.

It recognizes the equality of status of all the states of Western Hemisphere—big or small. It made Continental solidarity an accomplished fact. It added new weight to the Monroe Doctrine.[2] The Monroe Doctrine therefore, assumes a far greater importance as a principle of international law. Before the Lima Conference the United States alone was responsible for the Monroe Doctrine in order to defend the liberties and the republican institutions of the two Americas. Today, all the republics of this hemisphere are co-equally responsible for the defence of the Monroe Doctrine. It now becomes an important principle of foreign policy of all the republics of the New World.

The sheet anchor of America's foreign policy is the Monroe Doctrine. America's new foreign policy is an increasing attachment towards the Central and South American republics. The vital interest of the United States is to safeguard the spiritual heritage of the Western Hemisphere in co-operation with all the other republics. This is in essence President Roosevelt's "good neighbour policy." To translate this policy into action, in order to win the confidence of the Central and South

1. Following is the text of the "Declaration of Lima" as signed by all twenty-one American delegations at Lima, Peru, December 24, 1938:

Declaration of the Solidarity of America.

Eighth Inter-American Conference of American States.

Considering:

That the people of America have achieved spiritual unity through the similarity of their republican institutions, their unshakable will for peace, their profound sentiment of humanity and tolerance and through their absolute adherence to the principles of international law, of equal Sovereignty of States and of individual liberty without religious or racial prejudices:

That on the basis of such principles and will, they seek and defend the peace of the Continent and work together in the cause of universal concord;

That respect for the personality, sovereignty and Independence of each American State constitutes the essence of international order sustained by continental solidarity, which historically has found expression in the declaration of the various States, or in agreements that were applied and sustained by new declarations and by treaties in force;

That the inter-American Conference for the Maintenance of Peace in Buenos Aires approved on December 21, 1936, a Declaration of principles of Inter-American Solidarity and Co-operation and approved on December 23, 1936, a protocol of non-intervention.

The Governments of the American States declare:

First, that they reaffirm their continental solidarity and their purpose to collaborate in the maintenance of principles upon which said solidarity is based;

Second, that faithful to the abovementioned principles and to their absolute Sovereignty they reaffirm their decision to maintain them and defend them against all foreign intervention or activity that may threaten them;

Third, and in case the peace, security or territorial integrity of any American republic is thus threatened by acts of any nature that may impair them, they proclaim their common concern and their determination to make effective their solidarity, co-ordinating their respective Sovereign wills by means of the procedure of consultation established by the conventions in force and by declarations of inter-American Conferences, using measures that in each case circumstances may make advisable.

It is understood that the Governments of the American Republics will act independently in their individual capacities, recognizing fully their juridical equality as Sovereign States.

Fourth, that in order to facilitate the consultations established in this and other American peace instruments the Ministers of Foreign Affairs of the American Republics when deemed desirable and at the initiative of any one of them, will meet in their several capitals by rotation and without protocolary character.

Each Government may, under special circumstances or for special reasons, designate a representative as a substitute for its Minister of Foreign Affairs.

Fifth, this declaration shall be known as the Declaration of Lima.

2. The Monroe Doctrine was the answer of the American Government to the Holly Alliance formed by the astute Metternich and the political acumen of Czar Alexander I of Russia.

The Fifth President sent a message to the Congress on December 2, 1823. President Monroe advised the European powers, "we should consider any attempt on their part to extend their system to any portion of this hemisphere as dangerous to our peace and safety."

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American republics, with a view to organize peace in this part of the world, President Roosevelt and his Secretary of State, Mr. Cordell Hull, took steps in the last three inter-American conferences.

The Anti-War Pact of 1933 which was signed at the seventh Pan-American conference that met at Montevideo, Uruguay,

"condemned the use of force as an instrument of national policy and placed the American Republics solemnly on record in support of a world order based on law and justice."

The delegates at the Montevideo conference also expressed the desire to work for a liberal trade policy and to eliminate excessive barriers to commerce in favour of the principle of reciprocity.

The next development was a special conference for maintenance of peace held at Buenos Aires in December, 1936. The significant development of this conference was expressed in the course of Secretary Hull's radio talk from Lima to the United States in the following words:

"Of no less importance was the common recognition shown of the fact that any menace from without to the peace of our Continents concerns all of us and therefore properly is a subject for consultation and co-operation."

This was reflected in the instruments adopted by the conference.

These instruments were: Declaration of Principles of Inter-American Solidarity and Co-operation and a protocol of non-intervention.3

Towards the full realization of Continental solidarity, Lima conference goes a step further and declares to the world what are some of the principles for which the twenty-one republics stand. It has been made clear in the "Declaration of Lima." What really happened at Lima was, the gathering of all the agreements that have been arrived at in previous inter-American conferences, and implement them into a single document as a clear statement of policy of the twenty-one republics of the Western Hemisphere.

The full significance of the "Declaration of Lima", probably, will not be realized just now, but, a few years from now it will assume its true character which will have a great bearing upon the affairs of the world.

It embodies, the ideals, hopes and dreams of the peoples of the New World. These dreams have been made clear in an address made by Mr. Cordell Hull, at the plenary conference at Lima on December 24, 1938. He said, in the course of his address :

"These American republics emerged as the great triumph of human rights, a conquest by idealists of this hemisphere. But the task was not finished. In a second stage there was forged the conception of equality of American States, their absolute right as independent nations, irrespective of military strength, of territorial extent, or of number of population, to speak with equal voice.

"Yet, even juridic equality, great though it is as a buttress for states, was not enough. There remained to be strengthened the bond of friendship, of understanding and of fair dealing—the bond of good neighbourship.

"First we become free; then we acknowledge ourselves equal; then we unite in common friendship."

These words of a truly great American statesman indicate the meaning underlying the "Declaration of Lima."

There was some opposition to the first draft of the "Declaration of Lima", it came largely from Argentine. Argentine was not at all in favour of signing any declaration. Argentine refused to discuss the original "Declaration of Lima" which was drafted by Mr. Hull, for fear that it may be construed by non-American nations as a political and military alliance. Finally, a compromise draft was unanimously accepted. Nevertheless, Argen-

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3. The Declaration of American Principles,

Whereas, the need for keeping alive the fundamental principles of relations among nations was never greater than today; and

Each State is interested in the preservation of world order under law, in peace with justice, and in the social and economic welfare of mankind.

The Government of the American Republics resolve,

To proclaim, support and recommend, once again, the following principles, as essential to the achievement of the aforesaid objectives;

1. The intervention of any State in the internal or external affairs of another is inadmissible.
2. All differences of international character should be settled by peaceful means;
3. The use of force as an instrument of national or international policy is proscribed;
4. Relations between States should be governed by the precepts of international law;
5. Respect for the faithful observance of treaties constitute the indispensable rule for the development of peaceful relations between States, and treaties can only be revised by agreement of the contracting parties;
6. Peaceful collaboration between representatives of the various States and the development of intellectual interchange among their peoples is conducive to an understanding by each of the problems of the other, as well as problems common to all, and makes more readily possible the peaceful adjustment of international controversies;
7. Economic reconstruction contributes to national and international well-being, as well as to peace among nations, and
8. International co-operation is a necessary condition to the maintenance of the aforementioned principles. —*The New York Times*, December 27, 1938.

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tine was second to none in standing for American solidarity.[4]

Commerce is the basis of international relations. Argentine's indifference towards any pact of solidarity is due probably to the prevailing condition of her foreign trade. Of course, Argentine is not very well disposed towards the United States, largely due to the fact that the trade between the United States and Argentine is not complementary. Argentine's trade is with the European nations. That is why Argentine is anxious to avoid antagonizing the nations of Europe for fear of losing its trade. Argentine's chief export consists of wheat and meat. England, Germany and other European countries import Argentine wheat and meat. America raises wheat and livestock more than her own need. America has to find market for her own surplus. Under the circumstances, this country finds it hard to reach a satisfactory solution of trade with Argentine. The sanitary convention between Argentine and the United States has not been voted favourably in the Senate because they do not want the Argentine beef to come to this country and be a competitive factor in the market. This government holds that Argentine cattle have hoof and mouth disease and so they say that it is against the law of this country to allow Argentine beef to enter America. That I think is hard to reconcile with the fact that European peoples have been living on Argentine beef for years. Mr. T. Y. Ybarra of the *New York Times*, says in the course of one of his articles :

"Trade down here talks more loudly than anything else; and, in the United States-Argentine trade, a slump has come, especially in our purchases of Argentine products, which may militate disastrously against any arrangements we may use to enlist their co-operation in Latin America."

Great Britain has not only big investments in Argentine railroads it also has been the leading importing country of Argentine products, mainly wheat and meat.[5]

Taking Latin America as a whole, the United States stands first in the list of exporters. At the same time, the United States provides the biggest market for the products of the Latin American countries.[6]

Since the close of the Lima Conference the government of the United States has loaned twenty million dollars to Brazil in order to stabilize her currency. It is reported in the press that the American government is going to help the Latin American countries to buy war-ships and implements of war in the United States so that they can adequately protect themselves.

The growing realization of the common interests encourages the republics to study every phase of inter-American relations. In the past, they have held conferences on the codification on International Law; also on cultural relations. Recently they held conferences on such subject as : Pan-American Sanitary Aviation Conference. It is the outcome of the first Pan-American Technical Aviation Con-

4. American solidarity is a fact, which no one doubts, and which no one could doubt. Each and all of us are ready to maintain and prove this solidarity in the face of any danger regardless of whence it comes, regardless of which state in this part of the world it is whose independence is threatened. For this we do not need any special pacts. A pact is already made in our history.

We shall act with one common impulse, wiping out all frontiers, using only one flag, that of liberty and justice. It is not only a piece of land that, if the case arises, we shall all defend in sacred union. We are resolved to resist with the same tenacity, either by preventive measures or by combined direct action, everything that implies a threat against the American order, every infiltration of men or ideas that reflect or tend to implant in our soil and in our spirit concept foreign to our ideas, ideals that are antagonistic to ours, regimes that menace our liberties, theories that threaten the social and moral peace of our people, or political fantasies that cannot prosper under the sky of Americas.—From the address of Jose Maria Cantilo, Foreign Minister of Argentine, before the Pan-American Conference, December 10, 1938.

5. Through 1935, 1936 and 1937, the average value of Argentine products bought by us (United States) annually averaged 228 million Argentine pesos. (A peso, in the "free market" is worth now about 23 cents.) Over the same period, Britain bought Argentine products, mainly meat and wheat, to an average value of 600,000,000 pesos—more than twice our figure. This was typical of the usual comfortable lead maintained by the British for decades in this market.

The Germans in those same three years, averaged a total annual importation from Argentine worth about 120,000,000 pesos, or only a little more than one-half what we bought. This made them a bad third in the race. —*The New York Times*, December 13, 1938.

6. According to Dr. Dye's (Dr. Alexander V. Dye, Head of the U. S. Bureau of the Foreign and Domestic Commerce) latest figure Latin America was purchasing more from the U. S. than from Great Britain, Germany, Italy and Japan combined.

Over-all total revealed that the share of the United States in this trade was 34·3 per cent. as against 15·3 for Germany, 12·6 per cent. for Great Britain, 2·7 per cent. for Japan and 2·6 for Italy.

At the same time, the United States was Latin America's best customer, taking 51·1 of the aggregate exports of the Southern Republics. Nor is this anything new. For the last seventy-five years the United States has provided the largest and most dependable outlet for the products of most of the countries South of the Rio Grande.

Mr. William Phillip Simms, Scripp-Howard Foreign Editor.—*New York World-Telegram*, January 10, 1939.

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ference which met in Lima, Peru, in 1937. The third Regional Meteorological Committee also met which is also made up of weather bureau chiefs of all North and South American countries. It operates under the jurisdiction of the International Meteorological organization. There was held a Pan-American Highway Conference at Santiago, Chile. There was also held at Santiago, Chile, the American Conference on National Committees on Intellectual Co-operation. At Lima, the Inter-American Women's Committee was formed. Its membership represents all the republics.

Miss Doris Stevens, (an American) national women's party member, has directed its activities for ten years. American Universities have extended a large number of scholarships to the Latin American students. They have arranged exchange of Professors between the Universities of the United States and Latin America. American lecturers are talking on Latin American life before American audiences which creates an interest to travel in the South American countries. Inter-American short-wave broadcasts are a regular feature in the radio program. Stage and screen are playing an important part creating interest in Latin America. Tourist agencies and steamship lines are encouraging Americans through their propaganda to visit Latin America. The visit of Latin American statesmen to Washington is another rivet in the chain which binds them closer. All these forces are helping to develop a growing attachment for each other. Take a look at the world's Atlas, at the map of North and South America, even geography is on the side of the Western Hemisphere in bringing about a continental solidarity.

It seems that the republics in the Western Hemisphere want to develop a civilization according to their ideas without let or hindrance from any non-American sources. The population of these republics is composed of all the races of mankind. The ancestors of the present day Americans have transplanted European civilization to the New World. But the forces of nature, the mixture of races, and various other factors are slowly evolving a new race, a new civilization, and a new culture.

From the historic standpoint, the issue between the Americas and Europe is clear, freedom versus colonialism. Colonials who have become free people banded together at Lima to determine their future security. So long as peoples are held in bondage, so long there will be prospects of war in the air. The world divided into half free and half slave cannot make for peace. Without peace there cannot be any democracy anywhere in the world. Democratic institutions only prevail among free peoples. When one people imposes its rule upon another people then it is not democracy but autocracy. A democratic constitution is made by the people for the people who live by it. Democratic institutions differ from one country to another according to its local conditions. But, freedom is at the core of democracy. Where there is no freedom there is no democracy. Democratic government survives only under the skies of freedom. Freedom is the heritage of the New World. It is to safeguard this freedom that the delegates of the republics of the New World met at Lima, Peru, and made the historic proclamation in the "Declaration of Lima." It is the road to organized peace. At any rate, it sets an example to the rest of the world that peace may be achieved by peaceful means.

New York City,
March 28, 1939.

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All Faiths Celebration of Buddha's Birthday under the auspices of the Mahabodhi Society of America on May 3, 1939, at Ceylon India Inn, New York, N. Y., U. S. A.
Sitting in front of the altar on the left, Mr. Kedarnath Das-Gupta, who presided, and on the right, Mr. K. Y. Kira, who organized the celebration

LORD BUDDHA'S BIRTHDAY CELEBRATION IN NEW YORK

The 2483rd birthday of Lord Buddha was celebrated on May 3rd at the Ceylon India Inn with a Special service, under the auspices of the Mahabodhi Society of America. People of many faiths including Bahais, Buddhists, Christians, Hindus, Humanists, Jews, Moslems and Sikhs participated.

The Mahabodhi Society was started in New York by Mr. K. Y. Kira of Ceylon by inspiration of Bhikkhu the Venerable Sri Devammito Dhammapala, during his last visit in the United States.

This Service was conducted by Mr. Kedarnath Das Gupta, Founder-General Secretary of the World Fellowship of Faiths. Buddhist Hymns were chanted by two young Buddhists, Messrs. Nandu and Singh of Ceylon. Among the speakers were, Atiya Begum, Moslem; Dr. C. O. Haas, Christian; Dr. B. B. Mukherji, Hindu; Madame Barry Orlova, Bahai; and Swami Bodhananda, Minister of the Vedanta Society. Mr. Kira gave greetings of welcome at the opening. Refreshments were served by the Ceylon India Inn.

Mr. Das Gupta in his opening address said in part, "Lord Buddha was born on a full moon day, got enlightenment on a full moon day and He also got Nirvana on a full moon day. It is symbolic, that the full moon brings soothing light in darkness. Buddha brought enlightenment in a world full of ignorance and sorrow. We need Buddha to bring light again in the gathering darkness of the world today.

"Lord Buddha was a Hindu reformer and a scientist full of compassion. His teaching is more needed for the suffering world of today than anything else. If some of the leaders of nations could be converted to Buddhism there would be no more the fear of war. Emperor Asoka when he become a disciple of Budhha, gave up his lust for conquest and diverted his great energy to constructive works for the welfare of mankind. Lord Buddha was a great scientist. He found a remedy for the suffering world.

"According to Buddhism, self-culture, a holy calm and peaceful life, is the only remedy for the sins and woes to which humanity is subjected. Gautama Buddha condemned a life of pleasure and self-indulgence as useless. There was a 'middle path,' he said 'between these extremes.' This was to seek and attain by continuous self-development. 'a consumate, perfect and pure life.' His benevolent heart told him that love toward others was the panacea for all evils. Universal love is the essence of Buddhism."

"Five prohibitions are enjoined by Buddha upon the lay Buddhists: Do not kill, steal, commit adultery, lie or drink intoxicants.

"Regarding Nirvana, in his sermon to Sadhu Simha Buddha says, 'It is true, Simha, that I denounce activities, but only the activities that lead to the evil in words, thoughts, or deeds. It is true, Simha, that I preach extinction, but only the extinction of pride, lust, evil thought, and ignorance, not that of forgiveness, love, charity, and truth'."

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INDIAN WOMANHOOD

Mrs. Kiran Bose has been named rapporteur of the League Advisory Committee on Social

Mrs. Kiran Bose

questions. This is the first time that an Indian lady has held the post.

Mrs. Kusum Nair stood first in the B.A. Examination of the Nagpur University, winning

Mrs. Kusum Nair

two gold medals. She is the wife of Mr. P. N. Nair, Executive Officer, Belgaum Cantonment and is a resident of Gujerat (Punjab).

Miss Belarani Basu stood first in the I A. Examination of the Delhi University this

Miss Belarani Basu

year. She had also topped the list of female candidates in the Matriculation Examination of the same University. Miss Basu hails from village Ilchhoba-Mondlai, Hooghly.

Miss Tara Puri

Miss Tara Puri topped the list of candidates in the B.Sc. Examination of the Punjab University.

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PROHIBITION IN INDIA

By M. P. VYAS

The position of India in the World is unique. The population of India is estimated as 352 million souls. Compared to the world population of 1800 millions, it forms nearly one-fifth of the entire human race. The history and civilization of India is one of the oldest in the world. It has its distinctive characteristics. It differs from other civilizations of the world in many respects. In the history and development of world civilizations, the contribution of India is marvellous. From the very beginning it developed a spiritual and philosophical outlook of life and society. The Indian culture showed a marked tendency for individual development, self-less service of humanity and the sacrifice of material well-being for higher motives of spiritual attainment. As a result the society, in India, moulded itself with above tendencies predominating in any approach towards social problems.

The use of intoxicants prevailed in India. It is as old as human race. But it was never so menacing as it is now. It was never so organised as at present. It was never supported by any Government as by the British in India. It was never exploited as a source of revenue on such a wide scale and organised efforts as adopted by the British Government in India. Not only this but it was restricted by deterrent legislation enacted by existing Governments. It was deprecated by all the prevailing religions in India whether Hinduism or Islam, Budhism or Jainism, Sikh or Zoroastrianism They with one voice not only strongly opposed and condemned the use of intoxicants but even proscribed its touch. Drink in Indian society was looked upon with spite and contempt.

There was practically speaking no drink problem in India before the advent of European nations into India. The British rule in India by its continued and consistent excise policy of obtaining maximum of revenue from intoxicants in an organised manner by the Government itself, against the public opinion, spread the drink and drug evil throughout India, without caring for its detrimental effects on the people.

Ever since the begining of the British Rule in India, the leaders of the country raised their voice against the harmful excise po adopted by the Government. The Ind National Congress, the only political orga sation of India, wielding political powers eight of the eleven major provinces and runn the machinery of the Governments, protes from its very beginning against the ex policy of the Indian Government. Not only protested but asked for the total prohibi in India. Prohibition remained one of chief items of the political programme of National Congress. But the Government not prepared to lose the big revenue continued its policy in spite of all prot and active opposition of the people.

This was the background in India wh is responsible for the introduction of prohi tion. To the people of India prohibition is a moral reform but a principle of life. W this approach, practically every man woman in India favours and supports t introduction and enforcement of prohibitio.

I have stated these things, to make cl the real implications of what is going on India. What is going on at present is just corollary of what has gone by.

The Indian National Congress declared policy of total prohibition. The whole of Ind Congress or Non-Congress is at one, specia in this respect. The Congress Ministries functioning in eight out of the eleven P vinces, with a prohibition programme to completed fully within the time limit of th years. With this time limit all the Congr Ministries have set working. The remain provinces of India, governed by non-Congr Ministries, have also adopted the policy of P hibition, the difference being only of the ti for the completion of total prohibition.

Although, at present no province is *whol* under total prohibition, large areas of all eight Congress Provinces are under Prohibiti

The British India consists of eleven ma Provinces administered by Governors, appo ted by the Crown with full-fledged Cabin consisting of Ministers responsible to Legislature elected by the people. Besides there are some smaller areas administe under the direct supervision of the Ind Government.

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The Indian States occupy one-third of the total area of the country with nearly 70 millions of people under their jurisdiction.

Burma and Ceylon have been recently separated from the Government of India for administrative purposes. India as a whole occupies 1,808,679 sq. miles with a population of more than 350 miles.

In some of the Indian States total prohibition prevails. Some are regularly advancing towards prohibition. But the problem is not very acute in Indian States as in British India. Most of the States have always favoured prohibition. But in certain States the exise policy of the India Government has cast its shadow. In spite of this, the States situated on the border lines of the British India have declared their intentions of extending the fullest co-operation in the task of total prohibition, adopted by the Provinces under Congress Ministries.

It will be interesting to sum up the measures taken in the different Provinces with regard to prohibition.

Bombay

Bombay is a big Province comprising of 69,348 sq. miles with a population of 31 million souls. Its excise revenue amounts to more than Rs. 32 millions, out of the total of Rs. 120 millions. It works upto 26% of the total revenue of the Province. The Government prepared itself to sacrifice such a big revenue for fulfilling the pledge and implementing the policy of prohibition. It declared dry the following areas in 1938 :

1. Ahmedabad City and 27 surrounding villages
2. Bardoli Taluka and a part of Mandvi Taluka in Surat
3. Jambusar District and Wagra Talukas of the Broach and Panch Mahal Districts
4. Mewasa and Shevgaon Talukas with Pathardi Mahal of the Ahmednagar District
5. Akola and Kupta Talukas in the Kanar Districts
6. Bombay City to be dry for two days following the Mill Pay Day.

From 1st August 1939, the following more areas will go dry :

1. North and South Daskroi Talukas
2. Broach sub-division of the Broach and Panch Mahal Districts and Valod Mahal
3. Ahmednagar District
4. Kanara District
5. Sholapur
6. Hubli
7. Dhulia
8. Chaligaon
9. Jalgaon
10. Taloda Taluka of West Khandesh

(5–10: Shops will be closed for two days following the pay day in Mills.)

11. West Khandesh Districts — Liquor shops will be converted into Government Depots as many as possible
12. Bassein Thana Creek — The whole area encircled by sea.
13. The whole of the Bombay, Salsette and Trombay Islands.

All the above areas taken together will mean a loss of more than Rs. 18 millions of the excise revenue. Thus only Rs. 14 millions of excise revenue will remain to be given up next year and thus complete the total prohibition programme in the whole of the Province of Bombay Presidency, within the prescribed time-limit.

2. Madras.

Madras is the next big Province with an area of 142,277 sq. miles and a population of 46 millions. Its excise revenue is Rs. 38 millions out of 159 millions of the total revenue of the Province, that is nearly 25%.

The following areas were under prohibition during 1938 :

1. Salem
2. Chitur
3. Cuddappa

From 1939 North Arcot Districts will go dry. This will mean a loss of Rs. 6½ millions of excise revenue. It is hoped that the whole of the Madras Province will be under prohibition shortly. During the current year ⅕th of the total area of the Province will be under prohibition.

United Provinces

United Provinces is the third big Province of India, governed by Congress Ministry, having an area of 106,248 sq. miles and 48 millions of population. The total revenue of the Province is 125 millions. Out of this the excise revenue is Rs. 15 millions, that is nearly 12% of the total revenue. The Government has decided in accordance with the total prohibition programme to sacrifice this revenue for the amelioration of the people of the Province.

The Provincial Government introduced total prohibition in Etah and Mainpuri District from 1st April 1938.

Further steps to implement the prohibition policy were taken in the same year by reducing the number of liquor shops in the Province by 25 per cent.

The Government of the Province has declared to introduce prohibition in four more districts namely, Bijnaur, Budaun, Farukabad

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and Jaunpur during this year and to reduce in the remaining areas further by 20% and thus to hasten the goal of total prohibition in the whole of the Province.

4. Bihar.

Next comes the Province of Bihar with an area of 69,348 sq. miles and a population of more than 31 millions. The excise revenue of the Province is more than Rs. 10 millions. The total revenue of the Province is more than Rs. 50 millions. This means that the excise revenue forms nearly 20% of its total revenue.

The Government has entered upon the policy of prohibition by declaring Saran and Purneah Districts dry from 1st April 1938. Nearly 500 liquor shops were declared closed in the District of Purneah. In the current year the area of Ranchi, Hajipur, Mandar, Ormanji and Angara, will go dry.

5. Central Provinces

This Province has an area of 99,920 sq. miles with a populatiin of 15½ million souls. The total revenue of this province is Rs. 47 millions. The excise revenue derived from intoxicants is Rs. 6 millions. Thus the revenue from the consumption of intoxicating drugs and drinks forms nearly 14% of the total revenue of the Province.

The Government of this Province declared from 1st January 1938, the following districts dry :

1. Saugor District
2. Narsingpur Sub-division, Hoshingbad District
3. Akot Taluka
4. Hinganghat
5. Badura District
6. Katmi Mukri-Jubbulpur District.

From 1st January 1939, the following districts were declared dry :

1. Akola District
2. Wardha District.

A Prohibition Act was enacted and put into force from 1st April 1938.

6. Assam

This Province has 55,014 sq. miles of area and a population of more than 8½ millions. The total revenue of the Province of Assam is Rs. 28 millions. Of these 4½ millions is derived from excise. It means that the revenue derived from the drink and drug evils forms nearly 16% of the total revenue.

Congress Ministry was formed in Assam in the latter part of the year 1938. In the current year prohibition will be introduced in certain parts of the Province. Opium is to be banished from Assam within two years. Government is making plans to take care of the resulting patients.

7. Orissa

The Province comprises of 32,681 sq. miles with a population of more than 8 millions. Its total revenue amounts to Rs. 19 millions, out of this Rs. 2 millions are derived from drink and drug evils. Thus the excise revenue forms nearly 12% of the total revenue.

Balasore District went dry from 15th October 1938. The Government has in view the closing down of all opium shops from April 1939.

8. North-West Frontier Province

The Province comprises of 13,518 sq. miles with a population of 2½ millions. The excise revenue is 9 lacs compared with 180 lacs of total revenue. It works out as 5% of the total revenue. Dera-Ismail-khan District of the Province was declared dry on 1st April 1938, partial prohibition was introduced in two other Districts. The remaining part of the Province will come under prohibition within a very short time. The Government of the Province has declared its intention to do away with all the revenue derived from drink and drugs in the immediate future.

The above are the three provinces in which non-Congress Ministries are in power. Whatever may be the difference of programme between the Congress and Non-Congress Provinces, there are no two opinions with regard to the programme of prohibition. The three remaining Provinces have also tried to follow the foot-steps of the Congress Ministries and have adopted total prohibition as its goal.

9. Bengal

Bengal is one of the major Provinces of India, having an area of 77,521 sq. miles with a population of more than 50 millions.

Its total revenue amounts to more than Rs. 125 millions. Out of which Rs. 15 millions are derived from drink and drugs. It means that excise revenue is nearly 12% of the total revenue.

The Government of Bengal declared dry the Districts of Noakhali and Chittagong from 1st April 1938. It has made a good begining in the direction of prohibition with a view to gradual realisation of the goal of total prohibition.

10. Punjab

The Province of Punjab covering 99,200 sq. miles with a population of 23½ millions is

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one of the important Provinces of India. Its revenue is Rs. 112 millions. The excise revenue amounts to Rs. 10 millions, that is 9% of the total revenue.

Beginning for the introduction of prohibition will be made in the Province from next year *i.e.* 1940.

11. Sind

The Province of Sind has an area of 46,378 sq. miles, with a population of nearly 4 millions.

Its excise revenue is only 3½ millions compared with the 36 millions of the total revenue, that is, nearly 10% of the total revenue of the Province. It has declared to introduce total prohibition by twelve stages within seven years.

Some of the Indian States have also moved in the direction of prohibition. Most important among them are Mysore, Indore, Cochin and Aundh. In the State of Bhavnagar, total prohibition prevails.

Burma and Ceylon will, it is hoped, follow suit.

Apart from Provincial Governments implementing the policy of prohibition and sacrificing large amounts of excise revenues, the Central Government derives nearly 5 millions of excise revenue from the import duties levied on the foreign liquors imported into India. The Central Government has not yet seen its way in joining hands with the Provincial Governments which are responsible to the General Electorate. The Central Government will have to forego this tainted source of revenue, sooner or later. India is determined to make prohibition a success and it will.

HANTU ! HANTU ! !
OR
NEMESIS
(A story of Malaya)

By P. K. SEN-GUPTA

The District Officer, Melintan, bit his pipe viciously and growled "Blast these natives." He kicked a footstool to the consternation of Ah Kow, the Chinese boy who was mixing a gin "pahit;" not to say that Ah Kow was unused to the tantrums of his "Tuan"* but he didn't approve of a white man behaving thus. He slightly raised his eyebrows and shrugged his shoulders. Milford didn't fail to notice this. "Confound your Celestial impudence," exclaimed Milford, more amused than angry. "Solly," grinned Ah Kow and retired discreetly. Milford never really felt annoyed with his boy, though Ah Kow seldom failed to show his disapproval of his master's indiscretions and shortcomings with silent approbation or in a flood of pidgin English. The trouble with Milford was that he couldn't do without this fellow; for Ah Kow not only served and cooked but also mended his socks and reminded him of his Home mail. Even in matters of the State, Ah Kow would have to be consulted. He would put the tips of his fingers together, squint his funny slanting eyes and invariably give the right judgment.

"I will be lost without this d-d chink," very often Milford confessed. In short, Ah Kow was his "Jeeves."

The cause of Milford's annoyance in this instance was a grave one; his indignation was righteous. It was a matter of the State and indirectly it affected his prestige.

"Well," he said with the resigning sigh, stretching his legs on the top of the speckless teak centre. "Well, I will consult Ah Kow." He rang the bell. Ah Kow appeared at his side wih the quickness of Aladin's genie.

"Ah Kow, I want to talk to you—something very important. Sit down, will you ?"

"Me no sit, thank you," said Ah Kow, coming and standing at ease in front of his master.

"Please yourself," muttered Milford, filling his pipe. "You know Ah Kow, I have got to tour the "Ulu"** sometime this part of the year. In fact, I want to start easily and avoid the

* Sahib.

** Mofussil, village area.

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rains. I was thinking of starting for Kampong Tilang next week. The route lies across the Bedong forest on the border of the Tilang river. It seems that this forest is haunted by a ferocious man-eating tiger. I personally don't believe a word of it, but the trouble is that I can't get any Tamil coolies to carry our "barang barang"† for love or money. I even assured them that Ferguson, the Forest Officer, and I would be carrying guns. Why, even Che' Moktar, my Malay assistant, you know, seems to be funking this job. Now, Ah Kow, how on earth, am I to start without coolies ?"

During the recital, Ah Kow stood immobile, his eyes seemingly fixed on the high light of a brass vase. He put his finger tips together, squinted his eyes and said "Tuan, get Malay coolies."

"Malay ? But there aren't any, at least not in the P.W.D. or the Sanitary Board."

"You can get them from the Folest office," said Ah Kow, who could not pronounce his "r's," to save his life.

"Folest ? Oh, I see. You mean the Forest Department. Yes, but they aren't a particularly brave lot, are they ?"

"No—but you give them plenty money and they will come," said Ah Kow, with a broad grin.

"I dare say you are right, old son, but I wonder if old Ferguson will spare any of his coolies. Any way Ah Kow, I will ring up your 'Folest' Tuan."

II

Ah Kow's plan had worked. Ferguson after a good deal of persuasion and mild threats gave in. In any case, he would have to give in to Milford. It didn't pay to fall foul of a District Officer in the long run. Besides Milford was a rising fellow and had lot of wires to pull. Ultimately it was arranged that a gang of Malay volunteers should be inspected by Milford next day.

At half past ten next morning Ferguson had his coolies lined up in a parade order at the football "padang."

"Good morning, Ferguson," said Milford in his official tone, "Is this the lot ?"

"Yes, this is the best I could get," replied Ferguson, somewhat sulkily.

"Ah well, suppose these fellows will do. Now to business; who is your 'tindal' (head cooly) ?"

Ferguson shouted "Alang" and a tall Malay in the early thirties stood in front of Ferguson setting his cap well over his forehead. Milford spoke to Alang in Malay loud enough for the whole gang to hear. He explained his mission and his destination; the Company (i.e. the Government) would pay five dollars per head and rations.

"How long will the men have to be away from their Kampong (village), Tuan ?" asked Alang interpreting the questioning looks of some of the coolies.

"About a week, I should say. What do you think, Ferguson ?"

"I dare say that will be ample, Milford," replied Ferguson promptly, having regained his equanimity.

"Well, Alang, get me fifteen men—the right sort, mind you."

"Alright, Tuan," said Alang and went back to his gang.

The crowd closed round Alang, who harangued to them at great length and with profuse gesticulations, pointing occasionally to Milford and Ferguson. Most of them were eager to join up, as it meant not only a sort of holiday but extra pay, free tobacco and an escape from the boredom of their routine work. So inspite of Alang's attempt at discipline and Ferguson's stern looks of disapproval, about thirty of them detached themselves from the crowd and rushed forward, each claiming that he should be taken.

"I didn't bargain for this, Ferguson," said Milford, very irritated.

"Neither did I. I will tell you what—just give them the scare about the tigers in the Bedong forest and tell them that you only need the extra brave fellows."

"You think that will work ?"

"You bet," said Ferguson, tightening his lips.

No sooner was this news imparted than a remarkable change took place in the attitude of the enthusiastic volunteers. A panic seized them. About twenty of them retreated in great haste; four or five of them suddenly remembered that they were family men with children and as such couldn't be away for such a length of time; and the rest wavered, looked at each other, at Milford and Ferguson and at the nervous crowd behind.

Both the officers saw their *faux pas* and sought to rectify their mistake by giving them assurance of safety. Milford said, "Tuan Ferguson and I will be carrying loaded guns. The tiger won't dare to come near, and if it

† Luggage, bags and baggage.

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does, why, surely twenty of us can kill one tiger."

At this, some of them wavered, picked up their courage and said, "In that case, we fear nothing—we will come," and ten of them fell into line.

"We will go if Alang goes with us," cried a few laggers.

"Of course, Alang is coming with us.—Who said he wasn't? Where is Alang?" roared Milford.

Alang at the moment was squatting on the grass and chewing the stem of a grass. He looked a changed man. His face pale and chalky and his eyes terror-stricken. He looked as if he had seen a ghost.

"Alang, what is the matter with you? Come here," commanded Ferguson.

"Tuan—oh, Tuan, I can't go with you," said the man hoarsely.

"Can't go?" shouted Milford, "Of course, you are going with us. Can't go, indeed, and why not?"

"Tuan, I dare not. I am afraid."

"Afraid? What of?"

"Tuan, the tiger—the "hantu"‡ will kill me," he said hysterically.

The effect of this on the already faltering group was electrical. They dispersed rapidly again. Milford took Ferguson aside and said, "We can't allow this sort of thing, you know. This beggar Alang will ruin the morale of the whole crowd. As it is, it is bad enough with the Tamil coolies refusing point blank and now this pessimistic fool."

Ferguson went up upto Alang and said nicely, "Now, now, Alang, don't be a child, we will all be carrying guns. You shoot quite well, don't you?"

"Yes, Tuan, I understand all that but I won't come, all the same. I will be killed," he said with wild panic in his eyes, staring all round the field as if he expected to see a tiger at any moment.

"That's the limit; this has got to stop," said Milford fuming.

He walked up to the trembling Alang and said in an even voice but loud enough for all concerned to hear, "If you don't come, you will be instantly dismissed for disobeying orders."

The dismay and confusion on Alang's face was pathetic. Clearing his throat, Ferguson said, "I say, Milford, can't you-er-er-do without this fellow?"

"Of course, I can—I can do without the bally lot, but that is not the point. These natives should be taught a lesson. Seems to me the Malays are getting impudent."

"Now, Alang, you come with us or off you go this moment; not only that; I will sack the whole sickly lot of you. And, besides, why on earth are you such a coward?"

"Tuan, I am no coward. Allah knows, I will be eaten by a tiger if I go with you. Tuan does not know my humble history. For three generations the yellow-and-black devil has robbed us of many members of our family. The first victim was my grand-father, then my father and uncle. Last year it was my brother. And, Tuan, I am the only surviving male member. Allah help me! I don't want to die. I want to live—live" exclaimed the man in a frenzy.

Milford turned away with the gesture of disgust.

"Ferguson, see that this fellow makes up his mind to come with us and also see that he gets us at least dozen other fellows; otherwise sack the lot at once."

Having delivered this peremptory order, Milford walked off towards his car.

III

Next morning after serving Milford his breakfast Ah Kow hovered round him, fidgetting and pottering about. Milford knew his man.

"What's up?" he asked, opening his daily *Tribune*.

"Me say one thing. Hope master no 'angly'," said Ah Kow, apologetically.

"Spit it out," answered Milford encouragingly.

"I think better Tuan not take Alang to the 'ulu'."

"Not take Alang? Now, how on earth did you know of all this trouble?"

Milford felt annoyed. "These natives have a way of fereting things out," he said to himself, half aloud; and to Ah Kow, "And why shouldn't I take Alang?"

"He velly aflaid of tiger. He say 'Remau' (tiger) sure kill him."

"Oh fiddle-sticks."

"No, Tuan, no humbug. There is 'hantu' in his family. His many relations eat la by tiger. Alang, him speak truth," said Ah Kow earnestly.

"You and your Oriental fatalism," said Milford sarcastically.

‡ Ghost, devil.

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Ah Kow said, "Solly," and went about his work.

Early on Monday morning, the coolies and baggages in charge of Alang were sent in to P.W.D. lorries to Katty, the first stage of the journey, 96 miles away. Milford and Ferguson started after breakfast and reached there in the afternoon. The night was spent at the Rest House.

Next morning they started for Tusong, a small village, 27 miles away. The motor road stretched only up to six miles and then—the inevitable Malayan bridle path. The Tuans went on bicycles and the coolies continued on foot. They camped on the "Padang" of the village that night.

At dawn next day, they set out for their last lap, after the Malays' morning prayer. A fourteen-miles bridle path leading to the Tilang river would bring them to the end of their journey on foot. The last four miles of this path passed through the ominous Bedong forest.

By the time they started the sun was already peeping over the distant hills. The first five miles was pleasant enough. Milford and Ferguson enjoyed the morning hike; the coolies were in high spirits bucked up by the bracing morning air. The path was muddy and sometimes degenerated and ran to shreds.

It was noon when they reached the outskirts of the forest. A halt was called here. The coolies cooked rice and curried chicken for their lunch. Milford and Ferguson had sandwiches and iced "Tigers" (beer). They then lighted their pipes and fell to talking about their club and the forthcoming Inter-State rugger match at Kuala Lumpur.

The march was resumed at three o'clock in the afternoon. Half-a-mile's tramp brought them to the very edge of the forest. They passed through a belt of parra-rubber and gutta-percha trees and then quite suddenly the variety and the size of the trees changed. Huge big "Chenghai" and "Meranti" trees grow in close proximity entwined by creepers and thickly carpeted with an undergrowth of shrubs and lalangs (tropical sword grasses), which now encroached upon their path. It was a tropical monsoonic rain-bearing forest.

The company now marched in single file, Ferguson leading and Milford bringing up the rear. Both of them carried loaded guns. The coolies who were quite jovial and talkative during the earlier part of the journey, now became serious and alert. Alang, of course, was the most silent of the lot. He was given a gun and placed in the middle of the file, but he was ill at ease and obviously frightened. Any little sound or disturbance in the forest made him pale with fear and he would immediately come to a standstill and finger the trigger. This was bad for the company. It made others panicky and nervous. Even Ferguson and Milford felt jumpy. Milford tried to be "official" and even rude to Alang but it only made matters worse. He then tried to draw him into a conversation but Alang answered only in monosyllables or never replied at all.

"Better get the fellows on the move," shouted Ferguson, without looking back.

"O. K.," said Milford and ordered, "Lakas Jalan." The coolies started at a slow trot and most of them seemed to welcome it.

For one thing it stopped them discussing and spreading their fears and also it had a curious psychological reflex. They somehow shook off their nervousness and seemed to become more confident of themselves.

They had by now covered half the forest. To encourage them, Milford made this known. It had the desired effect. Alang heaved an audible sigh of relief and muttered—"Allah be praised." Another half-an-hour's march brought them within sight of the river. Alang catching sight of the shimmering water at a distance exclaimed triumphantly, "I am saved, Allah be thanked. I am saved." The others joined him in a chorus.

"Tuan, janganmahra," Alang said ("Don't be angry, sir,") and started to sing. It was a Hallelujah.

The path now ran through undulating area, covered with giant "lalangs." A wind rose. Alang's song rose with the wind. The "lalangs" swayed and danced to the lilt of Alang's swan-song.

There was a deeper rustle nearby. Ferguson noticed this; for a moment he wavered and then passed on. Milford, too, heard the disturbance but urged the coolies forward. Perhaps even they sensed a shade of danger but the red banks and the bubbling water of the Tilang river gave them courage. Only Alang didn't hear anything, didn't know anything.

His song rose to a crescendo. Suddenly it snapped and a wild frightened cry, "Hantu! Remau! Hantu!" rent the air. A huge streak of black-and-yellow flashed through the air, pounced on one of the coolies, and jumped off into the giant "lalangs" with lightning speed. It was Alang! Alang, full of the joys of life only a few seconds before.

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Five minutes elapsed before anyone quite realized what had happened. Then with a yell the coolies dropped their "barang" and stampeded. Milford and Ferguson rushed here and there in a vain attempt to stop them and then plunged into the jungle.

A couple of hours later they returned, tired, their thighs and legs bleeding from the cuts of the lalang blades. They found the coolies seated in groups on the bank, sullen and trembling. They looked up at their masters' faces and knew the fate of their comrade. Silently, after dusk, they crossed the Tilang river.

IV

They returned after ten days by a devious route—a meloncholy and tired company. The news of Alang's death had preceded them. A menacing crowd of Malays met them on their entry to town and almost beseiged the two white men. A howling woman stood in front of Milford with a threatening attitude and accused him of sending her husband to death. "His blood be upon your head," she cursed in Malay. The timely appearance of some stalwart Sikh policemen dispersed the crowd.

Milford was a changed man after Alang's death. He brooded, spoke little and neglected his meals. He drank heavily and scarcely stirred out of his bungalow.

On his return, he submitted his official report. He took the entire blame of the unfortunate affair on himself. There was no censure in the minute papers but a transfer was inevitable. Milford did not like the prospect but he realized that it was impossible to remain in the present station, as the Malays were kicking up a row. Besides, as Ah Kow had pronounced, he had "lost face" with the public.

A month later, there was a mild sensation at the club. Milford had resigned and left suddenly. No one seemed to know the place of his retreat. That night the members of the club forsook their "Mah-jong" and "bridge" tables and discussed "this Milford business" over their gin pahits.

"Blithering Jackass, that's what I call him," remarked a "Burra-Sahib" among the planters. "Fancy going potty over a native's death," he concluded contemptuously. Ferguson's opinion was called for as he had firsthand information of the affair. "I don't know—I think he did the right thing in leaving," he said enigmatically.

* * *

A couple of weeks later news began to filter through that Milford was hunting big game in Pehang. He camped in the jungle and came to town only when he needed tobacco or ammunition. Soon he was forgotten by friends and foes alike in the gay whirlwind of the whiteman's life out in the East.

Ferguson, however, was the only exception. He kept in touch with the forest officers and rangers of all the States and thus kept himself informed of Milford's movements.

Three months later he received the disquieting news that Milford had pitched his tent in the hinterland of the Tilang river, within a couple of miles of the place where Alang was carried off. Ferguson immediately made up his mind to go there with some of his forest guards, ostensibly on duty, but actually to be within helping distance of Milford. But *Kismet* ruled otherwise. Ferguson did not have to undertake that trip, for the Chief Forest Ranger, Kampong Pisang, reported that the mangled and mutilated bodies of a whiteman and a Chinese were found in the "lalang" near the Tilang river !

Was it retribution or an expiation ? Or, was it merely a cruel trick of fate ?

(All characters mentioned in this story are fictitious.)

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JAPANESE THREAT TO FOREIGN CONCESSIONS IN CHINA

A Phase in 'The China Incident'

By GOPAL HALDAR

On April 9, Dr. Cheng Hsi-Kang, Commissar of Tientsin Customs and concurrently Manager of the Federal Reserve Bank of China, was killed at Tientsin when a Chinese gunman fired two bullets into his head. The assailant is said to have taken refuge in the Britain concessions. Thus the question originated, became acute, and, finally came to a head when the British authorities refused to surrender four Chinese, who, according to the Japanese, were involved in the murder, but against whom no *prima facie* case could be established. The result was a Japanese blockade of Tientsin begun on June 13, last.

So, the shifting sands of world politics shifted from the Continent of Europe to Asia, and the Far East, where the "diplomatic pot simmered gently on the boil" early in June, to quote the *Manchester Guardian*, "Tientsin Incidents" attracted to themselves the attention of the world. "Incidents" in the Far East are not insignificant matters, as everybody knows. It is now going to be two years that we are dragging the blood-red trail of one, the "China Incident." Tientsin is the natural development of this main affair and may prove one of the many turns that the Affair is bound to take till the Far Eastern politics reach a clear and stable destination.

Three Phases in China

The background of the present Japanese drive against the foreigners, particularly the British, is formed naturally by the "China Incident" and the Japanese policy pursued resolutely in China. It is fairly known to all. The European tangle and the pre-occupation of the European powers in the more dangerous European zone served as an opportunity for Japan to push on with her plan in China. Taking a survey of the contemporary Japanese policy, we find that the war has entered, as pointed out by a writer in the *Current History* (March), its third phase—the phase in which Japan is to consolidate the gains and must therefore deal with the foreigners who have preceded her in the game in China and secured for themselves in the past "concessions" as their centres of influence and exploitation of that vast Continent. Three distinct phases mark this background of the "China Incident" as it started in July, 1937:

"The first extended from the outbreak of hostilities near Peiping in July, 1937, to the fall of Nanking early in December of that year. Except during the brief but heroic stand at Shanghai, the Chinese were always in retreat. That period probably represents the closest Nippon will ever come to fighting the kind of war in China she most desires.

"The lull marked by the sack of Nanking was intended to give Japanese soldiers a chance to recuperate from their hard campaign, and to allow dissension to wreck the Chinese National Government. Actually, the recuperating was done by the Chinese army, with no peace offers forthcoming. The fighting thereupon entered a phase in which the Chinese put up a more determined defence, and Nippon was forced to expend ever increasing effort to achieve her objectives. This period included the drive on Hsuchow, the reversal at Taierhchwang, the breaking of the Yellow River dykes, the offensive up the Yangtze Valley, and finally the fall of Canton and Hankow. It consumed nearly a year.

"Now, truly, the campaign to 'chastise the outrageous anti-Japanese government of China' is in its third inning. It seems likely to remain there for a decade, an era characterized by Japanese attempts to consolidate what they already hold, increased guerilla activity on the part of the Chinese, mutual offering and rejecting of peace terms, and mounting international complications."

Japanese Interference

Japanese interference with the foreigners, with foreign shipping, foreign concessions, and the 'open door policy' was almost evident from the very beginning of the struggle. It is a chapter which is too recent to be forgotten. But, only when the Japanese had cleared the coastal towns were they in a position to come into grip with these foreigners. Chief among these latter was Britain no doubt, and next to Britain France, with her small concessions and

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g stake in Indo-China and the islands in the acific waters—all of which were threatened by e Japanese occupation of Amoy. But Europe as a powder-magazine about to blow up any oment, or at least France was so. And the rench and British were engaged in the West nd Near East. Japan had thus her line; she roceeded and dared; and, these Powers had to e satisfied with strong protests against the apanese attempts at 'blockading' the China oast particularly in landing marines at Kulang-u, the Inter-national Settlement at Amoy. Kulangsu, the International Settlement at Amoy, ccupied the British ever since the incident here; but the Japanese Naval Commander ould not remove his marines. The island as blockaded, and the Settlement ran hort of food. The Japaese threat of lockading the coast was not a mere 'try-on' s the Japanese proved when a Japanese cruiser ctually stopped and boarded the British P. & O. ner *Ranpura* on the absurd excuse that the uiser only wished to identify her nationality. he Treaty Port of Swatow, it could be surmised, ould be an objective for Japanese occupa-on which would thus stop food-supplies to Hong-Kong and close one more South China oor of Chiang Kai-shek for importation of reign arms. It came in the natural course on ne 21.

The Tientsin incident in North China came arlier (June 13). The concession of Tientsin ouses about 3,000 Britisher, 2,000 foreigners, nd, 45,000 Chinese. The concession was in a articularly weak position, close to the iron utches of the Kwantung Army of North China, hich did not wait for instructions from Tokyo or stopped short of pursuing its own policy f military occupation in fear of any disappro-al of the 'degenerate civilians at home.' The rmy declared a 'seize' of the concession on e ground that Britain was harbouring the alleg-d 'terrorist' culprits. The 'seize' developed, odstuff could not be imported into the British oncession, entry into it was almost negatived, e Britishers being in particular subjected to a trip to the skin' search. Indignities on Britons ere loudly reported with satisfaction in the erman and Italian press; British protests were rong, and, the British Foreign Secretary, assur-d the public (June 21) that they were "fully ive to the reactions of the present dispute on e position of other British and international ttlements in China," but they did not desire to widen the area of disagreement or complicate e situation that is already difficult." The ritish Premier hoped (June 22) that "it would be possible to settle local issues, but if negotiations failed the Government were considering what further steps they should take." The British Press knew the meaning of the words, knew the position of Britain in world politics, knew also that Soviet Russia had definitely stripped British imperialism of its vanity and prestige in the continued cool responses that the Soviet returned to the British approach for an agreement. But the Japanese insults were too rude not to warm the Press up—particularly as the Japanese Press were also making no pretence of hiding the intentions of the Japanese in the Tientsin affair.

General Sugiyama, Supreme Commander of force in North China in his first Press interview (June 20) since the start of the Tientsin blockade (June 13) at Peipen declared, according to the Domei Agency, 'we have no intention of seeking to recover the foreign concessions forcibly but we will keep our firm policy until and unless Britain agrees to co-operate with Japan in the construction of a new order in east Asia.'

He added that the isolation of the British and French concessions is the most important issue at present facing the army in North that nationals of powers other than British and the Chinese people themselves would patiently bear such inconvenience as might befall them as a result of the blockade for the sake of restoration of peace and order in North China.

The Japanese Cabinet fully supported the action of the Army in blockading Tientsin. British proposals for a compromise was rejected though the Ambassador had assurances that Japan intended no violation of the foreigners' rights. If that meant any thing after all the stark evidence of the facts and the Japanese practices, Japanese press spared no pains to disabuse the minds of the Britishers. The Tokyo newspaper *Yomiuri Shimbum* said: "What Japan is aiming at is not the question of the British concession in Tientsin alone. She has taken up the question of Foreign concessions in China generally, and, furthermore, *that of the Far Eastern policies of Great Britain and France.*

Referring to the blockade the *Hochi Simbum* said: "Even if the authorities deliver the murderers to Japan, the sword cannot be returned to the scabbard without a fundamental solution of the whole issue in China."

So, though no official conditions are offered, we know what the North China Army wants of Britain. A Tientsin message states (June 25) that the Japanese sponsored Provisional Government has sent a list of demands to the British Consulate-General:

Firstly, immediate handing over of terrorists and communist elements within the British Concession;

Secondly, co-operation in Japan's currency policy, including the prevention of circulation of Chinese national

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currency notes and assistance in the transfer of Chinese national Government's silver reserves stored in the Concession;

Thirdly, permission to inspect Chinese banks, exchange shops, and stores in the Concession;

Fourthly, suppression of all acts, movements, opinions and publications hostile to the Provisional Government.

British Far Eastern Policy

In fact, it is now really the British Far Eastern policy that has come in for attack from Japan. That policy has viewed with disapproval the Japanese accession of strength and aggression in China; it knew that the affairs in the Far East were for various reasons beyond European control now, and, that the British rights and interests in China were slowly being endangered by Japan. But Britain was not in a position to stop Japan —she did not actually desire China to win, specially after the Soviet friendship that China had sought and accepted. But Britain would not on the other hand see the Japanese sweep off the vast board of the Pacific, all other forces, and, along with that, the British interests that are so shakily held now-a-days in the East. Hence, Britain would not side with China in this her last hour; but would help to be on her feet to continue her death-grapple with Japan. British loan tried to strengthen Chinese currency, British arms poured in and British concessions were the gates. The Burma-Yunn road was buzzing with the arms traffic while the British settlements in China were humming with Chinese students reading anti-Japanese text-books of China. The attitude of the Japanese who held Britain to be responsible for prolonging their Chinese campaign may be clearly read from the following editorial (translated) from the Japanese paper, *Kokumin*, towards the end of April, last.

What is discussed in this country is not peace advocacy, but measures looking toward the disposition of the China incident.

Two opinions have been put forth in this connection. One is relative to measures to bring about a speedy and effective settlement of the incident; the other is an ardent opinion advocating sustained warfare. Those who emphasize the latter hold that war is not primarily a means of solving the incident, but has a deeper significance—a measure necessary to assure the long-range reconstruction of East Asia.

Although these opinions differ outwardly, they agree in principle. Their common basis of agreement is that as long as British influence exists in the Far East, it will be impossible for Japan to solve the situation quickly. Until this influence is removed, it will be impossible to realize the objective of creating a new order. Thus it appears that British influence either must be liquidated, or it must be utilized to the full by this country to attain the final objective of the holy war.

If Japan follows the former policy, the use of force will be unavoidable. If the latter is adopted, this must needs revert to its traditional favor of wor and currying Britain's favor. Whether Britain is regarded as friend or enemy is the greatest q before Japan at present. It will have to make the sooner or later.

If Japan decides to oppose Britain, the long-te question of strengthening the Japan-German-Italian Comintern axis will be solved in the course of the sion. In this event, the China incident would be quickly and the projected construction of East Asia shift from a long-term to a short-term basis. If th British attitude prevails, as at the time of the L naval limitation conference, and if the country i to solve the incident on this basis, Japan's honor will be dragged in the mud and the objective of th war will be lost completely. The spirits of the tho who have sacrificed their lives for Japan in the p hostilities will be tormented and anguished b prospective situation and the unpleasant events that follow. When we consider this, we cannot but shud

Two reasons provide the background for C Chiang Kai-shek's recently reiterated determinati continue resistance against Japan to the bitter end is his knowledge of Japan's weak-kneed foreign p particularly with regard to Britain—and the other sense of security in the knowledge that Britain continue to give him positive aid. The former is ade ly proved by the manner in which Japan disposed Ladybird incident in December, 1937, and the lat illustrated by the completion of the munitions r route to the Chiang regime.

The wave of terrorism sweeping the foreign conc in Shanghai, and Tientsin also is due fundamental Japan's negative policy toward Britain. Right now i time for Japan to take a definite stand against Br thereby entering a new stage of war.

The recent Craigie-Kerr conversations in Shan the visit of the British Ambassador to Chungking important conference in London between the B Foreign Minister, Lord Halifax, and the Undersecre Mr. Richard Butler; the statement here by the B Ambassador, Sir Robert Craigie, that the present i the time for peace, General Chiang's declaration—all factors remind us that we must reconsider our polic

Without waiting for the effects of the declarati will be necessary for Japan to eliminate British infl in China by force, using as a precedent the ancient employed of the Empress Jingu in marching ag Korea, which at that time was lending support insurrectionary tribe in Kyushu.

Britain to Yield ?

So, what is really wanted of Britain is she must co-operate with Japan in establis a New Order in the Far East. The implica of that Japanese policy is too well-known point out—creation of provincial Manchuku China under the political and economic h mony of Japan and Japan alone.

It is obvious Britain would not agree this. But can Britain refuse—in view of vigorous line of action that the Japanese now taking in Tientsin and Swatow ? The wer depends on certain factors which are even from the Naval Base of Singapore. economic sanction or embargo on Japa

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ports may dislocate Japanese economic e which is already passing through crisis. ut that measure is difficult to apply in the acific without resulting in actual hostilities om Japan. The European situation and e European question must calm down, or en a way of escape of a kind to allow Britain assert herself in the Far East. That possi- lity can come off if Britain can score off an rly agreement with Soviet Russia—which nder the circumstances becomes increasingly stly,—and, then too, if Berlin and Rome cool off om their third participant of the Axis, Tokyo. erman attitude towards Britain at the moment fact would decide British attitude in the Far ast. A British defeat there would make no ifference to Germany; but the Japanese must eep the British engaged there, that is the erman object. Of still greater interest for ermany is that Japan must not be taken up ith Britain now (when China is already en- aging her) and lose her effective strength as a eck on the Soviet East. For, Britain too, e risk of an Anglo-Japanese conflict is too eat to take. She would never run it without Soviet agreement, and/or without anyway etaching Germany from the Axis. The only ther hope for her is support from the U. S. A. this direction. As it is Britain can count on nerican sympathy, but how far that would aterialize into military or financial aid in a ght against Japan is unknown. At Tientsin, watow and Hong-Kong, Britain, therefore, would try only to hold on until the times change, and meet the Japanese challenge meanwhile with diplomatic protests, and, if necessary, by piecemeal settlements submission of the rights and concessions *viz.*, surrender of the Chinese suspects to 'North China' *i.e.*, Japanese justice, and restrictions on war supplies to Chian-Kai-Shek. For the present that would satisfy Japan. Japan too, it is patent, is net strong enough to add another war—a war with Britain in particular. A first class war would probably bring down the Soviet wolf on the Amur and Mongolian borders. But at the same time she knows that Britain can not sail over to the Pacific at the moment, and, Japan knows too if the "China Incident" is to be ended, and ended as Japan desires, this is the way and this is the hour. Dare and drive on.

This third phase of the Chinese campaign has thus brought the foreigners face to face with Japan, for, Japanese consolidation would mean end of their concession and privileges, end finally even of their trading facilities too. The phase in other respects illustrates the national and military strength of China in organising in hinterlands her future and possible victory against Japan, in possession of all that was China formerly, and, the social economic strength of Japan in the face of a crisis which all economic pundits and social prophets predicted would mean her economic ruin and social revolution.

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INDIAN PERIODICALS

The Coming World State

Any nation which says that it has no concern with other nations, or is not a matter of concern for other nations, is a nation which is not moving with the times. The world has reached a stage in its evolutionary process when no nation can live alone, when every-nation is in some degree dependent upon every other nation. Which nation in the world will today set an example of that world-mindedness, which almost every nation is willing to follow, but not to set? It must be a nation which sets its own room in the world house in order before attempting to tackle the problem of the world house as a whole. Writes *The Theosophist* editorially:

Is there a single nation in the world whose official leaders declare that the country they represent by no means lives for itself alone, but is vitally concerned in the health of its sister nations, as these are concerned in its own health? Indeed, most nations are very emphatic to maintain a policy of isolation, of non-intervention, save as their personal interests demand otherwise. Such a policy is a policy belonging to the past and not to the present. And the urgent need of the world is for world-minded statesmen and politicians, nations and peoples, ready to intervene wherever the old world order of mutual indifference and suspicion refuses to yield place to the new world order of mutual co-operation and understanding.

Had there been such nations and individuals, Abyssinia and Albania might have been saved from the rapacity of Italy, China might have been saved from the ravishment of Japan, Austria and Czechoslovakia might have been saved from the greed of Germany. If the world is on the threshold of a war which would be far more ghastly than the War of 1914-18, it is because dead policies have swayed to the exclusion of live policies. In other words, there has been no World Conscience to speak its vitalizing word, because there have been no national consciences fit to bring a World Conscience to birth.

It is, of course, true that every nation is suspect to every other nation, and indeed naturally suspect. Nations may well question each other's motives, as much today as yesterday. It is because of this that the growth of the world out of its old life into its new has been so retarded.

Distrust—suspicion—hatred—war:

These are the steps to self-destruction which the world has been retreading unable to extricate itself from the net of its declension. The War of 1914-18 should have released the world from this net. We see today that the release has not been effected, and that millions of the world's finest citizens died in vain (so far as such release is concerned, though not in other ways) a quarter of a century or so ago.

The Failure of the Christian Church

L. A. G. Strong writes as one for whom story and the teachings of Christ are un and unsurpassed but he cannot always with ecclesiastical view-points. The ce problem of today is War. With referenc this all-important problem the Chri churches have failed to guide their flocks in right direction. Observes the writer in *Aryan Path*:

It is perfectly obvious that, whatever the chu may be doing, the countries of the world today are run in accordance with Christ's teaching. If they the world's goods would be better distributed, one would not prosper through another's loss, and we sh not be menaced by war.

It is this last thing, war, which is the most se evidence against the churches. I know a great n people of various ages, sorts and positions, and I great numbers of young people. Few of them have use for any kind of church, and the reason nearly of them give, the accusation which they bring agai the churches, the thing which above all others has earned the churches their contempt, is this complete failure take a stand upon the question of war.

All the churches together will not convi sensitive and intelligent young men and wom that Christ could possibly approve of mo warfare.

They refuse to believe that He who healed the and bade His followers measure persons and institu with the maxim, "By their fruits ye shall know th could sanction a policy or a state of things in w men who feel no enmity for one another should bayonets in each other's bowels, should drop bombs women and children, should poison their fellow creat with corrosive gases, should starve, harry and op them to the level of terrified animals. These and worse things are the fruits of war. Yet there ecclesiastics who, relying on Christ's action in clea the temple of the money-changers and His statement He came to bring not peace, but a sword, would us believe that we can engage in warfare, *i.e.*, in above-named practices—with His blessing.

No, when it comes to war, the policy of the chur has been to bewail the admitted evil, blame the en for it, and do all that was possible for the indivi combatant and sufferer. No church, so far as I kn has ever stood up boldly and denounced a war quite the same thing as war in general) for the abom tion that it is. Because they did not consider it abomination? If they did not, say the young, so m the worse for them. The issue, to the minds of young, is simple. Either it is right to use bomb bayonet and gas, or it is not. If it is not right, then

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cause can make it so, and no cause can prosper which is prosecuted by such means.

Teaching of Aeronautics in Indian Universities

Aeronautics has not so far found a place in the curriculum of studies in Indian Universities. A beginning has been made in certain Universities, notably Allahabad, but facilities are not available at most of the Universities for specialization in this subject. Apart from the Flying Club in Calcutta, there is no institution in Bengal where even the elementary training in aeronautics may be obtained. Writes S. C. Sen in the *Aviation Gazette and Annual* of Calcutta :

In Western countries course in aeronautics is offered in all principal Universities and *Technische Hochschulen*.

To start with, this subject may be introduced in Indian Universities as one of the optional subjects at the B.Sc. stage and as one of the alternative special papers in Physics or Applied Mathematics at the M.Sc. stage. Similar provisions may also be made in the Engineering courses.

It seems quite certain that there will be no lack of students to take up this subject of study in the Universities.

The demand for admission will more than justify the expenditure that may be involved in bringing this faculty into being.

The University course will be in its real sense fully complementary to the training in practical air pilotage and 'ground' engineering which is imparted by the Flying Clubs in India. University students of this faculty are likely to feel inclined to join the Flying Clubs in large numbers. Similarly club-trained pupils who have the requisite academic qualifications may feel called upon to profit by the University courses. The Universities and the Flying Clubs may thus work in close co-operation evolving a most comprehensive scheme of air training for the benefit of the students of India.

The rapidly developing science of aeronautics has opened up a vast field for research for the mathematician, the physicist and the aeronautical engineer.

If the subject is introduced in the Indian Universities we shall have, before long, a band of devoted research workers in India who will merit international recognition in the fulness of time. Closely following on this development the need will arise for an 'Indian Aeronautical Society' and the deliberations on aeronautical subjects will form an important feature of the annual sessions of the Indian Science Congress.

The teaching of aeronautics in Indian Universities may not solve the problem of unemployment or for the matter of that any other problems except its own. But, as indicated above, it will pave the way for Indians to make distinctive contributions in the making of history in the air.

The Art of Ajanta

The traditions of Ajanta exerted far-reaching influence not only on the art of India and her

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colonies but also on that of other regions where the religion of Buddha penetrated. Observes Dr. Moti Chandra in *The Buddha-Prabha* :

The very name of Ajanta Caves conjures up the vision of lovely frescoes which are universally accepted to be the masterpieces of Indian pictorial art from the first century B. C. to the sixth century A.D.

The caves numbering twenty-nine are cut in a semi-circular scrap of rock 250 feet high in one of the Ghats which mark the boundary of the Deccan from the Khandesh. Apart from the grandeur of painting and sculpture nature has endowed Ajanta with enviable charm. The rocks jutting out in the open at places clothed with forest overgrowth, and at places bereft of vegetation; the river Waghora meandering her way through the thick mass of luxuriant tropical vegetation, and the air thick with the sweet warbling of birds give a peculiarly sombre atmosphere to the landscape. The sylvan quiet of Ajanta is disturbed at times by the chatter and shrieks of monkeys whose nimble movement among the rocks and green trees creates a picture which is hard to forget. The impact with the modern civilisation in the form of shrieking and hooting motor cars has driven away the wild denizens of the forest to safer quarters in the interiors. But one can easily guess that in ancient times the place must have been the haunt of tigers, bears, leopards and other animals. Deer with majestic gait and wondering eyes flock when the crop is ripe and the golden ears of wheat and barley rustle in the air extending as it were a tantalising invitation to them. One could well understand the choice of Buddhist monks of this place where joyous peace reigned supreme untrammelled by the humdrum of everyday life.

There are twenty-nine caves in all, which were once adorned with fresco paintings.

The vandalism of man and the vagaries of Indian climate have completely ruined the paintings from some of the caves. Traces of paintings remain only in thirteen caves of which Caves I, II, IX, X, XVI and XVII have fragments with special interest. Caves I, II, XVI and XVII are Viharas. They may be described in general terms as made of square halls 65 feet each way, with flat ceilings 12 feet to 14 feet high supported by some twenty massive columns. In the back walls there are recessed shrines containing colossal figures of the Buddha; in the front walls there are doors and windows. The columns of the verandahs and the halls are richly carved with beautiful though sometimes fantastic designs. In Cave No. I the fluted shafts are decorated with the bands of exquisite traceries and the bases and capitals are decorated with mythical animals, religious stories and numerous floral designs. The sculptures in Cave II have considerable number of figures with four hands. The artist chiefly delights in decoration. In the treatment of flowers, animals and human figure, the artist has lovingly decorated his figures with every form of ornament which could be conceived of. The beauty and the variety of pillars in Caves XVI and XVII are remarkable; the types in both the caves differ, no two of any type being exactly alike. In Cave XVI vertically or spirally fluted pillars are found, with rounded bracket capitals. In the Cave XVII the pillars are square above and below; the centre is fluted and the brackets are provided with squatting figures of dwarfs supporting the horizontal cross beams.

The earlier caves Nos. IX and X, on stylistic grounds and on the evidence of costumes worn by the human figures which resemble the costumes depicted in Sanci sculptures, may be assigned to the [illegible] century A.D.; Cave No. II to the period between 500 550 A.D. and the Caves XVI and XVII of circa 500 A.D.

Labour Legislation in Ancient India

In Ancient India labourers were treat well and enjoyed perhaps far more privileg than their brethern today. Observes K. Srikantan in the *Triveni* :

Labour formed the back-bone of Hindu society. T authors of the Dharma and Artha Sastras repeated observe that on a contented labour class depends t growth of society and stability of government. It w therefore, the paramount duty of the king to look to th welfare and to defend their cause in case of differen of opinion between the labourers and their employe Says Sukra, "according to the qualifications of the worke there should be the rates of wages, *fixed by the Ki* carefully for his own welfare." Again, he observes, "o should neither stop nor postpone payment of wages Says Narada, "a master shall regularly pay wages t the servant hired to him, whether it be at the commenc ment, at the middle, or at the end of his work, just a he had agreed to." An employer who postpones payme and fails to pay wages shall be punished with a fine o 12 panas or 5 times the amount of the wages." Sa Brihaspathi, "when a master does not pay wages for th labour stipulated, after the work has been performe he shall be compelled by the King to pay it, and a pr portionate fine besides." Disputes regarding wages we decided personally by the King on the strength of eviden furnished by witnesses. "In the absence of witnesses, says Kautilya, "the master who has provided work f the servant shall be examined."

Wages in Ancient India appear to have been fairly high, for again and again the law-givers observe that wages were expected to enable the labourer and the members of his family to lead a normal standard of life.

According to Sukra, an equitable rate of wages wa that which provided not merely the absolute necessaries o life, but that which recognised the "Standard of Life and Comfort" as implied in the care of family an dependants. Low wages were even considered dangero to society, for "those who get low wages are enemies b nature." Again, "the master's harsh words, *low wages* severe punishment and insult, bring out in the servan the attributes of the enemy." Those who are satisfie with wages and honoured by distinctions and pacified b soft words never desert their master. Sukra defines th different kinds of wages as follows : "Moderate remunera tion is said to be that which supplied the indispensabl food and clothing. Good wages is that by which food and clothing are adequately supplied. Low wages is tha by which only one can be maintained." Wages were calculated sometimes according to time and sometime according to turnover. "Remuneration can be paid according to time, work, or both." That wages were high is also clear from the fact that one Jataka speak of even servants giving alms (Jat. III 445-446).

Labourers, who were attached to an em ployer for a long time, were entitled to severa concessions.

"The King should grant half the wages for life withou work to the man who has passed 40 years in his service, an

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if the labourer was not living, this is to be given to the widow or son or to his well-behaved daughters. Every labourer is entitled to a respite of 15 days every year." Again, "the employer should give the servant one-eighth of the salary by way of reward every year and if the work has been done with exceptional ability, one-eighth of the services rendered." Sickness was not to be taken advantage of for dispensing with the services of labourers. On the other hand, they were to be given wages even when they were confined to their beds. "Even a slight portion should not be deducted from the full remuneration of a labourer, who has been ill for half a fortnight; but if the disease were to continue long, the labourer was entitled to three-fourths of his remuneration until the period of his recovery. But if he were permanently incapacitated, then three months' wages were to be paid to a servant who had served longer. Every labourer was to be given enough leisure to attend to his domestic duties." For the discharge of their domestic duties, servants should be granted leave for one yama during daytime and three yamas by night, and a servant who has been appointed for a day should be allowed half a yama."

The Idea of Purusartha

The idea of *purusartha* has played a very important part in the history of Indian thought. All the *vidyâs* or branches of learning assign to it the foremost place in their inquiries. Writes Professor M. Hiriyanna in *Prabuddha Bharata* :

The term *purusartha* literally signifies 'what is sought by men,' so that it may be taken as equivalent to a human end or purpose.

We know that man, like the other living beings, acts instinctively; but he can also do so deliberately. That is, he can consciously set before himself ends and work for them. It is this conscious pursuit that transforms them into *purusartha*.

The *purusarthas* that have been recognised in India from very early times are four : *artha, kama, dharma* and *moksha;* and the main aim of every *vidya* is to deal with one or another of them.

Of the four values mentioned above, the last two, *viz.*, *dharma* and *moksha*, are spiritual; and the sole purpose of the Veda, as it has for long been held, is to elucidate their nature and to point out the proper way to realise them. But pursuing these higher values does not necessarily mean abandoning the lower ones of *artha* and *kama*, for there is no necessary opposition between them—at least according to the majority of Indian thinkers. What is discountenanced by them is only their pursuit for their own sake and not as means to a higher value. When they are made to subserve the latter, they become totally transformed. There is a world of difference, for example, between wealth sought as a means to self-indulgence and as a means to some beneficent purpose.

Of the two spiritual values, there were schools of thought in India that upheld the supremacy of *dharma;* and more than one old Sanskrit work speak only of three categories of values (*trivarga*, leaving out *moksha*). But gradually, *moksha* came to be regarded as the only ultimate or supreme *value* (*paramapurusartha*), *moksha* being the realisation of one's self in its true nature.

The writer concludes :

Is the highest value realisable by man or is it merely an idea ? All Indian thinkers agree that it can be realised, some maintaining that the realisation may take place even within the span of the present life. Nature, including the

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physical frame with which it has invested man, is not finally either hostile or indifferent to his spiritual aspirations; and he is bound to succeed in attaining them in the end, if not at once, provided only that his efforts in that direction are serious and sincere. One system, *viz.*, the Sankhya goes so far as to maintain that the kingdom of Nature is not merely favourable to man's realisation of the highest ideal, but that it is designed precisely to bring about that consummation.

Anger

Psycho-analysis aims at finding out causes for a mental phenomenon lying beyond the range of our consciousness. It has thrown considerable light on some of our mental mechanisms, and the services of the new science may be utilized in unravelling the mystery of anger. Observes Dr. G. Bose in *The Bihar Herald* :

Let us see what the conscious mind has to say regarding the origin of anger. The average man gets angry when any one injures his reputation, hurts his self-respect or denies him the respect that is his due, or when his weakness is exposed or when his subordinates do not obey him. In all these circumstances it will be noticed that the ego has received a check in its desire to be great.

Then again I may be angry if I receive a physical injury from another or when I am disturbed in my rest or when I go home hungry and find that the food is unpalatable. Under all these conditions it is not the desire to be great that has been affected but something has interfered with the enjoyment of pleasure.

But the matter is not so simple as it looks at first sight. I may be angry when I find my rival in business amassing wealth or when I find somebody behaving in a foolish manner or when another person tells a lie or does something wrong. If I happen to suffer from insomnia the mere sight of a person enjoying good sleep might rouse my temper. It may be said that the desire to see everybody behaving according to my own ideals is responsible for the genesis of such anger. I have certain ethical and moral standards and I expect that others will also follow my ideal. But this would not explain the anger of envy. Curiously enough it is just these cases of unreasonable anger that affords the psycho-analyst a clue to the mechanism of anger.

Anger is a modified repressed desire and is an unconscious expression of the wish to behave like the provocative agent. When there is absolutely no possibility for action the factor of willingness is entirely kept out of the mind and there is no struggle. Directly an action becomes possible the wish to do it is unconsciously stimulated and the mental conflict results in the development of anger.

The unconscious desire to place oneself in the position of the provocative agent in situations of anger is very clearly illustrated in certain incidents of everyday life.

You see a carter cruelly treating a bullock : your first impulse is to strike the man *i.e.*, to behave exactly as the man has done. Of course, you explain your conduct on grounds of sympathy for the poor beast, but the first emotion to rise in your breast is anger rather than sympathy. You must remember that I do not for a moment under-estimate the corrective and social value of such anger—my concern here is to find the cause for it. The same desire to place himself in the situation of the provocative agent makes the sleepless person angry when he finds his companion snoring.

Let us take another illustration. A school master may be angry with his pupil who fails to grasp a simple problem. In such a case as this either the school master has over-estimated the intelligence of the student or he has failed to grasp the difficulty of the boy—both signs of his own defective intelligence. The successful school master should be able to place himself in the position of the boy and to appreciate his difficulties *i.e.*, he should feel or realize where the difficulty lies and for this purpose should be able to come down to the level of the intelligence of the boy. True intelligence means a capacity to appreciate foolishness. Those who fail to realize their own foolishness get annoyed at the foolishness of others. The office master who loses his temper and rebukes his assistant belongs to this class. A little psycho-analysis would do immense good in such cases. To know all is to forgive all; if you think that anger is good for maintaining discipline make a show of it by all means, but real anger is bad for your liver, especially in such cruel weather.

Psycho-analysis then teaches us that we get angry with anybody or at anything because a provocative situation stimulates in us the unconscious desire to behave like the person or the agent that is giving us the provocation.

If we could unearth all those hidden wishes which lie buried in the unknown depths of our mind we would be astonished to find that things we have been accustomed to hate and consider dark and sinister are all there struggling for supremacy. It would then be possible to realize from a sort of personal intuition why a certain person commits a crime, and why another commits something wrong, and why still another goes for a foolish act. When such an appreciation comes to a person his mind remains unruffled even under the most provocative circumstances. He then combats evil not from a feeling of anger, but from a sense of social duty like the judge, who distributes not vindictive justice, but awards punishment for the benefit of society. Anger is a relic of our animal heritage which I maintain is not essential to our social well-being.

Propitiatory Rites for Warding off the Evils of Old Age

In examining certain works in Sanskrit enumerating the infirmities of old age and giving detailed descriptions of rites performed with the object of warding off evils associated with it, Chintaharan Chakravarti makes the following remarks in the *New Indian Antiquary*:

Little-known rites consisting of the worship of the God of Death as well as of various deities, spirits and immortal personages of mythological fame (like Asvatthaman, Bali, Vyas, Hanumat, Vibhisana, Kripa and Parasurama) followed by the feeding of and making gifts to Brahmins were sometimes performed by people in the sixtieth and seventieth year of their life. These rites had the object of warding off the evils associated with old age. Ugrarathasanti, Sastipurtisanti and Bhimirathisanti were the names of the rites performed respectively on the attainment and completion of the sixtieth year and reaching the year seventy. Though

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different in names the rites were almost identical on each of these occasions. Antiquity for these rites are claimed through their supposed association with divine beings and Vedic sages.

The rites may be performed on any auspicious day in a sacred site. The worship is to be offered to deities made of gold, silver, copper or even earth according to the financial abilities of the worship. A number of Vedic mantras are used on the occasion. After the worship proper *homa* (sacrifice) is to be performed with different materials in honour of the various deities. The worshipper is then to be bathed with sanctified water placed in a jar with one hundred holes, presumably symbolising a life of hundred years. This is to be followed by gifts made to Brahmins and the poor. Performance of these rites, it is assured, leads to a long life full of peace and plenty. A number of small but apparently late treatises in Sanskrit giving elaborate descriptions of these rites are known to have come down. The manuscripts Library of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal possesses five manuscripts of four of these works, while there is reference to several manuscripts in the catalogues and reports of Burnell, Oppert and Bhandarkar. A short account of the manuscripts belonging to the Society will not be out of place here.

The Society possesses two manuscripts of a work called the *Ugrarathasanti*, one of which has been described by R. L. Mitra and H. P. Shastri, while the other belongs to the collection recently transferred from the Indian Museum (3051).

Another manuscript of a different work, but of the same name, described by R. L. Mitra, is also found in the library of the Society (2225). This is attributed to Saunaka.

A manuscript of a work of the Sastipurtisanti, stated to have been compiled by Saunaka, belongs to the same collection.

A rather unique manuscript possessed by the Society is of a work called the *Bhaimarathisanti* which is stated to form part of a bigger work called the *Brihat-Saunakiya*. It belongs to the collection transferred from the Indian Museum (3052).

Indian World

Dr. Meghnad Saha discusses in the *Indian World* the problem of life on planets :

The Copernican theory backed by our knowledge in astronomy, maintains that the earth is not the centre of the universe. It is merely a speck in space. Even in the solar system there are bodies which have larger mass and area than the earth, and almost similar physical conditions. Secondly man is regarded not as specially created by God in His own image to dominate creation, but simply as the culmination of life which has developed from very much lower forms in course of the last 3,000 or 4,000 million years.

It is well known that all plant and animal bodies mainly consist of a few elements, carbon, hydrogen, oxygen, nitrogen and a few other elements in small proportion. The existence of life depends on certain conditions of temperature, existence of water, oxygen, carbon dioxide and certain chemical reactions.

The physical conditions existing on the moon and other planets showed that the possibility of the existence of life anywhere outside the earth was extremely small.

The moon is a very small body, the value of gravity on it is extremely small, hence it has lost all atmosphere. The temperature is too low. It is merely a large piece of stone and probably does not support any life—vegetable or animal.

As regards the planets, Mercury is so near the sun that it is extremely hot and it must have lost all its atmosphere. Of the major planets, Jupiter, Saturn, Uranus and Neptune are so remote from the sun that their temperatures are extremely low.

The most interesting possibilities are afforded by Venus and Mars.

Astronomical investigations show that Venus is almost the twin of the earth as regards its total mass and gravity. It has got a very dense atmosphere but the amount of oxygen appears to be extremely small. Spectroscopic investigations show that it has got a very dense atmosphere of carbon dioxide nearly 200 times larger than the quantity of this gas on the earth. It is inclined to the ecliptic at 52° so that it has got only a torrid and a frigid zone with no temperate zones.

The possibility of the existence of human life on Mars cannot be entirely ruled out. Mars shows polar caps which increase and decrease seasonally. It is supposed that these are caps of snow formed round the poles during the Martian winter. Spectroscopic examinations have shown small quantities of water vapour and oxygen in the atmosphere of Mars. But these are extremely small compared with those on the earth. Recently by means of infra-red photographs it has been possible for astronomers to obtain a picture of the surface of Mars. It is full of irregularities and seasonally, regions appear which seem to indicate the prevalence there of green vegetation.

There is a popular belief that the people on the surface of the Mars have formed themselves into a sort of world federation and they manage somehow to eke out an existence by having a network of canals, by means of which they bring the small quantity of water which exists on their planet from the poles to the equator and thus raise all the necessities of life. But the physical studies show that the surface is extremely red. This is probably due to the fact that all the ferrous rocks on Mars have been converted into ferric by absorbing oxygen. The same process is also taking place on the earth. The rocks are mostly ferrous and deficient in oxygen. Probably a time will come when most of the free oxygen in the atmosphere of our Earth will be absorbed by the rocks and we shall be reduced to the state of Mars.

It is possible to say that on the surface of Venus life may have just started in a very low vegetable form and animal life will probably develop after three or four thousand million years. On Mars, it appears that life is becoming extinct. If it exists it must be very precarious. After a few thousand million years Mars will probably become dead like the moon.

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FOREIGN PERIODICALS

Women under the Totalitarian Regime

Few people outside Italy are aware of the astounding degradation in legal and social status suffered by the Italian womanhood under Fascism. E. Sylvia Pankhurst, the famous champion of women's rights, writes in the *Hibbert Journal* :

The minimum age for marriage in Italy, hitherto fifteen for girls and eighteen for lads, were reduced to fourteen and sixteen respectively, a deplorably retrograde step which was the more grievous on account of the legally defenseless position of the little girls thus prematurely hastened into matrimony.

The new Italian Penal Code punishes only what is regarded as the abuse of physical correction and discipline by the head of the family toward his wife and children. Only if the physical correction given by him cause the risk to a woman or children of mental or bodily illness is he held to be in fault, and he will then receive no more than six months' imprisonment—instead of five years as in the former Code. If the victim dies, the penalty is only eight years, the crime is not regarded as murder under aggravated circumstances, as in the former Code. It is clear that an Italian may beat his family as much as he pleases, provided no bones be broken—and even that may be excused.

If a wife, perhaps one of those chill-wives of fourteen years, menaced by a beating, flee from her husband's domicile, the police are authorized to track her down and return her and she is liable for her offence to a year's imprisonment or a fine from one to ten thousand lire. The husband is under no such penalties; he is free to go where he will.

Adultery by a wife is punishable by imprisonment for two years, the highest punishment for this offence given by any European country; and few States deal with it as a penal matter. The husband, on the other hand, incurs no penalty unless he keep a mistress and the fact be a matter of public notoriety—which no Fascist Court would ever admit against a Fascist !

While women are savagely punished for any lapse from chastity, rape is treated with the utmost leniency.

Virtually all protection of little girls against seduction has been swept away; consent by a girl child, however young, is valid legal excuse for sexual intercourse and its results; only if the girl be under sixteen years and the seducer a married man, and it can further be proved that he concealed from his victim that he was married and seduced her under promise of marriage, does the law recognize that he has committed an offence. In that case he may be punished by from three months' to two years' imprisonment. But he may find a loophole for escape : if he can make the court believe that the girl was already morally corrupted before he seduced her, he goes scot-free.

Under the old Italian Code, abduction was punishable by seven years' imprisonment and a woman was held to be a minor until twenty-one years of age. The new Code has reduced the age to fourteen years and the maximum penalty to only two or three years if the victim be under fourteen years.

Under the National Socialist government of Hitler, woman bears similar shackles and the imposing of them has been even more sensational and more loudly proclaimed.

The Nazi advent to power meant the immediate exclusion of women from their newly won seats in the Reichstag, the provincial Parliaments and all local legislative bodies to which they had been elected in considerable numbers after they won the rights of citizenship in the Revolution of 1918. A determined move was at once made to exclude women from all employment by public bodies, Government departments, local councils, hospitals and, as far as possible, even schools. All women under thirty-five years were made ineligible for Government employment, and they were debarred if married to husbands in employment or to men of non-Aryan stock. The law of June 30, 1933, provided that married women were to be dismissed from all employment if their superiors considered them sufficiently provided for and unmarried women were also to be dismissed if it were held that they could be supported by parents, brothers or even sisters. Without waiting to pass any law, the Nazi Government had already removed thousands of women from public offices which they had occupied with great dignity and competence during the Republic.

For twenty-five years German women had possessed the right of admission to the Universities and to the practice of professions. Today only 10 per cent of the women students who pass the Baccalaureat (equivalent to matriculation) are permitted to enter the university.

The immensity of this injustice can be gathered from the fact that out of 10,500 women who passed this examination in 1934 only 1,000 were permitted to study at the University. More than this, to all save 10 per cent of those who are allowed to enter the University the right of practicing the professions they study for is absolutely refusal and even to this small proportion the right is not guaranteed ! Whatever may be the number who qualify, only seventy-five women a year are allowed to enter the medical profession.

Scientific studies are rigorously reserved to men.

In the words of an official communication in the *Kolnische Zeitung* : 'Women must recognize that scientific work is specifically masculine. . . . Woman must never think in a theoretical manner; her brain ought not to occupy itself with abstract things.' Strange sayings, these, in an age which has produced Marie Curie and Maria Montessori !

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Era of Substitutes in Japan

Faced by a shortage of essential raw materials, the Japanese government announced a plan in June, 1938, which amounted to a complete withdrawl of certain products from general use and the supplying of others only through a ticket system. According to an account published in the *Japan Today and Tomorrow*. Japan is making great efforts to find out substitutes for the banned materials.

In place of imported hemp there is a strong fiber obtainable from a lily that was originally grown in New Zealand. In its resistance to water, it cannot be compared with the Manila product, but the cost is very low. About 1,600 kilograms of this hemp substitute are already produced annually in Japan.

As substitutes for the metals used in everyday necessities, a number of substances may be named. Strongest among these are the artificial resin products such as bakelite. These are already widely in use. They may be used for making cog wheels, silk-reelers' basins, or for pipe. The present output is valued at around Y.5,000,000 a year. The main obstacle to the plastics' utilization is the fact that glycerine, carbonic acid, and casein—which are important ingredients—are on the restricted list.

Celluloid can also take the place of metals in many cases, for instance, in the making of receptacles of various kinds, buckles, toilet articles, and the like. To some extent it can also be used as a substitute for rubber and for leather. Altogether, it is estimated, celluloid can be employed in the manufacture of at least 150 articles whose usual material is on the banned list.

Paper has been widely utilized in Japan for centuries and its sphere is now being enlarged. Receptacles and containers made of paper must be improved further, however, to remedy their tendency toward leaking.

Vulcanized fiber and oil cloth can take the place of leather in the manufacture of certain articles and the Agriculture Office is now carrying on experiments with substances such as whale skin and the skins of sharks, globe-fish, and other marine creatures.

Considerable progress has been seen in replacing rubber with old rubber—that is, rubber that has been reclaimed. It is possible to make an artificial substance that closely resembles the natural product, but, among other problems, the manufacturing cost is still too high to permit the man-made rubber to become a practical substitute.

Charcoal has come to the fore as a substitute for gasoline, buses employing its gas to operate their engines. Generally speaking, charcoal-gas is satisfactory, though it does not furnish as much power as gasoline. As additional apparatus must be installed in the motor vehicles run by it, the gas is likewise not economical unless used over a long period. Further development is needed.

Great efforts are being made to produce fuel oil from coal, *via* the liquefaction process. This process has been found practical in Germany and its perfection in this country is now being encouraged by the Commerce and Navy Offices.

Religion and Art

World Order observes editorially :

Religion has always been one of the most important factors of civilization anl culture. Art, especially, has found its chief and most potent inspiration in the spiritual consciousness of humanity. The world's most glorious sculpture, architecture, painting and music have been motivated by the religious impulse.

One reason why religion is a powerful influence in art-expression is because art has a strong emotional foundation—and religion is the most powerful and universal solvent and manipulator of human emotions. Religion has the power of stimulating both individual and mass emotions and of holding them at white heat. It was such a white heat of religions emotion which created the Gothic cathedrals, the most ethereal and lofty of all art productions. These cathedrals were mass movements—the concept and expression of a whole people.

Religion not only inspires the creation of more beautiful forms of art, but it also arouses in the masses a more delicate and compelling appreciation for beauty as expressed in art. Thus religion has a definite place in the development of mass culture. The masses are heavy dough, hard enough to raise. Only the yeast of religion presents an unfailing ferment.

The early Christians came upon an era when sensuality was the predominant motivation in human activities, including art expression. The pagan art was so vitiated by this taint of sensuality that the Christians, when they came into power, found no remedy other than complete aversion to all forms of pagan art. This extreme reaction swept away much that was innocently beautiful in pagan art. But it was a harsh remedy that succeeded in completely purifying the motivation of art—so that when under the distinctive Christian culture art began to rise again, it was an art exquisitely pure and spiritual.

Music, painting, sculpture, architecture, illuminated manuscripts, stained glass, all forms of art expression of the middle ages—preceding the voluptuous ripeness of the unspiritual Renaissance—were art expressions of the greatest delicacy, purity, and spiritual beauty. The only comparable period of art expression in history is the period of Buddhist art in China and Japan—an art which flowered under similar spiritual auspices.

Again, today, we live in a period of irreligion. And again, as in past ages, sensuality tends to warp and tarnish all forms of art expression. This tendency is all the more pronounced today because of the universality of the instruments of culture such as the magazine, the moving pictures and the radio.

What is needed for the refinement of art today, and through art, for the refinement of the people, is the stimulus and inspiration of a more potent spiritual consciousness and a universally expressed appreciation for the purely beautiful in all art forms. Religion, apart from its institutionalization, has a still more important part. There needs to be a spiritual awakening, a revival of the religious conscience and consciousness, a general and universal refinement, through spiritualization, of man's emotional and desire nature.

Unwilling Baltic Entente

Anyone familiar with conditions in the Baltic region is astonished at the conflict among the Lithuanians, the Latvians and the Estonians, at the pretty squabbles so characteristic of the relations among the little-known border States. It is pointed out in a paper published in *Het Volk* (a translation of the article appears in *The Living Age*, from which the extracts are made below) that the Baltic

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Entente, concluded by them in 1934 for the purpose of furthering co-operation, has not been very successful.

The basis of the disharmony lies in the unnecessarily opposed interests of the three countries. At present they try to observe a policy of strict neutrality. Despite the semi-annual meetings of Cabinet members from each of the countries, their differences have increased. Estonia especially shows increasing nationalism as compared to the others; and she has only recently recovered from an attack of 'Fuhrer fever.'

When this farm-nation was a part of the Russian Empire, there was at least a degree of peace. But after the World War, when the three independent nations were formed (Lithuania with 1·7 millions, Latvia with 1·5 millions, and Estonia with 1·5 millions), sharp clashes of interest developed. The three small chauvinistic nations began to vie with one another in seeking support from the West. But none understood, as did Poland, how to pursue a balanced policy between Germany and the Soviet Union. Thus there cannot as yet be serious talk of a Scandinavian-Baltic bloc.

Unlike Finland, the Baltic countries are unable to throw off the old Tsarist-Russian way of thinking, and set themselves on the path of democracy. Their economic, social and cultural life shows a profound difference from that of other countries in northern Europe.

Lithuania has alienated herself from the other Baltic countries by her strained relations with Warsaw, arising over the Vilna problem, and with Germany over the unilateral interpretation of the Memel Statute. At the same time, as a consequence of her isolation from the others, she has maintained close relations with Soviet Russia. This role has now also been assumed by Estonia, which now shows a conspicuously isolationist attitude.

To secure economic advantages, Estonia is following a policy of closer co-operation with the Scandinavian countries, especially Finland. In this direction the Estonians are more advanced than the other Baltic countries.

During the past few years, Estonia has tried to broaden Baltic neutrality, to include the Nordic countries and even Poland. The purpose here was to form a broad zone extending from Soviet Russia on the one side, to Greater Germany on the other. But the interests of the Baltic countries seem too divergent.

Estonia, moreover, is dissatisfied with her relations with neighboring Latvia. The Commander-in-Chief of the Esthonian Army, General Johan Laidoner, of World War fame, has repeatedly stressed that the military alliance with Latvia must be revised because the customs-union between the two countries has not been put into effect, and, as a result, Estonia is not enjoying the advantages which the customs-union would extend to her. Estonia's insistence on this treaty revision has annoyed Latvia.

Besides this, both Estonia and Latvia are dissatisfied with the inflexibility of Lithuania's attitude toward Poland. This has caused newspapers in Esthonia and Finland to dub the Baltic Entente an 'alliance without allies.'

The present policy of neutrality has not removed the causes for conflict among the Baltic peoples. That friction not only impedes the development of the cultural life of these small nations, but brings the danger of their absorption by one of the major Powers.

This is already true in the instance of Lithuania, now run by an Army-dominated Cabinet, which has been d into the sphere of influence of the German Reich by annexation of Memel. The two other Baltic countries following this development with the greatest anxiety, ly sensible of the German threat. Above all, they do wish to be the battlefield on which Germany meets S Russia.

Making Glass Invisible

Dr. E. F. Armstrong, F. R. S., writes the *Journal of the Royal Society of Arts*:

Those of us who are versed in that branch of phys which is called optics are aware that when light pas through a sheet of glass or a lens some of it is reflec Actually glass allows passage to some 75-90 per cent the spectrum light which falls on it and so makes i valuable material for all sorts of uses, ranging from opti instruments to window panes. Even so the reflected li is often a nuisance as we know sometimes when we to look in a shop window and as the scientist finds wi he tries to make wider use of instruments containi lenses and mirrors.

It has recently occurred simultaneously and indep dently to two groups of research workers that such th films might be applied to glass to neutralise its reflecti and increase the transmission of light through it. Gla which is visible only because it reflects back light in the retina of the eye becomes invisible when the refle tion is eliminated.

At the laboratories of the General Electric Co., D Katharine Blodgett has found out how to coat a norm piece of glass with 44 layers of film which even then only four millionths of an inch thick, but it is sufficie to set up an interference which stops all reflections. A the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Cabot Car wright and Turner make use of films of metallic fluoride which are evaporated by a special and novel technique from a hot electrode in vacuum and are made to depos on glass in a thickness which is only about one quarte of the wave-length of a ray of green light—these dimen sions are too small to talk about in inches.

At this early stage of their development the be films cannot stand hard rubbing or exposure to wate and are therefore adaptable only to enclosed glass par such as in optical instruments. Even so their utility w be great, seeing, for example, that in a submarine peri cope as much as 50 per cent of the light which strike the first lens is lost by internal reflection within th instrument.

It is to be expected that means will be found to mak the films more durable; indeed, quite good films, so fa as stopping reflection is the criterion, have been mad which stand washing with soap and water and a con siderable degree of rubbing without scratching.

The possibilities of the new films are great. We shall get more use out of our spectacles without th reflection of objects behind us. Shop windows w apparently vanish and it will be possible to gaze at th wares inside and not at ourselves and the traffic behind us Motoring will be safer as the windscreens cease to reflec dazzling lights. Telescopes, cameras, all optical instru ments, will give better service, recording instruments wit glass fronts will be easier to read.

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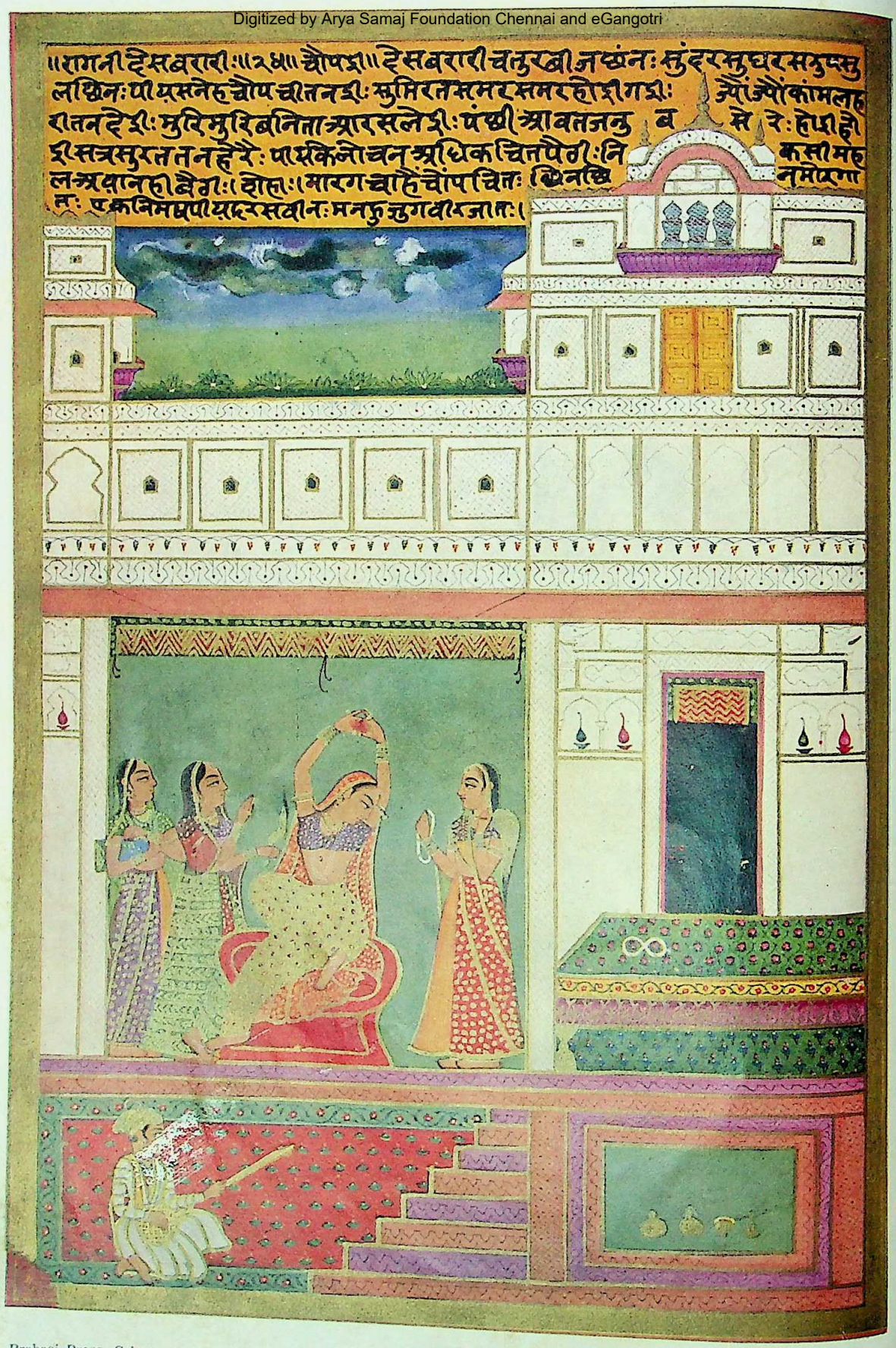

Prabasi Press, Calcutta

RAGINI DESA-VARATI

A melody-mode grouped under the male raga Hindola

JAIPUR SCHOOL

[From a Private Collection]

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THE MODERN REVIEW

AUGUST 1939

VOL. LXVI, No. 2 WHOLE No. 392

NOTES

"Oh no—General Invective"

The following passage occurs in Lord Morley's *Recollections*, Vol. ii, p. 290 :

> A young man once applied to me for work, when I was editor of the *Pall Mall Gazette*. I asked him whether he had any special gift or turn. "Yes," he said, "I think I have a natural turn for *Invective* !" "That's capital," said I, "but in any particular line, may I ask ?" "Oh no—General Invective." I found myself yesterday blessed with a wonderful outpouring of this enchanting gift.

A glance at the headings of the various news and statements relating to events and questions in India and a similar glance at news of events and problems relating to foreign countries, would often make us wish that we were blessed with a wonderful outpouring of the enchanting gift of "General Invective."

But we suppose the young man with the gift of general invective did not get any job at the *Pall Mall Gazette* office. Nor would his gift, if we had it, serve our purpose. So we must try to go on in our humdrum way, without showering choice epithets on all and sundry. [26. 7. 1939.]

Anglo-Japanese "Round Table Conference" ?

A round-table conference is a conference of representatives of opposite parties seated at a round table at which no precedence in rank can be indicated. The table at which the representatives of the parties sit need not and may not be literally round, but the representatives must meet on a footing of equality and with equal advantages and disadvantages. To secure this equality the British and Japanese representatives should have met neither in any place in Britain nor in any place in Japan but in some place, say, in the United States of America. But the British representative had to go to Tokyo, whereas the Japanese representative is in his own country. He can very easily consult his government when necessary and as often as necessary. On the other hand, the British representative, living in a depressing political atmosphere in a foreign land where there are frequent anti-British demonstrations, cannot easily consult his government. If he wants to do so, his communications to his government by cable or wireless and the replies thereto through the same media may be subject to 'leakage' in spite of "honourable" understandings to the contrary. If the representatives of the two countries had met in a place in a third and free and neutral country, their advantages and disadvantages would have been equal, and the conference could have been correctly styled a round-table conference.

The very fact that the British representative has had to go to Japan creates the impression that Britain has been to blame —which is not our impression, and that the British representative has gone to Tokyo to defend Britain. It is not our purpose to decide which party has been to blame in the Tientsin affair or, if both have been to blame, to apportion blame; nor are we in a position to do so. What has appeared in the news is

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that Japanese officers at Tientsin had, among other things, made some British residents, including women, take off their clothes in order to search them—indignities which even the patient Mr. Chamberlain declared 'intolerable.' But, though intolerable, the powerful British Government has not passed any 'crawling order' on any Japanese like what was passed in 1919 at Amritsar upon all Indians passing along a particular street, but has sent a representative to the country of the offenders, as we take it, to make its representations or submissions!

So the conference at Tokyo is not a round-table conference, strictly speaking.

All this may seem idle academic hair-splitting. But, whatever the outcome of the conference, it is necessary to understand that Britain has been made to occupy and has agreed to occupy an inferior position from the very start and will be obliged to submit to at least some of the Japanese demands, as, in fact, she has already done.

Anglo-Japanese Agreement

LONDON, July 24.

Mr. Chamberlain gave in the House of Commons the text of the agreement reached in Tokyo between Mr. Arita and Sir Robert Craigie which was as follows:

"His Majesty's Government fully recognise the actual situation in China, where hostilities on a large scale are in progress and note that as long as that state of affairs continues to exist, the Japanese forces in China have special requirements for the purpose of safeguarding their own security and maintaining public order in regions under their control and that they have to suppress or remove any such causes or acts as will obstruct them or benefit their enemy.

"His Majesty's Government have no intention of countenancing any acts or measures prejudicial to the attainment of the above-mentioned objects by the Japanese forces and they will take this opportunity to confirm their policy in this respect by making it plain to the British authorities and British nationals in China that they should refrain from such acts and measure."

TOKYO NEGOTIATIONS

Referring to Tokyo negotiations, Mr. Chamberlain said that at the outset the Japanese Government expressed the view that if progress was to be made in removal of misunderstandings and establishment of better relations, it was essential to recognize the background against which the situation in Tientsin should be viewed.

In order to clear the way for these discussions, His Majesty's Government had accordingly agreed upon the formula which Mr. Chamberlain thereupon read.—*Reuter.*

The Anglo-Japanese agreement has been very carefully and diplomatically worded. Nevertheless, the full recognition of the "actual situation in China" cannot but be understood to mean *de facto* recognition of Japanese sovereignty or authority in those parts of China which are at present occupied by Japan.

The British Government "note....that... the Japanese forces....have to suppress or remove any such causes or acts as will obstruct them or benefit their enemy." The British Government have professed a desire to remain on terms of friendship with both Japan and China. If that desire be sincere, the British Government should also note that the Chinese forces in China have special rights and requirements for destroying Japanese security and safeguarding their own security and that they (the Chinese) have the right to suppress or remove in the whole of China any such causes or acts as will obstruct them or benefit their enemy. China is *their* country. Therefore, the fact that any part of China has been for some time under Japanese occupation cannot destroy or impair their right in those portions to re-assert themselves by all recognized war-time means and methods. If Britishers anywhere in China directly or indirectly stand in the way of the Chinese doing such acts, they will thereby be helping the Japanese and prove hostile to the Chinese.

The agreement purports to fully recognize the actual situation in China wherever a state of war exists. That is a big area. But in reply to a question asked by Lt.-Commander Fletcher in the House of Commons, Mr. Chamberlain said that "the discussions will be confined to local issues at Tientsin." Are "local issues at Tientsin" equivalent to "the actual situation in China?"

Answering Lt. Commander Fletcher who asked for an assurance that nothing would be agreed upon in the negotiations calculated to impair the Chinese currency or Britain's right to grant credits to the Chinese Government, Mr. Chamberlain said, "Yes, sir, the discussions will be confined to local issues at Tientsin."

Mr. Chamberlain replied: "No, Sir" when Mr. Henderson asked if the concessions did not constitute 'de facto' recognition of the Japanese sovereignty over Chinese territory now under the control of Japanese forces.

But whatever Mr. Chamberlain may say, the Anglo-Japanese agreement is a *de facto* recognition of Japanese sovereignty over parts of China.

Asking a further supplementary question Mr. E. Shinwell suggested that the Premier's statement meant that His Majesty's Government had now definitely taken the side of Japan—a suggestion which was received with loud cries of "no" from Conservative benches.

But in spite of cries of "no" from Conservative benches neutrals all over the world will conclude that Britain has been in part at least *compelled* to take the side of Japan.

"The declaration does not connote any change of the British Government's policy in China," declared the Prime Minister later when replying to Mr. A. Greenwood.

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It does, however, in reality.

Asked for an assurance that the Chnese silver reserve in Tienstin would not be surrendered to the Japanese, Mr. R. A. Butler declared that the Japanese Government had never formulated to His Majesty's Government any proposals regarding the disposal of this reserve.

The following Reuter's message, however, includes such a demand :

TOKYO, July 24.

According to Japanese press reports the following Japanese demands will be made at today's Round Table Conference :

Extradition of the four men alleged to be assassinators of Cheng Shikang, Tientsin Customs Commissioner, strict policing of unlawful elements within the British concession in Tientsin and maintenance of peace and order there, search for anti-Japanese elements in the concession, discharge of anti-Japanese Chinese officials, surrender of silver held in Chinese banks in the concession, prohibition of circulation of the Chungking dollar within the concession, British co-operation in circulating federal Reserve Bank notes and permission for examination by the Japanese of Chinese money in the hands of exchange Banks or firms.—*Reuter.*

The acceptance of all or any of these demands would be equivalent to recognizing the sovereignty of Japan over the parts of China at present occupied by it.

Japanese "Zoolum" at Tientsin Not Relaxed

TOKYO, July 25.

Japanese military authorities in North China have decided not to relax the measures against the British Concession in Tientsin until Britain translates the Tokyo agreement into practice.

The Foreign Office announces that the Committee appointed by the Anglo-Japanese Round Table Conference has completed its task at its meeting today and the full Conference will be resumed tomorrow.—*Reuter.*

America Not to Accept Japan's Demands Like Britain

TOKYO, July 25.

Observers in Washington predict that the United States will not deviate from her present policy in the Far East and officials of the State Department made it clear today that there was no intention of signing an agreement similar to that reached between Britain and Japan, even if Japan hoped for one.—*Reuter.*

China Thinks Britain Indirectly Supports Japanese Aggression

"The Chinese authorities cannot conceal their disappointment at the attitude taken by Britain in the Tokyo talks," stated a Chinese Foreign Office spokesman on the 25th July. He added.

"It is to be regretted in the extreme that Britain should have seen fit to note the so-called special requirements of the Japanese forces in China which are engaged in what Britain and other League members States have declared as the invasion of and aggression against China. The Chinese Government notes with satisfaction Mr. Chamberlain's Commons' statement that the declaration did not connote any change in the British policy in China."

The spokesman said,

"The Chinese Government confidently believe that despite the misgivings created by the announcement of a formula, the British Government will adopt an attitude consonant with their legal and moral obligations towards China in dealing with the so-called local issues in Tientsin and show by their action the firmness to their policy concerning the situation created by the Japanese aggression in this country."—*Reuter.*

Chiang Kai Shek on Anglo-Japanese Agreement

CHUNGKING, July 24.

The confidence that Britain would not make concessions to Japan conflicting with the Nine-Power treaty is expressed by Marshal Chiang Kai Shek in a long statement. He says that much as Britain desires a peaceful settlement of the Tientsin dispute he is confident that she can only make concessions which will not conflict with China's interests or that pact. At the same time Marshal Chiang Kai Shek emphasises that any understanding affecting China which might be reached without cognisance and approval of the Chinese Government could have no validity and could never be put into effect.

Marshal Chiang Kai Shek gave the assurance that the Chinese Government would maintain national currency and supply of foreign exchange for purposes of legitimate transactions. He said that the fall of the currency would not impair China's ability to continue resistance as she had laid up adequate stores of military material long ago and set aside foreign exchange to meet the need of replenishment without the necessity of converting her gold reserves. He concluded that China relied on herself to encompass the enemy's destruction and was calmly confident in her task. —*Reuter.*

Japanese Papers Praise British "Moral Courage"!

TOKYO, July 25.

Japanese newspapers pay tribute to British statesmanship and "moral courage" in the Tokyo talks.—*Reuter.*

"Moral courage" indeed !

The British Press on Anglo-Japanese Agreement

LONDON, July 25.

The statements of British policy in the Far East made yesterday in the two Houses of Parliament and the negotiations which have been simultaneously begun at Tokyo mark an important stage in the development of British relations with the two great Far Eastern States with both of whom this country wishes to remain on good terms,

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declares the "Times" editorially.

Britain will achieve the impossible if she succeeds in remaining on good terms with two mutually hostile countries.

The paper adds that

baffled in their hopes of an early complete victory after so many successes in the field, the Japanese authorities, military and civilian alike, have attempted to throw the responsibility for their failure on Great Britain. The attitude which is now prescribed for British residents should remove this pretext of British obstruction—though it may be suggested that **the real obstacle to the achievement of the Japanese purpose is the undying spirit of independence of the Chinese race which is heroically led by Marshal Chiang Kai-shek and shows no sign of yielding** but the hope may be entertained that the Japanese authorities on their side will show proof that they mean to keep the agreement in spirit as well as in letter by calling off the unscrupulous anti-British campaigns which they have organised both in China and Japan.

The "Times" concludes that

the position which Great Britain is defending in circumstances of great difficulty is not of herself alone but of all states, European or American, which desire to maintain themselves in the Far East and aspire to develop still further the vast resources of China in company with Japan and of course with the goodwill of the Chinese people.

"Develop" means "exploit."

"The Daily Mail" compliments Sir Robert Craigie on having "successfully surmounted the first hurdle" in the Anglo-Japanese Negotiations and says that Mr. Chamberlain has assured Parliament that the conversations will be confined strictly to local issues.

The paper adds,

"In particular this country will do nothing likely to impair Chinese currency."

Let us hope so.

"The Daily Express" says that the talks in Tokyo are open on a basis facing facts, recognition of which "is the beginning of political wisdom."

The paper concludes,

We cannot prevent Japanese aggression in China by shutting our eyes to it, nor help the Chinese by looking the other way".

"The News Chronicle" says it is to be feared that Russia and the United States may feel there is more truth in the Japanese version of the talks. Inasmuch as actions speak louder than words, let the Government back up its interpretation by arranging forthwith for a substantial credit to China.

Exactly so.

"The Manchester Guardian" requests the Government to make it clear that it is essential "for us to-day as it has ever been to support the Chinese dollar and that there can be no restriction by us on export to China of any materials which we can supply which may help her to carry on the war.—*Reuter.*

Will the British Government comply with this request?

India Government's Precautionary Troop Movements

SIMLA, July 25.

A Press Communique says:

"It is notified for general information that orders have been issued for certain limited troop movements to take place in the immediate future. These moves, a preparation for which was made many months ago, do not imply that there is any deterioration in the general world situation and are of a purely precautionary nature. —*U. P.*

Is this "purely precautionary" movement of troops towards the N.-W. F. frontier, the Tibetan frontier, the Assam Frontier, or the Burma frontier?

Bihar Literacy Drive

SIMLA, July 21.

Literacy drive in Bihar, it is learnt, is running on the line as it obtained in Russia. Like the "Order of Lenin" in Russia, medals and certificates have been awarded to the recognised volunteers who did their best in helping the movement to prove it a success. The medals were named after Mahatma Gandhi, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Dr. Rajendra Prasad, Pandit Motilal Nehru, Deshabandhu C. R. Das, Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose, Mrs. Kamala Nehru, Dr. Rabindranath Tagore, Raja Rammohan Roy, Poet Iqbul, Lady Hallet and other political and social leaders. On July 14 last the first anniversary of the movement was held and the medals and certificates were awarded to the deserving workers.—*United Press.*

What are the Bengal ministers doing?

"Read More Books" Movement in U. P.

LUCKNOW, July 24.

A fillip is sought to be given to the scheme of mass literacy in the province by the rural development of the U. P. Government by launching a "read more books" campaign through the medium of posters and by presentation of books to those who have been made literates under the scheme.

A "Posters committee," under the auspices of the rural development department, is meeting here to-morrow with a view to devising new methods for eradicating illiteracy from the province through the medium of posters. Quarterly competitions will be held to give a fillip to the production of popular literary works and prizes aggregating to Rs. 1,000 annually will be offered for best works under essay, short story, drama and poetry. A fortnightly magazine is already being run by the Education Expansion Department for the purpose of ensuring that literates do not lapse into illiteracy. Two anthologies in Urdu and Hindi are under preparation for distribution among the new literates.

The Raja of Tamkoni has promised to provide a thousand copies annually for a period of ten years of the epic "Ramayana" for distribution. Mr. G. D. Birla and the Nawab of Chattari are among others who have promised to support the scheme.—*A.P.*

What are the development and education departments of Bengal doing?

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Industrial Development in Asia

In the course of an address delivered at Chatham House, London, Mr. Harold Butler, Warden of Nuffield College, Oxford, who was until last year Director of the International Labour Office, Geneva, referred to the increasing establishment of large-scale industrial plants in Asia by European and American enterprise. Said he :

"If you go to Java you find motor-cars produced by General Motors; you find tyre, being produced by Goodrich. If you go to Malaya or India, you find Bata producing shoes, and one could multiply those examples. But the point is that those factories, manned entirely by Eastern labour, are producing motor-cars and tyres and shoes which are comparable at any rate to what are produced in American or European factories and which are certainly quite suitable to the needs of the Eastern market."

The point which we in India have to note is that Eastern labour is quite capable of producing these goods. Therefore, Indian enterprise should do what European and American enterprise has been doing in India and other Oriental countries. What Indian enterprise has already done shows that it can and ought to do more and occupy the whole industrial field in the country, by starting both cottage or home industries and large-scale factory industries.

Unsatisfactory Industrial Development in Asia

Barring Japan, no country in the East has been adequately industrialized. Therefore, though it is true "that considerable industrial development is going forward in Asia," "at the same time," says Mr. Butler, "it would be a great mistake to exaggerate its present extent or importance."

"It is somewhat striking to discover that the whole of Asia has about the same share in world trade as Great Britain; that whereas Great Britain has about 14·5 per cent. of world trade, Japan has 3·7 per cent. and India 2·7 per cent. That may seem, from the point of view of the menace of Eastern competition, a reassuring figure, but it seems to me that at the same time it is something of a warning. When one thinks that 1,000 million people in Asia command about the same amount of international trade as the 45 million people in these islands, one begins to wonder whether that represents an economic distribution which can become permanent, or indeed which is likely to last very long. It means, of course, that a very low standard of living exists in a greater or lesser degree throughout the whole of the East, and one cannot help thinking that that great contrast in the distribution of wealth as between nations has something to do with the existence, in the three principal countries of Asia, of strong political parties which have come into existence since the War with advanced social and economic programmes. In Japan you have the Social Mass Party, which would almost certainly be very much stronger at this present moment if no War had intervened; in China you have the Kuomintang, and in India the Congress Party; and all those three parties are turning their attention quite as much, if not more, to the social and economic aspects of their programmes as to the purely political aspect."

Low National Income and Standard of Living in India

Mr. Butler has given some statistics to show the low standard of living in India.

"Professor Findlay Shirras, who was the first head of the Bombay Labour Office, has made a calculation as to the national income per head in a certain number of countries. He reckons the national income per head in Great Britain as about 1,010 rupees, in France 545 rupees, in Germany 519 rupees, in Italy 319 rupees, in Japan 186 rupees, and in India 63 rupees, a difference of between 63 and 1,010 in the figures for India and Great Britain. It is quite evident that in those circumstances wages in the East are lower, and to complain that wages are unduly low in international competition is really beside the point. What one realises when one has visited those countries is that the low wages are not so much the fault of industry as of agriculture, which is still the primary industry of every Asiatic country."

The estimate of Professor Findlay Shirras as regards India is considered rather high by many Indian economists. But admitting it to be correct, no Indian who loves his country and his people can help being shocked by the depth of poverty it indicates.

Possibilities of Agricultural Improvement in India

In the opinion of Mr. Butler, for the low standard of living in India it is not industry that is so much responsible as agriculture. He thinks that agricultural production can be increased considerably without any expenditure of capital.

India has about 700,000 villages, and more than 90 per cent. of its population lives in those villages. They seek to gain their living by agriculture, for the most part of a very primitive character. It has been reckoned by people in India who are in a position to make calculations, that it would be possible to increase the agricultural production by 25 per cent., without any expenditure of capital, by the introduction of the rotation of crops, banking of fields, and the use of green manure; that it would be possible to increase that production another 25 per cent. by better seeding, by consolidating holdings, and so on. There are various obstacles to the achievement of that increase of production, some of them religious, some of them political, but a greater obstacle, possibly, than either of these is ignorance. Against the fact that agricultural production is very low you have the fact that the population is very high, ...

Another means of increasing agricultural production is increase of irrigation, for example in West Bengal. That would involve expenditure of capital.

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Owing to the largeness of India's population and its continuous increase,

"unless agricultural production, the production of food, is increased with equal rapidity the standard of living must necessarily tend to go down. Many observers think that that is what is actually happening; but whether that be true or not, one thing is perfectly certain : that the pressure from the country into the towns is increasing rapidly."

Abundance of Labour in India

The following sentences from Mr. Butler's address, in addition to indicating how plentiful labour is in India, indicate also that "the pressure from the country into the towns is increasing rapidly":

"You go to a town like Jamshedpur, the seat of the great Tata Iron and Steel Works, and although it is a long way from any big centre of population, hundreds of people are turned away at the gates every day. In other words, there is a surplus of labour in India, and even if industry were to double its present size, I have not the least doubt that it would be possible to obtain the necessary number of work people without any difficulty whatever."

The turning away from the gates every day of many would-be workers can be noticed at other industrial centres also.

[All the extracts from Mr. Butler's address in the foregoing notes have been taken from *International Affairs,* July-August, 1939.]

Constructive Work for Kishan and Labour Leaders Wanted

No one, whether connected or unconnected with any public movement or institution or with any manufacturing or agricultural industry, can fail to have noticed the acuteness and volume of unemployment in the country. Every one who is or is supposed to be an employer of labour, or is or is supposed to be related to an employer of labour, or has or is supposed to have some influence with some employer of labour or other, is requested or importuned with greater or less urgency by many persons every day to secure some job or other for them. They say they are ready to do any work, however humble, for a bare living.

This fact, of which we have distressing experience wherever we go, has led us to think that, though there is not the least doubt that India requires freedom and independence and that therefore there must be a very vigorous and active freedom movement, and though there is no doubt that the men behind the plough and the workers in factories have many grievances and troubles, the immediate and most pressing problem in India is that of unemployment among all sorts and conditions of men—and of women, too, in many cases.

It is believed that in free and independent India there will be no or less unemployment. But nobody can say when India will be free, and the hungry and half-naked masses cannot be fed and clothed merely by holding out to them the hope of freedom in some uncertain future.

Those kishan leaders who try earnestly to redress the real wrongs of the tillers of the soil and those labour leaders who try sincerely to put an end to the real troubles of factory workers are entitled to praise, though one cannot but observe with pain that there are kishan leaders and labour leaders whose sole occupation appears to be to bring about kishan satyāgraha and labour strikes. Leaving aside the latter, we may be permitted to draw the attention of those labour leaders and kishan leaders who really have at heart the welfare of the masses of the people that, in addition to the work which they have been doing, there is urgent need of considerable constructive work.

Kishan leaders should see to the increase of agricultural production both by extension of cultivation, wherever possible, and by the improvement of agriculture, which is necessary and feasible, generally speaking, in all provinces and States of India. This is a constructive way of bettering the lot of the peasantry.

As regards those who seek to make a living by working in factories and who are daily turned away from the gates from centres of industry by hundreds, the only way to help them is to promote industries. If new industries are started, thousands of idle hands can find something remunerative to do. It is at the best a defective ideal of labour leadership which leaves the work of industrialization of the country to capitalists and reserves to itself the work of finding fault with the conditions of labour provided by the capitalists. Fault should certainly be found and remedied where it exists. But labour leaders should also be able to show that they, too, can create work and find employment for the jobless.

As things stand, good kishan leaders and labour leaders are only useful grievance-finders, grievance-ventilators and also grievance-redressers, and bad kishan leaders and labour leaders are trouble-creators and fishers in troubled waters. What is wanted is that good kishan leaders and labour leaders should also be work-creators and work-finders and that the bad variety of so-called leaders, who are really

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misleaders, should find for themselves some ostensible means of honest living and leave the kishans and labourers alone.

We do not know how far it is correct to say that almost all kishan and labour leaders want a revolution; but that is the general impression. If the impression be correct, the question may be asked what kind of revolution do they want or expect. Like that of Russia, or that of Italy and Germany? In any case, those who are for a revolution believe that in revolutionized India there would be no unemployment and that there would be enough for all to live on. But, assuming that belief to be correct, nobody can forecast when the expected revolution will come. When Congress accepted the policy of Non-co-operation, it was declared that on certain conditions being fulfilled there would be Swaraj in the course of a year. But many a year has come and gone since then without ushering in Swaraj. To bring about a revolution is not an easier task than the establishment of Swaraj. Of course, a revolution may come about unexpectedly and sooner than anybody imagines But the poverty-stricken masses of India require other food than the possibility of a revolution. It is only the extension and improvement of agriculture and the industrialization of the country which can bring food to their mouths.

The better class of kishan and labour leaders should feel called upon to take part in the constructive work of extending and improving agriculture and promoting industries.

Some Industries Make for Agricultural Progress

In one of the extracts from Mr. Butler's address printed in a foregoing note he expresses the opinion that it is agriculture, not industry, which is responsible for the low standard of living in India. Though it is the lack of adequate industrialization of the country which also is responsible for the low standard of living in India, the primitive and uneconomic methods and conditions of agriculture are also certainly responsible. Both industry and agriculture should receive attention.

And there are some industries which give a fillip to agriculture. For example, the sugar industry. In Bihar and the United Provinces it has already stimulated agriculture. And the more some of the other provinces take to the manufacture of sugar, the more will the cultivation of the sugarcane extend there.

The cotton textile industry has provided a source of income to the farmers and peasantry of the cotton-growing regions of India. The number of cotton mills in Bengal is on the increase, and efforts are being made to grow cotton in some districts of the province.

The Bishnupur Cotton Mills, Limited, in the Bankura district, which was registered in April last, has acquired some four hundred acres of suitable land, to begin with, for cotton cultivation.

Is Extension of Agriculture Possible in India?

Some people are under the impression that in most provinces of India all or almost all the culturable land is already under cultivation and there cannot therefore be any further extension of agriculture. Though this is true of some districts, it is not correct so far as many other districts are concerned. Speaking of Bengal, the author of *The Man Behind The Plough* writes:

> "The total area available for cultivation is 33,477,522 acres and the net area cultivated is 72·5 per cent. of the total. But this varies widely from district to district."
>
> ".... out of the total cultivable area, more than or near about half is still available in Howrah, Malda, Burdwan, 24-Parganas, Bankura, Nadia, Jalpaiguri, Dinajpur, Jessore, about one-third is available in Hooghly, Midnapore, Khulna, Darjeeling, about one-fourth is available in Rajshahi, Bogra, Chittagong and Murshidabad, about one-sixth in Birbhum and Mymensingh, one-tenth in Rangpur, very little in Noakhali, Pabna and Tipperah, and almost nothing in Dacca, Faridpur and Bakarganj. One of the main reasons of a large proportion of uncultivated land in some of the districts is that land in those districts is of poor fertility. ...."

But the poverty of the soil can be remedied by manuring and irrigation.

Ignorance A Cause of Backwardness of Agriculture

In one of the passages quoted in a previous note from Mr. Butler's address he says that one of the causes which stand in the way of increased agricultural production is the ignorance of the farmers and peasants.

In pre-Non-co-operation days, the Indian National Congress used to pass a resolution every year demanding free and universal primary education. This emphasis on education ceased after the acceptance of Non-co-operation. It is only recently that Congress leaders, including Mahatma Gandhi, have been converted to the view that universal literacy is necessary for national regeneration. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru has gone so far as to declare that all reforms may founder on the rock of illiteracy.

The literacy campaigns in U. P., Bihar and

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other Congress-ruled provinces are the outcome of this changed conviction.

John Gunther on Some Celebrities of Asia

John Gunther, author of *Inside Europe*, has written a companion book, *Inside Asia*. *News Review* has selected from it at random some of his sketches of some celebrities of Asia. Here are some of them :

Chiang Kai-shek

"No supreme boulder across the path of history" is Chiang Kai-shek. "He is no Lincoln, no Alexander. But probably he is the strongest Chinese individual since the third century B.C. when the Great Wall was built. And it is another Great Wall he is doing today what he can to build—a wall to keep the Japanese out."

Madame Chiang Kai-shek

Madame Chiang is more Americanised than her sister Madame Sun Yat-sen, "and gives the impression of an American woman of social rank and executive ability : one might almost say that she is like the president of a really first-rate American women's club : alert, amusing, smoothly polished, full of graceful small talk and enormously efficient. But she does not dominate Chiang, or make his major decision. He makes his own decisions."

Mahatma Gandhi

Mahatma Gandhi is pictured as "an incredible combination of Jesus Christ, Tammany Hall, and your father —the greatest Indian since Buddha. No more difficult or enigmatic character can easily be conceived. He is a slippery fellow. I mean no disrespect. But consider some of the contradictions....

"He fasted purely for moral reasons, but his fasts served a considerable practical convenience, because if he began to fast in jail, the British had to let him out . . . Gandhi who fought the British Empire to a standstill, in 1939 is almost the best friend the British have in India . . . Modern science is anathema to him, but he uses a thermometer and wears eyeglasses."

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru

Next to Gandhi the most important Indian in India is Jawaharlal Nehru. To Author Gunther he is "the furthest contrast to a mob leader like Hitler or Mussolini. When he talks, he deliberately under-states his case; he sounds like a lecturer at Oxford, even at a political meeting."

Shah Reza Pahlavi

Shah Reza Pahlavi's temper is the terror of Iran. "At cabinet meetings he scourges his ministers, pumping them full of his own vitality, making them work, making them proud to work, making them proud of Iran."

Ibn Saud

Ibn Saud, who has married between 100 and 120 wives, has several scores of sons and unnumbered daughters. Marriage with him "is an instrumentality for the unification of Arabia. He said recently : "In my youth and manhood I made a nation. Now in my declining years I make men for its population."

Emir Abdullah

A humorist is Emir Abdullah of Transjordania. In the entrance hall of his palace in Amman he keeps a concave-convex mirror, which produces astounding distorted reflections of his visitors.

Dr. Weizmann

Dr. Chaim Weizmann, the Zionist leader, "had—unlike most political leaders—two lives. He was a chemist by day, and a Zionist by night. Rather, since he is a genius, he was both a chemist and a Zionist 24 hours a day; he survived—and enjoyed—a compelling double activity."

Result of Pandit Nehru's Visit to Ceylon

Speaking to Madras pressmen on the 25th July, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru said, in part :

"I cannot say now definitely what the results of my visit to Ceylon are going to be. In regard to the particular matter for which I went, I am afraid, I am not satisfied with the position as it seems to exist at present. It may be that a measure of relief may come to a few, but the principle in which I was interested has not been established. The position, therefore, remains indeterminate and unsatisfactory. I shall of course submit my report to the Working Committee of the Congress and it is for them to consider and advise on the matter."

"On the larger issues, however, of co-operation between India anl Ceylon in the future," said Pandit Nehru, "I think that my visit has done good. There had been unfortunately a growing bitterness among some sections of the population there. Economic distress had embittered many people and this bitterness had been used by some people against Indians. Some Indians also had said or done things which were imprudent and had added to the tension.

Not All Affected

"I was surprised to find how some people among the Ceylonese were carrying on a regular campaign against Indians and using language that was astonishing in its violence and irresponsibility. This naturally had a bad effect on the public, both Ceylonese and Indians, but I found to my satisfaction that this was confined to a relatively small number of persons and that the mass of the population as well as the intelligentsia have no such ill-feeling on either side."

Madras, July 25.

"If by some misfortune Ceylon isolates itself from India, India will carry on. It will be a great misfortune to Ceylon. But not so to India. But there is no reason why Ceylon should get isolated. Let us hope this won't happen"

declared Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, addressing a mammoth gathering at Tilak Ghat on the 25th July.

Referring to the result of his mission to Ceylon, Panditji said he had full friendly and frank discussions with Ceylon Ministers, but he himself was not satisfied with the actual outcome of the mission. A certain amount of relief may be secured by Indian labourers as a result of his talks with the Ministers, but the principle for which he stood, he felt, had not been conceded by the Ceylon Government. Nevertheless, Panditji said that his mission to Ceylon was a great success in as far as it created goodwill between the Ceylonese and Indian section of the population there. The Sinhalese were full of friendship towards the Indians.

Concluding, Panditji said that in the interests of India and Indian labour and India's dignity in future,

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the question of emigration of labour for India should be tackled with great caution, and it should be curtailed to the minimum.

Return of Alexandretta to Turkey—Two Aspects of the Event

ANKARA, July 23.

Three days celebrations to mark the return of the Sanjak of Alexandretta to Turkey, agreed upon last month, began with a national holiday throughout the country to-day.

The last detachment of French troops left the province this morning after solemnly saluting the Turkish colours hoisted everywhere.

The departure was an occasion for striking demonstrations of Franco-Turkish friendship.

Thousands of spectators singing the French and Turkish national anthems bade the troops farewell.—*Reuter.*

This telegram presents the brighter aspect of the event. The return of the sanjak (district) of Alexandretta to Turkey, to which it formerly belonged, does credit to France and is a gain to Turkey.

But there is a dark and sorrowful aspect of the event which right-minded Turks may consider shameful. That aspect is indicated below.

DAMASCUS, July 24.

Roads leading out of Alexandretta were jammed with thousands of refugees, mainly Armenians, as the Turkish troops formally took possession of the territory yesterday.

The refugees, estimated to number some 20,000 presented a pitiful sight as they made their way in the directions of Beirut, Aleppo and Latakia.

From one village of 400 families, 388 Armenian families departed. Many small villages and country districts lost almost all their inhabitants.—*Reuter.*

The city of Alexandretta has a population of 15,000, of whom two-thirds are Muslim. The sanjak or district has a larger population, which also is predominantly Muslim. The Armenians, who constitute the majority of the refugees, are Christian. That they have been or have felt compelled to leave their hearths and homes as soon as Alexandretta became Turkish and Muslim territory, shows that, though Turkey has had much radical reform, racial and religious fanaticism persists in that country.

External reforms and outward polish are not always a proof of humanization and true civilization.

When India in all its parts was independent, she never refused shelter to any refugees or other immigrants of alien races and religions, nor were any non-Hindu communities obliged to flee the country. In this respect at any rate India of the past was more humane and civilized than many a Western and Eastern country today.

"Literacy in Bengal in Early British Period"

It has hitherto been accepted as a fact even by some patriotic British writers that India was more literate in the period just preceding British rule and in the early days of the East India Company's rule than, say, when the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms were introduced. But Professor A. N. Basu writes in his article in this issue on "Literacy in Bengal in Early British Period" that Sir Philip Hartog has recently disputed this fact in a book of his published by the Oxford University Press. It is, of course, never too late to re-examine historical data and arrive at new conclusions, if such are warranted. Sir Philip's opinion may or may not be correct. But the fact that Clive and Warren Hastings and some other British rulers of India have been whitewashed, may lead one to apprehend that Sir Philip may be a successor of the writers who whitewashed them. We have not seen his book. We hope he is not.

The subject of education in India under the rule of the East India Company has been dealt with in detail by the late Major B. D. Basu in his well-known book on that subject. On pages 16-17 of that book we read :

The late Mr. Keir Hardie, in his work on *India*, (p. 5), wrote :

"Max Mulller on the strength of official documents and a missionary report concerning education in Bengal prior to the British occupation, asserts that there were then 80,000 native schools in Bengal, or one for every 400 of the population. Ludlow, in his history of British India, says that 'in every Hindu village which has retained its old form I am assured that the children generally are able to read, write, and cipher, but where we have swept away the village system, as in Bengal, there the village school has also disappeared'."

Was Tagore Not "Acclaimed At Home" Before Winning Noble Prize ?

It is not merely wrong statements made by eminent writers in famous books relating to India and famous Indians that may be caught hold of by our traducers to lower our people in the estimation of the world, but similar statements made by even comparatively obscure writers in little known books may be used for the same purpose. It is for this reason that we have to correct a wrong statement made in a book called *Testament of India* by Ela Sen. It is written in that book, page 59 :

In 1913 he (Rabindranath Tagore) was awarded the Nobel prize of £8,000. Until that time Tagore had not been specially acclaimed at home, but such is the human

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mind that foreign recognition evoked at last the great esteem of his own people."

This, if true, would mean that the educated people of Bengal could not and did not appreciate Rabindranath Tagore's literary genius before the award of the Nobel prize for literature to him—they were so obtuse, and that they were so snobbish that it was only foreign recognition which evoked their "great esteem." But the statement is not true. Foreign recognition came to him in 1913. But earlier than that year the Poet completed the fiftieth year of his life and Bengalis "celebrated" the occasion in a befitting manner "all over the country"—a fact noted by Professor V. Lesny of Prague, a foreigner, in his book *Rabindranath Tagore, His Personality And Work*, pp. 169-170.

The Calcutta celebration of the Poet's birthday is described in contemporary Bengali and English newspapers. But as no old files of such papers are at hand, we extract below a few lines from the long note on the subject in *The Modern Review* for February, 1912, page 229:

"HONOUR TO RABINDRANATH

"In the current year of the Bengali era Rabindranath Tagore has completed the fiftieth year of his life. The occasion has been seized by Bengal to do honour to her greatest litterateur. On the 28th January last, under the auspices of the Bangiya Sahitya Parishad (Bengali Literary Academy), Bengal's most representative literary society, a meeting was held for the purpose in the Calcutta Town Hall. It was one of the most representative, crowded and enthusiastic of gatherings that have ever filled that historic hall. From childhood to old age, all ages and both sexes were represented there. Representatives of culture and high birth and wealth met there to do honour to the poet. High spirituality was there, science and industry were there, philosophy and forensic ability, poetry and the ancient learning of the land were there, literature had her many votaries there, the goddesses of music and painting had sent there some of her foremost worshippers. Nor was statesmanship left unrepresented. The mothers and daughters of the race did not lag behind. And there mustered strong in their thousands the youth of Bengal, her rising hope, with enthusiasm writ large on their shining foreheads.

"Rabindranath is our greatest poet and prose-writer."

In support of her wrong observation the authoress writes:

The same year the University of Calcutta conferred on him the Doctorate of Literature, though only a few years previously students were set passages from Tagore to be reconstructed into "good Bengali" in their University examinations!

It is a fact that the Calcutta University conferred the doctorate on Tagore after he had won the Nobel prize. But that University could scarcely be said to represent Bengal. Bengal could not be held responsible for the snobbishness of that University. The fact that the University never conferred a doctorate on Bankim Chandra Chatterjee does not prove that Bengal did not appreciate Bankim Chandra's genius.

We are not personally aware that "passages" from Tagore were set in "University examinations" to be reconstructed into 'good Bengali.' But if ever some foolish pedant set a single passage from Tagore in a single University examination paper to be rewritten in 'good Bengali', surely that pedant did not represent Bengal or the Calcutta University. The representatives of Bengal were they who, all over the country, did the Poet honour on his fiftieth birthday.

The late Mr. Edwin S. Montagu has left it on record how even the illiterate villagers of Bengal, who had never heard of the Nobel prize, sang and appreciated Tagore's songs.

Orissa States' People's Enquiry Committee's Report

The All-Orissa States' People's Conference at its second session held in 1937 appointed a Committee to enquire into the prevailing conditions in the 26 States of Orissa and to publish a report with their recommendations, should there be any. We have not yet received the report. What appears below is taken from the summaries supplied by the news agencies.

The following members were appointed by the Executive Committee of the Conference to undertake the work; Mr. Harekrishna Mahtab, member of the All-India Congress Working Committee, Mr. Lalmohan Patnaik, B.L. and Mr. Balvantrai Mehta, a member of the Servants of the People Society.

The Committee began work in June, 1938 and went from place to place to collect evidence. About 2,000 witnesses appeared before the Committee and large volumes of documentary evidence were produced. In the course of this enquiry an ex-officer of a State stole away many files of the Committee. Consequently the Committee collected evidence again regarding the States to which the stolen files related.

As regards taxation the report says,

"The system of taxation now prevailing in these States defies all canons of sound finance. Neither the wholesome rules of Manu regarding land tax nor the scientific principles of land revenue assessment by the experts of the British Government in India are observed by the Rulers of these States."

LAND TAX

The Committee has shown that land tax in the States is higher than in the provinces in British India and in addition to this high land-rent there are numerous other taxes, fees, 'salamis,' levies and monopolies; education cess varying between half-anna to two annas three pies per rupee of rent, hospital cess varying between half

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anna to one anna six pies per rupee of rent, forest cess varying between half anna to one anna three pies per rupee of rent, 'bethi' cess or miscellaneous cess carrying between six annas and one anna six pies per rupee of rent, grazing fee of one anna to Re. 1-4 per head of cattle per year; tax on industrial castes, special cess on sugarcane, cess for using sugarcane crushing machines, tax on landless labourers, fruit cess, cess for exporting grain or merchandise, fee for adoption, "salami" for permitting widows to adopt (in many States levied at the rate of Rs. 5 or thereabout), tax on salt, kerosene oil, bidi, tobacco, *pan*, cocoanut, coir, meat and many other necessaries of life through monopoly; in some States special fees for permitting use of double plank doors, use of a particular head dress, use of palanquins, tax on plough and many other taxes are being levied.

Then the Report goes on to describe the extent of unpaid forced labour.

The amount of time lost by the peasants in doing 'bethi' is staggering. A peasant spends over one hundred days of the year in doing forced labour for the States or its officials.

Of all the exactions under which the peasant is suffering 'bethi' is the most oppressive. It keeps him in grinding poverty. What is worse, it prevents his emergence from a state of serfdom.

In spite of the Geneva Convention abolishing forced labour, to which the Government of India is pledged, this system persists in the States. Under the terms of the Sanads governing the relationship between the Chiefs and the Paramount Power, the former are bound to accept the advice of the political officers, who have, it appears, not exercised their undoubted influence and weight on the side of the abolition of this system. The Committee find that a set of rules regulating 'bethi' and providing punishment for default have been sanctioned for the States of Athgarh, Baramba and Narasinghpur by Mr. Scott, Political Agent and Commissioner.

The Committee have pointed out that the people have no right whatsoever on their land, from which they are liable to be ejected at any time.

In the summary of the report *all* the Orissa States, from the largest to the smallest, come in for equal and unmitigated condemnation. We do not know whether the report itself damns all of them and all equally. There is no reason to doubt that misrule prevails in most of them.

Being curious to know whether "the people have no right whatsoever on their land" even in Mayurbhanj, the biggest Orissa State, we consulted its last Census Report and found that so far back as the days of Maharaja Sriram Chandra Bhanj Deo "the grant of the right of occupancy to the tenants over their holdings and regular and accurate preparation of record of rights" had been made. Is the Census Report wrong?

The report has definitely shown that the misrule and the condemned practices in the States have not gone on unchallenged in the past. There have been risings in the past in several States and in all the cases movements have been suppressed by the armed forces of the British Government.

The report has quoted from various reports and official documents to show that the misrule in the States is not unknown to the Political Officers, some of whom have occasionally warned the British Government with regard to the affairs in the States, but according to the report of the Committee the British Government have been giving more and more powers to the Rulers as a matter of their Imperialist Policy.

The Committee are of the opinion that the British Government are in no small measure responsible for extortions by the Rulers. It is one thing to raise the status and dignity of small Rulers who were only the other day small zemindars like so many in British Orissa at present, but quite another to find them the money to keep that elevated position. This is the real explanation of the desperate efforts of the Rulers to find money.

The following are the more important conclusions which the Committee have come to :—

In most of the States, it is not possible for the public to secure authentic and adequate information.

Annual Administration Reports are not published in all States. In some where they are published the general public is not entitled to have a look at them.

Proper codification of laws even is absent.

There is no clear distinction between public Treasury and the Raja's Privy purse and the Rulers spend, directly or indirectly, the major portion of the State revenues on themselves, their families and dependants.

There is a crushing system of taxation with unusually high land rent, except in one or two cases and numerous taxes and cesses which leads to the progressive deterioration of the economic condition of the peasantry.

Monopolies in certain vital daily necessaries of life have raised prices.

No fundamental rights of citizenship are recognised, popular civil liberty is crushed and the people are daily oppressed. It is only recently that the two States Mayurbhanj and Nilgiri have allowed a partial exercise of the rights of free speech.

It was recently announced in the dailies that Seraikela State had granted certain constitutional rights to its subjects. Perhaps the Enquiry Committee's report was written before this announcement.

The peasants in almost all States have no rights in agricultural land.

Bethi, Begari, Rasad, Magan, and such other forced labour and contributions are widely prevalent.

Interference by the State authorities in the social and religious life of the people impede the march of progress.

Bribery and corruption prevail with very rare exceptions in the administration of the States.

People are not allowed to protect their crops by killing wild animals that do immense damage.

The Committee recommend

that, in view of the inherent inability of the Orissa States to support popular enlightened administrations within their areas which are the *sine qua non* of any satisfactory re-arrangement, and in view of the inevitability of a strong and irresistible popular demand from the people of these States for rights of self-government and self-determination, the sanads granted to the Rulers of the States by the Paramount Power should be cancelled and they may be treated as landlords of permanently settled estates, such as Aul, Kujang and Kanika. That this

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could be accomplished without doing any violence to the rights of these chiefs will be clear from a perusal of the examination of their original status appearing in the foregoing pages.

Pending the cancellation of Sanads the Committee make the following minimum recommendations.

1. The Governor in the Ministry of the province of Orissa may be vested with the powers now exercised by the Resident.

2. The following minima which Gandhiji expects from the Rulers may be immediately given effect to :

"Full civil liberty so long as it is not used to promote violence directly or indirectly. This includes freedom of the press, and freedom to receive newspapers which do not promote violence.

"Freedom to all people of the States to form associations to educate public opinion.

"Freedom for Indians outside particular States to enter them without let or hindrance so long as their activities are not directed towards the destruction of the States in question.

"Privy purse should be limited so as not to exceed one-tenth of the income where it ranges between Rs. 10 and 15 lakhs per year and should include the private expenses of the rulers, palace expenses, cars and stables of rulers and guests, except those which have reference to the performance of public duty which should be clearly defined.

"The judiciary is to be independent and permanent and free of all interference. In order to ensure uniformity of practice and strict impartiality there should be appeal to the High Court of the Province within which the State in question is situated."

As we have not seen the report we cannot say whether the damnatory observations of the Committee apply in their opinion equally to all the Orissa States. Perhaps they do not. In any case nothing stands in the way of any State which may feel that justice has not been done to it, to present to the public what it considers a true picture of itself.

The report appears to be an important document. In view of the fact that the worst Orissa States are not the only plague spots in Indian India, similar enquiries should be held in other groups of States.

Article in "Asia" on the Indian States

The current August number of the *Asia* Magazine of New York contains an article on the struggle in the Indian States from the pen of the editor of *The Modern Review*.

Chiang Kai-shek to Rabindranath Tagore

SANTINIKETAN, July 27.

The homage of the Chinese Generalissimo, Chiang Kai-shek, and of the Chinese people was conveyed to Dr. Rabindranath Tagore yesterday by Professor Tan Yun-shan, Director of Cheena Bhabana. Professor Tan delivered to the Poet the following message.

"Your letters on the Sino-Japanese conflict and India's sympathy endow China's anti-aggression fight with moral strength."—*A. P.*

Dr. J. C. Ghosh Appointed Director of Indian Science Institute

The Viceroy has approved of the appointment of Professor Dr. J. C. Ghosh of the Dacca University to the office of Director of the Indian Science Institute, Bangalore. We congratulate Dr. Ghosh on the appointment. It gives him a great opportunity to promote the cause of scientific and industrial research in the country.

America Terminates Treaty with Japan

WASHINGTON, July 27.

The State Department announces that the United States are terminating the treaty of commerce and navigation of 1911 with Japan thereby opening the way for an embargo on the shipment of raw materials to Japan.

The Government's action came like a bombshell as the Foreign Relations Committee of the Senate today postponed discussion of the treaty until later in the week. Earlier Mr. Cordell Hull talked with President Roosevelt after seeing his Far Eastern advisers.

The President approved of the abrogation of the treaty which does not become effective until January 26, 1940.

The text of the announcement states that the treaty "contains provisions which need new consideration."

U. S. INTENTION

Mr. Cordell Hull stated that the United States was signifying its desire to terminate the pact "with a view to better safeguarding and promoting American interests as new developments may require."

Interviewed immediately after the announcement of the abrogation, Senator Pittman said "I think it a wise and justifiable act."

Senator Lafollette declared that the State Department's move was designed to show Japan that "the course of this country is wide and open" in future dealings with the Japanese.—*Reuter*

America's action has been such as one would expect of a country which loves freedom and justice and which has no anxiety to safeguard possession of ill-gotten territory.

Tokyo Reaction to America's Move

WASHINGTON, July 27.

President Roosevelt's sudden action has torpedoed people's false notions about American attitude towards their country.

A long campaign of misrepresentation based on American forbearance in China had persuaded them that the United States was not unfavourable to their Government's policy.—*Reuter*

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American Action Gladdens China

WASHINGTON, July 27.

The announcement of the abrogation of the U. S. Japan Treaty has been received by China with the greatest enthusiasm.

The keen disappointment caused by the preliminary Anglo-Japanese agreement seems gradually to be giving place to the hope that Britain after all will not change her attitude towards China.

This hope may be delusive.

Japanese Foreign Office Regrets American Action

WASHINGTON, July 27.

Acknowledging receipt of the notification of the abrogation of the treaty from the charge d'affaires, Mr. Yoshisawa, head of the American Department of the Foreign Office, is understood to have said that the action was regrettable and added that so long as America persisted in her "present attitude towards Japan," satisfactory results cannot be expected even if the United States proposes to conclude a new treaty.

The Tokyo stock market suffered a setback on receipt of the news and declines ranging up to three yen were recorded in many stocks though a few stocks showed gains.—*Reuter*

Mighty Japanese Fleet in Western Pacific

Japan is wide awake and alert, and is determined to be supreme in the Pacific Ocean. One further proof of it is her organization of powerful fleet in the Western Pacific.

TOKYO, July 27.

Securing command of the western Pacific, "which is indispensable for construction of new order in east Asia" is the object of the new Japanese fleet the organisation of which has just been announced, according to a spokesman of the Admiralty.

The spokesman stated that the new fleet will engage in a special training for emergency on war footing.

Asked whether the new fleet had any connection with the strained Soviet-Japanese relations in the north Sakhalin, the spokesman replied "It is connected with everything relating to the building of a new order in east Asia."

He added the navy was determined and prepared to defend Japan's rights and interests in north Sakhalin. The navy was watching development of the negotiations proceeding at Moscow with grave concern.—*Reuter*

Some Indian Movements Mis-represented Abroad

A recent number of the *Asia* Magazine of New York contains an article entitled, "Fascism over India," of which we would not perhaps have taken any notice if it had not been published in *Asia*. Our object, however, is not to pass in review the whole article, but only to notice one or two of the wrong statements which the article contains. The writer observes:

"The communalist organizations, of course, talk in totalitarian language and praise the Fascist countries. but their influence is very meagre when compared with the powerful anti-Fascist National Congress. Also being busy with their respective sectarian and petty affairs, they have not much enthusiasm to advocate the totalitarian ideology of which, perhaps, they approve only vaguely without gauging its full implications. Here and there, however, one may find small organizations which are run on near-Fascist lines and are thus potentially dangerous. The military school and various physical culture centres run by Hindu communalists are possibly inspired by the example of Fascist Storm Troops. Then there is the *Brattachari* (*sic*) movement in Bengal, which was started by an ex-member of the British Indian Civil Service as a counterblast to the "terroristic" and "communistic" tendencies among Bengal youths."

The National Congress is powerful and its constitution is democratic, but perhaps it cannot be said emphatically that it is not run on Fascist lines. Has not the writer, who is a Muslim, noticed the eulogistic references made to Hitler and Mussolini by some prominent Congress leaders? But we are not concerned here with either the Congress or the communalistic organizations.

The writer refers to some "small organizations which are run on near-Fascist lines" and says they are "potentially dangerous." This is both silly and mischievous. Dangerous to whom? By way of example he mentions the military school (at Nasik?) and various physical centres run by Hindu communalists and sapiently opines that they are inspired by the example of Fascist Storm Troops! Well, that school and those centres were conceived (and many set going) long before the world had heard of Fascist Storm Troops.

The writer of the article does not know even the correct spelling of the word Bratachārī and the fact that its founder Mr. G. S. Dutt, I.C.S., is not an ex-member but still a member of the Indian Civil Service. Such being the case, his ignorance of the character and aims and objects of the Bratachārī movement, though pitiable, is not surprising. It would be beside the purpose of this note to describe this useful movement here. Suffice it to say that it concerns itself mainly with the folk arts, folk dances, folk songs, and generally with the folk culture of the country and with social service, and has no political object. Objectors may say that its activities may produce political results and therefore it has an indirect political object. But if one followed that line of argument, it would be difficult to find any pursuit or activity which is absolutely non-political—even the Archaeological Survey Department of the

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Government of India could be proved to be unintentionally feeding the flame of patriotism.

The Bratachārī movement is run on entirely non-communal lines and has been praised by Muslims and Hindus alike, in British India and in Indian States like Hyderabad and Baroda, as also by Britishers in Britain.

Shanghai Britishers Condemn Anglo-Japanese Agreement

SHANGHAI, July 26.

The British Chamber of Commerce at Shanghai has cabled to the China Association of London, declaring that the Arita-Craigie Agreement is likely to result in a deplorable betrayal of British rights, interests and obligations in China.

It says that legitimate British interests appear to have been placed at the mercy of the Japanese Army. The Agreement indicates that Britain is abandoning her obligatons and her legal position in a manner as injurious to her honour and prestige as to her interests.—*Reuter.*

Anglo-Japanese Agreement Produces Bitterness in China

SHANGHAI, July 26.

Deep bitterness pervades the Chinese comment on the Anglo-Japanese Agreement. A nationalist newspaper writing under the heading "Britain Yields" says that the concessions made to the aggressor in the East will only tempt the aggressors in the West to fresh depredations. Britain's surrender will certainly cause a prolongation of war in the Far East.

Reports from Chunking state that the Chinese feeling against Britain is rising. The Chinese circle there contend that whatever may be the outcome of the Tokio talks, Britain has compromised in Japan.

"The Chinese authorities cannot conceal their disappointment at the attitude taken by Britain in the Tokio talks," stated a Chinese Foreign Office spokesman.—*Reuter*

Soviet Russia Thinks Japan Needs A Lesson.

Moscow, July 25.

Kuznetsov, Commissar of the Navy, in a fighting speech, declared: "We know that some of our restless neighbours, for instance in the Far East, need a lesson from our armed forces before they realise that our frontiers are inviolable and that we will allow nobody to infrige them."—*Reuter*

Skirmishes have been going on between the Soviet and the Japanese forces on the borders of Manchuria and Mongolia. The Japanese have claimed more than once that they have brought down far more Soviet planes than they have themselves lost. The exact truth will not be known at least for some time yet.

Chances of Anglo-Franco-Russian Alliance Improving ?

Cables received during the earlier part of the last week of July appear to show that the chances of an alliance between Soviet Rus on one side and Britain and France on other have been improving. [28.7.1939.]

The Work of the Bengal Women's Protection League

Nārī-Rakshā Samiti or the Women's Prot tion League was founded in Calcutta a quar of a century ago by Krishna Kumar Mitra S. R. Das. After the death of both of the it has been with great financial and oth difficulties that its work has been carried But it has somehow gone on. That is ve much to its credit. A province whose co temporary chronicles are black with crim against women cannot do without it.

That it has now got Sir Nripendran Sircar as its president has been a great acqui tion to it.

On the 23rd July last it held its annu meeting at the Albert Hall, Calcutta, wi Sir Nripendranath in the chair. The meeti was very largely attended.

The need for backing the Women's Prote tion League, which has been doing admirab work with inadequate financial support, w stressed by the president.

At the end of the meeting it was announced t Sir Nripendranath had promised a donation of Rs. 5 to the funds of the League and his example was followed by Kumar Saradindu Roy of Dinajpur and Mr. Harida Mazumdar, each donating Rs. 100. Swami Satyananda the Hindu Mission promised that he would make p collections from 1,000 men and contribute the sum the funds of the League.

In the course of his speech Sir Nripendr nath said :

He could not let slip this opportunity of saying few words on a subject which was of the greatest i portance to all of them . . . . It was quite true t this was his first public speaking after being dismis from Government service without pension (laughte But this was really not an occasion on which speec were wanted to convert the audience to any partic view. He did not think that there was any one w would not agree that the object of the League was re extremely important. Nor would any one deny that way in which work was being done was the proper efficient way. Therefore it was hardly an occasion impressing on the people present the necessity of work which lay before the League with a view to w the newspapers called "change of heart." . . . They are all agreed as regards the work which League is doing and they have got the support of ev one of us.

"Though I express no opinion," proceeded Nripendranath, "as to the degree of social reform re wanted, in the interest of men and women I do something should be done and that can be done only society itself and not by legislation—namely, by just and equitable treatment of those women who throu

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no fault of their own but by sheer force have become victims of outrages. There is a desire for change in this direction, because no one should be punished for no fault of his or of her own. But this change must come from the society itself . . . . .

"I was glad to hear that this is no communal matter, but it is one in which we are all concerned. I am indeed glad to hear it, because now-a-days it seems there is no topic—whether it is the rising of the sun or the setting of the moon—which is not a matter of communal question. The League has emphasised in the report that it is a question which affects all communities and it is a question on which we should get the support of all right-thinking men irrespective of caste, or community to which he or she might belong."

Finally, Sir Nripendranath stressed the vital necessity of financial backing to the League, without which it was impossible to do any useful work. He frankly confessed that when he heard the report of financial resources, he was extremely depressed. He was extremely sorry that an institution which was doing such excellent work should have financial resources of such small proportion. Unless they were prepared to support the League with money it was sheer waste of energy to come to the meeting at all and it would do no good to the workers of the League in their efforts to improve conditions.

He, however, thought that such meetings were useful because they tended to focus public attention and excite the sympathy of those who would be willing to support the League if they knew the real situation and the inner working of the League. Reiterating the necessity of backing the League financially, Sir Nripendranath said that by financial backing he did not mean some stray, sporadic and accidental contributions from some millionaries, but support broad-based in the society—small mites from small men which would make the institution popular, useful and effective.

Disunion in the Congress

The world—the Old World at any rate—seems to be in the melting pot, providing India perhaps with an opportunity to mould itself into a free, if not also an independent, State. And the Indian National Congress appeared to be the organization marked out for such an achievement. But it is greatly to be regretted that there is disunion in its ranks—that it is a house divided against itself.

It is usual to divide Congressmen into the two groups of rightists and leftists. But there are really more groups than two. The rightists appear to have greater solidarity among themselves. But Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, who is claimed by the right wing, is not only a socialist in his principles, but has not given up in practice his right to criticize Congress ministers. There was going to be a crisis in the U. P. Congress ministry which has been somehow averted.

As regards the leftists, some have joined the Forward Bloc, some have not, and some even criticize it adversely. There is disunion also in the ranks of the socialist party.

There is statement and counter-statement warfare in the dailies. All sorts and conditions of leaders and would-be leaders have joined in the fray. Let us hope that all this will ultimately result in all of them and their colleagues and followers, or most of them, engaging enthusiastically in the fight for freedom.

Criticism of Congress and Congress Committees

Two of the resolutions passed by the All-India Congress Committee at its last meeting have evoked adverse criticism from many Congressmen. Srijut Subhas Chandra Bose requested all dissentients all over the country to assemble in public meetings on the 9th July last to record their protest against these resolutions. Thereupon the Congress President banned such meetings so far as Congressmen were concerned. In spite of the ban, however, a great many protest meetings were held all over the country, attended by numerous Congressmen and others. Now the turn has come for disciplinary action being taken against those Congressmen who attended these meetings. Now, as these meetings were not like college and school classes of which attendance rolls are kept when they meet, it would not perhaps be possible to ascertain accurately who among the primary Congress members attended the protest meetings. But the names of the 'rebel' members of the Provincial and District Congress Committees may be ascertained by inquisitorial methods, and disciplinary action may be taken against them,

As Sj. Subhas Chandra Bose, the original and chief convener of the 9th of July meetings, is president of the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee, regard for chronological order, if not also the fact that he is an ex-president of the Congress, would require that he should be proceeded against first. Both chronology and precedence should count!

History has its lessons as to the efficacy or otherwise of disciplinary action in producing enthusiastic conformity when there is widespread dissent. But history is not bound to repeat itself!

It will not serve any useful purpose to discuss academically whether Congressmen in general or members of Congress Committees can or should criticize the Congress or its resolutions or the resolutions of Congress Committees. We only wish to recall that Mahatma Gandhi has very often severely condemned corruption and the spirit of violence

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among Congressmen. He is no doubt not a four-anna Congresswala. But other leaders who are have followed his example. No resolution of the Congress or any Congress Committee is more sacrosanct than the original Non-co-operating Congress platform. The three great Congress boycotts were boycott of legislatures, boycott of law-courts, and boycott of schools and colleges recognized by the official education departments and universities. The Swarajya Party rose on the ashes of the boycott of legislatures. The sacrificial fire of criticism reduced that boycott to ashes. The high-priests who officiated at that *yajna* were Chitta Ranjan Das and Motilal Nehru. We are unable just now to recall the disciplinary action taken against them. Law-courts and schools and and colleges have ceased to be boycotted long ago. It is not known to us who first broke through these two boycotts. But we are sure no disciplinary action was taken against them.

Congress Action Regarding Hunger-strike By Bengal Politicals

According to a United Press message dated Allahabad, the 26th July, Acharya J. B. Kripalani, General Secretary, All-India Congress Committee, has issued the following 'communique' regarding the agitation to be carried on throughout the country for the release of political prisoners :

"I draw the attention of the Congress Committees throughout the land to the statement issued by the Congress President about the agitation which is to be carried on in the country for the release of our Comrade political prisoners on hunger-strike in Bengal jails. No particular all-India day has been fixed for meetings and demonstrations because we wish that the agitation should be a continuous one. Meetings and demonstrations should, therefore, be organized not once but as often as necessary till a satisfactory solution is found to end this heart-rending tragedy in which the whole of India is involved today. While the agitation for their release is going on, I would humbly request our Comrades, who have undertaken the supreme and final sacrifice of their lives to listen to the earnest advice of Mahatmaji and other leaders to give up their hunger-strike and thus strengthen the hands of the country in the matter of effecting their release."

What the Congress has done will meet with general appreciation and support.

Hunger-strike by Bengal Politicals

After long waiting and in desperation the political prisoners of Bengal resorted to hunger-strike some four weeks ago. Along with the leading men of the country, we have requested them to give up the hunger-strike. If the Government do not release them and they continue the hunger-strike, the resulting tragedy can be foreseen with consternation and sorr But if they give up the hunger-strike and if Government do not even then release th before the expiry of their sentences, they m be released on the termination of their terms imprisonment. They can then serve their count Service of the motherland is their object seeking immediate release. If they live to released after some delay, even then their des to serve the country will be fulfilled, thou not as early as they wish.

Though we ask them to give up th hunger-strike, we do not attach any importa to the ministry's declaration to the effect th they (the ministers) will not yield to the thre implied (according to the ministers) in hunger-strike. The prisoners had waited le enough for release without resorting to hung strike. The ministers could have released th during that period, but they did not. And n that they have hunger-struck, they are not be released because of the hunger-strike! hunger-strike or no hunger-strike, they are n to be released! Is that the ministerial logi

There is no menace to anybody, except the prisoners' own lives, implied in their fa So the ministers can release them without t fear of anybody accusing them of having be frightened. But in order to re-assure the the politicals should break their fast.

The ministers have accepted the princip of releasing politicals on the introduction political reforms, by releasing all the deten numbering thousands and many prisoners nu bering hundreds. Let them complete this co mendable achievement of theirs. There is terrorism or incitement to violence in the count The atmosphere is peaceful. There is no secr sympathy with terrorism on the part of t public. Not a single released detenu or poli cal prisoner has reverted to the way of which has caused so much suffering to th and their comrades. More favourable conditi for the release of politicals cannot be thou of. The agitation which has been going on their release has affected all ages and b sexes and is impeding the progress of country. Direct action, which has been sugg ted, will be a still greater impedim Nevertheless, it must be resorted to if necess [29. 7. 1939.]

National Planning Committee

An abstract of the proceedings and oth particulars relating to the National Plann Committee has been published from its Bomb office in the form of a book. It makes a surv

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of the various stages of development of the idea of national planning culminating in the present organisation, including resolutions of the National Congress relating to planning, industries and fundamental rights, etc. A list of the 29 sub-committees, which was published in the last issue of *The Modern Review* with their terms of reference, and a note for the guidance of the sub-committees, are also included in it along with the questionnaire that was issued to different provinces.

As suggested in our last issue, the National Planning Committee is proceeding on the right lines by organising an efficient central office at Bombay to direct and co-ordinate the activities of the different sub-committees. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Chairman of the National Planning Cimmittee, in the course of a statement to the press on June 30, reviews the recent sessions of the committee. He says, in part:

> It is hoped that Provincial Governments will carry on surveys and enquiries in their respective provinces. Some have already done so. Bombay, Central Provinces and a few others have appointed Committees of enquiry. I would especially like to congratulate the Bihar Government and their enthusiastic Minister for Industries, Dr. Syed Mahmud, on the way they have already tackled this problem.

Staff Increased

With a view to cope with this work, the office of the National Planning Committee in Bombay has been reorganized and the stuff is being increased. Prof. K. T. Shah has been appointed Honorary General Secretary and under his able guidance we look forward to the office functioning efficiently and rapidly. The Committee has decided to have three Joint Secretaries to assist Prof. K. T. Shah, and accordingly Shri K. D. Guha, Shri H. V. Kamath and Shri G. P. Hutheesing were appointed. I regret that Shri H. V. Kamath has not found it possible to continue as Joint Secretary. Shri G. P. Hutheesing has been working in the office for the last six months and will now continue as Joint Secretary. Shri K. D. Guha brings to us knowledge and experience of the work. He was connected some years ago with the Industries Department of the Government of Bengal. His services were lent to the Ceylon Government, and for the past five years he functioned as the Technical Adviser to the Government of Ceylon. As such he initiated a number of schemes in Ceylon, including a Four-year Plan for Industrial Development for which the Ceylon Government has allotted a large sum of money.

The appointment of Mr. K. D. Guha, who has had considerable practical experience in this line of work, as a Joint Secretary will undoubtedly inspire public confidence. Mr. Guha recently visited Calcutta with a view to organising the local sub-committees and discussing the preliminaries with the members from Bengal. At a recent meeting here he aroused considerable public interest in Bengal in various aspects of national planning. There he said, in part:

> "A survey of import figures would reveal an utter dependence of India on other countries for primary necessaries of civilised life and would suggest a very comprehensive programme of industrial production comprising a large variety of manufactures. But as a preliminary to the attempt to formulate such a plan for the industrial development of India, it appears to be necessary to consider the following facts with a view to determining the extent to which she possesses the essentials for transforming herself from an agricultural to a moderately industrial state within the next ten years.
>
> (1) Status of her industrial life, the factors retarding or promoting it in the past;
>
> (2) Resources of the country, both material and human;
>
> (3) Economic, social and political organisations through which the contemplated development would have to take place.
>
> Mr. Guha discussed the above points and said that India possesses most of the factors essential for planned advance of economic reconstruction. "True, we have not yet got complete political independence, which is necessary for mobilising all the economic forces on the different sectors of National Planning, but a large measure of advance is possible even with the present handicaps. Planning, in effect, is a continuous process—and would naturally pass through various stages of development. It is not possible to base any National Planning without assuming complete political freedom and as such our plan will have to be visualised in the light of complete political independence."

Communalism and Provincialism

Mahatma Gandhi has written repeatedly against communalism, and recently he has written against the evils of provincialism.

Hindu-Muslim unity is one of the main missions of his life. He and his followers are ever watchful to safeguard the interests of Muslims, though Muslim extremists say that all Hindu Congress leaders are Hindu Mahasabhaites in disguise. As Muslims are an all-India minority and distrust Hindus, Hindu Congress leaders are right in being extra-careful in all matters concerning Muslims directly or indirectly. But, just as it takes two to make a quarrel, it also takes two to produce harmony and unity.

It should not be taken for granted that it is Muslims alone who can have or can believe that they have grievances. Others, such as Hindus, may have and do really have grievances. It should not, again, be taken for granted that it is the minorities alone who can have grievances. The majority, too, can have grievances. The Hindus are the majority in British India—not less than 70 per cent. Yet in the Federal Assembly they have been given 42 per cent. of the seats. There cannot be unity between those who are favoured and

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those who are discriminated against and disfavoured, even though the favoured party may not be to blame for the unjust arrangements. That is human nature.

Hindu Congress leaders should never forget that Muslims are not a minority and Hindus not the majority everywhere. Hindus are a minority in some provinces, in Bengal, for example, and they have their grievances as minorities, where they are such.

The Congress and Congress leaders should seek impartially to redress the grievances of all communities and of both majorities and minorities, whatever their creed or caste may be. And for doing it, it is absolutely necessary to fight the Communal Decision and end it. It will be said, that will displease the Muslims. But, on the other hand, unless it is ended, the Hindus will never be satisfied. The Hindus within the Congress fold are a small portion of the community, the far larger portion is outside the Congress. The Hindu demand that the Communal Decision should be done away with is a just demand. Therefore to fight the Communal Decision is to satisfy Justice and satisfy the Hindus, whereas not to fight the Communal Decision may satisfy the Muslims but can never be just.

We are not and do not pretend to be prophets, but we venture to say that there will never be communal unity in India so long as the Communal Decision remains in force. It would not be unfair to assume that that Decision was intended to keep India disunited.

Like communalism, provincialism also is fostered by the British-made constitution given to India.

The Joint Parliamentary Select Committee, according to whose ideas and plans the Government of India Act of 1935 was drafted, claim in their report that whatever national unity exists in India is an achievement of British rule. But in the very same report, in another paragraph, they declare that they are perhaps destroying that unity. With what object and by what means? They say they want the provinces to develop along their own lines, so that each may have an independent political life. The means to this end is provincial autonomy. We need not quote the exact sentences from the Report of the Joint Parliamentary Select Committee in support of what we have written—we have done so several times.

If each province is to develop along its own lines and have an independent political life, irrespective of the interests, requirements and feelings of other provinces, obviously there cannot be a single vigorous national existence and evidently also the interests and feelings of one province must clash with those of another, strengthening provincialism.

It is for this reason that Anglo-Indian bureaucrats of past generations were in favour of provincial autonomy (we have several times quoted their views from Major Basu's *Consolidation of the Christian Power in India*). But our political leaders were so enamoured of the idea of being able to promote the interests of their own provinces that they hugged provincial autonomy to their bosoms, forgetting the good of India as a whole.

But provincial autonomy has come to stay. It cannot now be replaced by any other administrative arrangement. Its evils can and should, however, be remedied, whenever and wherever they are perceived.

The British Prevention of Violence Bill Becomes Law

Owing to the outrages committed by the "Irish Republican Army" men, the British Parliament has enacted the Prevention of Violence Act. Even on the day when it was passed and received the royal assent telephone wires were cut in some districts in London by the Irish terrorists.

LONDON, July 28.

The Prevention of Violence Bill received the Royal assent after being rushed through the last stages in the Parliament.

Moving the second reading, Earl De La Warr said that hitherto there had been 130 outrages and millions of sterling damage had been done. Already two persons had been killed and 73 others had been more or less seriously injured in the country from one end to the other. It had been decided that these things must be stopped.

Earl De La Warr described the "S" plan seized by police as having been prepared with the thoroughness of any military general staff.

No Internment of Irish Suspects

LONDON, July 24.

In the course of moving the second reading of the Prevention of Violence Bill Sir Samuel Hoare referred to a suggestion of internment of suspects. He said, "As things are, I am opposed to that method. I think it looks too much like the system of concentration camps. I say with some experience because when I was the Secretary of State for India, I had a great deal to do with the problem of internment, that one of the difficulties is that although it may be comparatively easy to intern your man it is much more difficult to know when and how to release him."—*Reuter.*

What Sir Samuel Hoare would not and durst not do in relation to the Irish, he did to Indians.

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Release of Politicals Demanded By Progressive Bengal Muslims

The following statement has been issued over the signatures of Maulvi Abdul Karim; Prof. Humayun Kabir; Nawabzada Syed Husain Ali Chowdhury; Mr. A. Mansoor Ahmed; Mr. Farukul Islam; Mr. Abdul Majid; Mr. Shamsuddin Ahmed, M.L.A., ex-Minister, Bengal; Mr. Abdul Momin; Mr. A. F. M. Nurannabi; Maulana Ahmad Ali; Mr. Abu Hosain Sarkar, M.L.A.; Mr. Khondkar Abdul Jabbar; Mr. Jehangir Kabir; Maulana Altaf Husain; Mr. Nurul Amin; Mr. Fazlul Huq; Mr. Mujibar Rahaman; Mr. Kalam Ali; Mr. Abdus Samad; Mr. Khoda Baksh and others :— [30. 7. 1939]

"The hunger-strike of the political prisoners has entered into its fourth week. Nothing can be more regrettable than the attitude of callousness which the Bengal Government has till now maintained. The arguments brought forward on behalf of the Cabinet show a painful lack of sensitiveness of political idealism and also indicate a dangerous failure to realise the depth and extent of feeling aroused by the hunger-strike.

"A democratic Government must reflect the urgency of the people and it shows the utter political bankruptcy to confuse the pressure of public opinion with coercion. To talk of prestige in this connexion is futile, for a popular Government can have only the prestige which the people give to it. It is prerogative of a popular government to yield to popular demand and it can defy such pressure only at the cost of negating its own character.

"It is, therefore, a travesty of fact to suggest as has been done on behalf of the Cabinet that it has the support of any section of Indian opinion behind it in its refusal to release political prisoners.

"The adjournment motion in the Assembly was interpreted as a vote of confidence by the Ministry, but even its supporters made it clear that they desired to release all political prisoners even though they might do anything which might turn the Cabinet out. Even the organ of the most communal section of Bengal Mussalmans declared that it desired the immediate release of political prisoners.

Desire of Muslims

"The sober and moderate Muslim majority of Bengal have the same desire, and further feel that the Cabinet by its attitude and action is unnecessarily creating discontent and tension and endangering the order and tranquillity of the province.

"It is now time that the progressive Muslim opinion of the country should express itself in unequivocal terms on this question. We are convinced that the Bengal Cabinet had first assumed office by unconditionally releasing all political prisoners. We have heard it said that in the early days of the present Cabinet the Ministers had on one occasion, when the then Governor was absent, unanimously decided to release all political prisoners. But later on when the Governor, Sir John Anderson, wanted the question to be reopened they went back on their first decision and submitted to the dictation of the Governor and his bureaucracy. The Cabinet had lost the Governor and his bureaucracy. The Cabinet had lost another chance of capturing public imagination when they released a large number of detenus through the intervention of Gandhiji. The detenus had to be released in the end, and the Cabinet by their hesitation and slowness only lost the credit which they would have otherwise won of vindicating their position by releasing all political prisoners and the extremely generous offer of Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose has gone a long way towards assuring them about a point on which they might, not unnaturally, feel some diffidence.

Mr. Bose's Assurance

"Mr. Bose has said that

'if the Bengal Ministry meet with opposition from H. E. the Governor of Bengal or the Government of India and if they resign over this issue, the Congress party will do all that is possible to prevent any other Cabinet from being formed and in no case will the Congress party think of stepping into the vacant offices. Further, if the present Ministry happen to lose the support of the European group as a result of the policy of immediate and unconditional release of the political prisoners, the Congress party will not try to take advantage of the situation and will not use it for the purpose of ousting the present Ministry from office.'

"Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose guarantees them their position, and this should enable them to stand up for a point of view which has secured a unanimity of Indian support.

"It is not necessary to talk of election pledges in this connection. All parties during elections pledged themselves to the repeal of repressive laws and release of political prisoners. But apart from political considerations, even on purely humanitarian grounds Mussalman public opinion must now express itself unequivocally on this point. We are confident that in spite of differences of political ideology, all Mussalmans will with one voice say that the political prisoners of Bengal must be released."—*A. P.*

"Congress Ministries Won't Resign on Politicals' Release Issue"

The view that the situation arising out of the hunger-strike by the political prisoners in Bengal did not warrant resignation on the part of all Congress ministries, was expressed by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, giving his reasons, in the course of a reply to an interrupter at a meeting, held under the auspices of the Bombay Provincial Congress Committee, on the 28th July.

While Pandit Nehru was addressing the meeting, a member from the audience heckled him as to why the Congress ministries should not resign on the issue of the release of political prisoners. Pandit Nehru retorted, "The Congress ministries will not resign. Why should they resign ?"

The Pandit observed :

"If we are strong, such a thing (*viz.*, the non-release of politicals) should never have happened. Because of our essential weakness in Bengal and in the country generally, such a thing has happened. What are we going to do ? The remedy is, 'let somebody else do something'."

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Satyagraha Resolved Upon If Politicals Are Not Released Within A Week

Sj. Subhas Chandra Bose announced at a vastly overcrowded meeting held at the Calcutta University Institute Hall on the 29th July that

this time when he met these hunger-striking prisoners in jails they told him that if any request was made to them to give up the hunger-strike without giving them definite assurance that their demands were going to be met, they would fail to comply with any such request. It was further pointed out by them that any request of that nature without any assurance that their demands were going to be met, would rather help Government than in any way helping their cause.

Addressing the vast gathering Sj. Bose appealed for ten thousand volunteers and a sum of Rs. 10,000 within a week for starting a satyagraha movement for securing the immediate and unconditional release of the political prisoners in the event of constitutional methods for securing their release proving unsuccessful.

Sj. Bose referred to Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's speech at Bombay on the question of release of political prisoners and pointed out that the people of Bengal should no longer have any delusion in their minds that the Congress Ministries were going to create any constitutional deadlock over this issue. In this matter of vital concern to Bengal he must stand on her own legs. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru remarked in his Bombay speech something like this that there was weakness in Bengal. It was for them to prove, remarked Sj. Bose, that Bengal was not weak, that Bengal knew how to depend on her own legs, and how to carry on a movement successfully (Applause). Let it be demonstrated by them that Bengal did not like going to others for help in this matter and that she did not like to be small to others by requesting them to help her. It must be proved by their action that Bengal did not like to be treated as a beggar (prolonged applause). Sj. Bose could, however, tell the audience that he had received this definite assurance that in the event of a Satyagraha movement being started in Bengal over this issue, at least ten thousand people from other provinces would be found ready to offer their services in making the movement a success.

Sj. Bose repeated his offer of co-operation to the Bengal Ministry in this matter and declared that they would wait for final decision of the Bengal Government on this question before launching the Satyagraha movement.

In response to Sj. Bose's appeal, Mr. Nauser Ali, ex-Minister, Government of Bengal, was the first to sign the Satyagraha pledge offering his services as a Satyagrahi volunteer of the Council of Action of the B.P.C.C. for securing the release of the political prisoners. Many others also signed the pledge at the meeting.

Subhas Babu's Offer to Bengal Ministry

Sj. Subhas Chandra Bose's offer to the Bengal ministry, given in full in the statement issued by the progressive Muslims of Bengal printed elsewhere, is both handsome and statesmanlike. After Sj. Bose's assurance the ministers should have no hesitation in releasing the political prisoners. By having to resign the issue of the release of the latter, if nec sary, they would not be losers from the worl point of view, while they would have support of their countrymen.

Gandhiji Advises Postponement of Satyagraha in South Africa

Gandhiji has issued the following sta ment on the proposed launching of pas resistance in South Africa on the 1st Augu

"I have been in telegraphic correspondence Dr. Dadoo, leader of passive resistance in South Af I have no hesitation in asking the Passive Resist Committee to postpone, for a time the proposed launc of the struggle on the 1st August. I do so because I some hope of an honourable settlement.

"I know that the Government of India as wel the British Government are trying to obtain relief have put myself in touch with the Ministers. In circumstances, I think a brief postponement of stru to be necessary.

"I am fully aware of the enthusiasm of the resis They have proved their mettle before and they will d again if it becomes necessary, but it is a code with pa resisters to seize every opportunity of avoiding resista if it can be done honourably. Every cessation in se of peace adds strength to real fighters.

"Let them remember that the Capetown Settle of 1914 was the outcome of cessation of struggle for sake of peace. I hope that the proposed cessation lead to a similar result.

"Should it unfortunately prove otherwise and sh the struggle begin, let Dr. Dadoo and his fellow resister know that whole India will be at their back."—*A. P.*

Congress President Meets Political Prisoners

Congress President Dr. Rajendra Pra and Sj. Mahadev Desai had about six ho interview with the hunger-striking politi prisoners in the Alipore and Dum-Dum j on the 29th July.

Dr. Rajendra Prasad on his return after terviewing the hunger-strikers being approa by the "United Press" said that there nothing to be issued to the press.

When the Congress President and Mahadev Desai came out of the Dum D Central Jail after two full hours' talk with hunger-strikers, Mr. Desai told the "Assoc Press" that they had conveyed Mahat Gandhi's message to the prisoners and supported it with all the force of their ment.

They were to meet the prisoners agai the 30th July.

Dr. Rajendra Prasad added that they posed to meet Sir Nazimuddin, Home Min Bengal, in this connection if the latter retu to Calcutta on the 30th July from Dacca.

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Asked what Mahatma Gandhi's message to the prisoners was, Mr. Desai said, "Mahatma's message is a simple one—it is an earnest request to the hunger-strikers to give up the fast and we have earnestly appealed to them to do so."

Hyderabad Reforms

Any elaborate criticism of the Hyderabad reforms must be as much lost labour as that undergne for producing them.

The Reforms Committee has described the constitutional position of the Ruler of the State in the following words :

"The head of the state represents the people directly in his own person, and his connection with them, therefore, is more natural and abiding than that of any passing elected representative. He is both the supreme head of the state and an embodiment of the peoples' sovereignty."

Hence it is that, in such polity, the head of the state not merely retains the power to confirm or veto any piece of legislation, but also enjoys a special prerogative to make and unmake his executive or change the machinery of government through which he meets the growing needs of his people. Such a sovereignty forms the basis on which our constitution rests and has to be preserved.

The Hyderabad Government state that they regard this declaration as fundamental.

Such being the autocratic foundation on which the superstructure is raised, it is no wonder the constitution is unworthy of serious consideration.

We do not know of any modern state in which there is either the reality or the semblance of representative government, of which the constitution rests on such a pompously stated absurd autocracy.

The Emperor of Japan belongs to the same race and stock and professes the same religion as the people of Japan. The Japanese believe that His Imperial Majesty is "at the heart of the Japanese nation and at the head of the Japanese state." He is known to his people as the Son of Heaven or Heavenly King. They also believe that "the Imperial Dynasty of Japan is the oldest reigning family in the world, Japanese history dating its earthly origin from 660 B.C."

The position of the dependent Nizam is in no respect like that of the Emperor of Japan. But his pretensions are greater than the real claim of the independent Emperor of Japan; and the Japanese people enjoy far greater rights and advantages than what the Nizam proposes to give to his subjects.

Another absurdity of the Hyderabad constitution is that its legislature is to have an equal number of Hindu and Musalman members. According to the census of 1931, which is the latest, the total population of Hyderabad is 14,436,148. Hindus number 12,176,727, and Muslims only 1,534,666. What can be more unjust and absurd than to give 15 lakhs of people as much representation as that to be given to 121 lakhs ? The reason given for the perpetration of this injustice is :

". . . the importance of the Muslim community in the state, by virtue of its historical position and its status in the body politic, is so obvious that it cannot be reduced to the status of a minority in the Assembly."

One of the useful functions of the Indian States is that most of them in all respects and some of the better ones in some respects serve as foils to show off the comparative merits of the constitution and administration of British India. The British Government of British India can say to their direct subjects : "Look here, how much superior *our* government is to that of your own rulers."

Indian newspapers have all along criticized the Government of India Act of 1935 for giving the very small community of Britishers in Bengal 25 seats out of a full house of 250. Yet there can be no question that the importance of the British community in India "by virtue of its historical position and its status in the body politic" is far greater than that of the Muslim community in Hyderabad. In fact there can be no comparison between the two. Britishers in Bengal are part of an independent people, Hyderabad Muslims are not. Britishers hold India by their own might. The Nizam, the head of the Hyderabad Muslims, is able to keep himself in his position by favour of the Paramount Power—that power keeps him on his *gadi*, and the Hyderabad Muslims owe their position and status to His Exalted Highness.

Such being the case, the British community in Bengal can now say to the critics of the Government of India Act of 1935 :

"We are in every respect far more important than the Hyderabad Muslims. If on the strength of what they call their historical position and status in the body politic, they can have half the seats in the Hyderabad legislature, we could have got in the Bengal Legislative Assembly at least 125 seats out of 250. Instead of that we have taken only 25, *i.e.*, one-fifth of that number. Following the illustrious example of our great predecessor, Lord Clive, may we not declare that we are surprised at our moderation ?"

Leaving aside the question of the British community in Bengal, one may say that, if in Kashmir the Hindus who are a small minority

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had been given an equal number of seats with the Muslims who form the vast majority, such an arrangement would have furnished a parallel to what has been decided for Hyderabad. But if that had been done. the entire Muslim population not only of Kashmir but of the rest of India besides, would have been up in arms and raised a terrific outcry !

The Sikhs are a larger proportion of the Panjab population than the Muslims are of Hyderabad and their historical importance is at least not less. But they have not got half the seats in the Panjab Legislature.

Much has been said in the Hyderabad Gazette Extraordinary announcing the reforms about representation on the basis of interests and joint electorates serving as antidotes to communalism. But after having perpetrated a glaring act of communal injustice by giving the Hindus one-eighth of the representation to which they are entitled, why indulge in the vain talk of combating communalism ? It sounds very much like hypocrisy.

" All bills passed by the Legislature should be of a recommendatory character. "

There is much more to say about the Hyderabad reforms. But having already given much space to them, we shall conclude by commenting on a few more points.

The elected element in the legislature is to be in a minority, though it is a minority of only one. We have already noted that all bills passed by the legislature are to be of a recommendatory character. As regards the powers of the legislature in general, we find that a long list of vital subjects is entirely excluded from the scope of its discussions and even as regards those which it will be allowed to discuss, its decisions will not be binding on the Government but only recommendatory.

No definite decision has been arrived at in the very important matter of the franchise.

The Arya Samajists and the Hindus had started and had been carrying on satyāgraha to establish their right to religious liberty. The *firman* of His Exalted Highness does not grant this liberty but sanctions the constitution of a Religious Affairs Committee to advise the Government on such memorials or petitions of any community or sect as may bring to its notice disabilities or restrictions in the performance of religious rites. Why could not the Nizam follow the example of the British Government in British India in this respect and grant his subjects outright as much religious liberty as we enjoy ? To leave the enjoyment of religious liberty practically to the mercy of an advisory committee is hardly satisfactory.

The press should be given as much freedom as it enjoys in British India, but it has not been assured such freedom.

The decision with regard to recruitment to the public services is an improvement on the existing conditions, but it cannot be said that it will certainly remove the grievances of the Hindus. The rules about public meetings of a political or communal character have been relaxed, but freedom of public meetings has not been granted. As regards freedom of association the information is given that no law exists in the state regulating the formation of associations. But that does not mean that they are or will be freely allowed, considering that the state will continue to be autocratically governed. It should have been expressly mentioned that there will be freedom of association.

Members returned by territorial constituencies, such as are to be found in all countries enjoying parliamentary government, are to be preferred to members representing economic interests. Why the latter have been preferred in the scheme is clear from the gibe at " professional politicians. " The Nizam wants " village Hampdens " without, of course any Hampdenism in them.

Literacy Campaign in Bihar

The Hon'ble Dr. Syed Mahmud, education minister of Bihar, deserves great credit for the efforts made in his province for the liquidation of illiteracy. Critics have said, indeed, that the results have not been commensurate with the fuss made. But assuming, without admitting, the truth of the criticism, it cannot be denied by the most hostile critic that remarkable results have been obtained during the year the scheme has been worked. We do not know whether the Bihar Govrnment has provided an adequate number of libraries, like those provided by the U. P. Government, in order to enable adults who have newly acquired literacy to keep up the habit of reading; they may otherwise fall back into illiteracy. The financial resources of the Bihar Government are much smaller than those of the U. P., but something can be and perhaps has been done in the direction pointed out.

We have no definite and reliable information as regards some aspects of the literacy campaign. What has been attempted and achieved in the direction of making Adibasi, Bengali and Oriya illiterates literate in their res-

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pective languages is not known. It has been hinted and it was in fact alleged at a meeting at Purulia last month in our presence that the campaign has been taken advantage of to make persons whose mother-tongue is not Hindi literate in Hindi instead of in their respective mother-tongues. Mr. Jimut Bahan Sen, a parliamentary secretary of the Bihar ministry, who was present at the meeting, said that the Bihar ministry had no such intention and that, if anything undesirable had been done, it was the work of over-zealous underlings.

The Bengali weekly *Sanjibani*, edited for half-a-century by the late Babu Krishna Kumar Mitra, gives in the course of an editorial note in its issue of the 13th July last the following statistics of illiterate Bengali-speaking persons in Manbhum whom, it is alleged, the Bihar Government has been trying to turn into Hindi-speaking persons by teaching them Hindi instead of Bengali :

Thana	Percentage
Topechanchi	100
Baghmara	75
Gobindapur	75
Toondi	90
Karkend	90
Jharia	90
Dhanbad	50

We do not know our contemporary's source of information. We have reproduced its figures, not for raising a controversy, or for giving those in Bihar who may be re-incarnations of the young man who told John Morley that his forte was invective, an opportunity to display their talents, but to enable the authorities to put a stop to undesirable activities, if any, or, if there be none, to contradict unfounded rumours.

Mahatma Gandhi has evinced anxiety to put a stop to provincialism. These seemingly but not really insignificant matters are a permanent source of provincial embitterment and should receive serious attention.

Efforts to make Hindi the lingua franca of India imply that those whose mother-tongue is not Hindi should learn it *in addition to their mother-tongues*, it does not imply that their mother-tongues should be suppressed and only Hindi is to be learnt by them instead.

Hindi-Urdu Medium of Instruction for Bengali Children in U. P.

We have read a long report submitted by the sub-committee appointed by the U. P. Bengali Association on the grievances of the Bengalis in U. P. created by the recent decision of the U. P. Government to make Hindi and Urdu the compulsory medium of instruction in schools. It begins by observing :

> "Owing to the recent decision of the U. P. Intermediate Board in making Urdu and Hindi as compulsory language in answering all questions except English in the High School Examination, the Bengalis of this Province have been put to great difficulty and inconvenience regarding the education of their children."

That Hindi-Urdu should be the medium of instruction in the vast majority of U. P. schools is only just and natural, as it is the mother-tongue of the vast majority of the U. P. population. But as Bengalis are a part of the *permanent* population of the Province and as they have a well developed mother-tongue and literature which they are entitled to cultivate (and as it is essentially necessary to do so to maintain indispensable marital and other relations with Bengal Bengalis), the school medium of instruction for their children should be Bengali. They are, no doubt, a small fraction of the U. P. population, but of the educated section of the population they are not an insignificant part. They do not, of course, want that separate schools should be established and teachers appointed at state expense for teaching their children through the medium of Bengali. What they want is that in schools founded and maintained by them—there are several such schools of very long standing in the U. P.—their children should be allowed to learn through the medium of Bengali and answer questions in public examinations in Bengali. There is no dearth of good text-books in Bengali and new ones may be written to satisfy new requirements. Bengali teachers and professors bcome examiners up to the highest U. P. University Examinations. They can be trusted to and will gladly set papers and examine answers in Bengali—without any remuneration if necessary.

Whether Bengali children have up to the present received instruction in any school in U. P. through Bengali is not a matter to which overmuch importance need be attached. As a matter of fact, they have done so in Bengali schools up to a certain standard. But even if they have not, Congress Government is expected to be better than the previous bureaucratic Government and to pay greater and more sympathetic attention to peoples' needs and desires.

If for any reason the U. P. Government be not able to accept the suggestion that Bengali children should be allowed to answer questions in Bengali instead of in Hindi-Urdu,

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we would draw attention to the proviso, which we have italicised, in the following Resolution of the U. P. Board of High School and Intermediate Examination :

"Candidates for the High School Examination should answer questions in Hindi or Urdu in all subjects other than English, *provided the Chairman of the Board or his nominee might at his discretion permit candidates to answer in English.*"

The proviso implies that some candidates will be allowed to answer in English. Perhaps it is meant for British and Anglo-Indian children, and justly so. We urge that the consideration shown to them should be extended to Bengali *and other* children also whose mother-tongue is not Hindi-Urdu, and that the permission be not left to one person's discretion to be used a short time or even a year or two before the examination is held. For, if he refuses permission, there would not be sufficient time left for the candidate to acquire an adequate knowledge of Hindi-Urdu to be able to answer questions in that language.

The decision arrived at by the U. P. Government is not necessary to make U. P. Bengalis Hindi-speaking; for they are and have been so from before it was arrived at. Bengali lawyers and doctors learn and use Hindi. Bengali Government servants whose duties require it have to learn and do learn the language.

Bengalis, wherever they may be in India, have to contract and maintain marital relations with Bengalis in Bengal and for that purpose knowledge of Bengali is required. The days when interprovincial marriages will be usual are a long way off.

It would not be right or just to require Bengali children to learn Bengali at home in addition to learning Hindi and English at school. Most Bengali parents in U. P. are not in a position, too, to provide them with private tutors to teach them Bengali at home.

Moreover, if Hindi-speaking children are to have the natural and valuable advantage and right of learning through the medium of their mother-tongue, there is no reason why Bengali children should be deprived of that advantage and right.

Besides Bengali, Hindi, Urdu and Assamese are recognised as media of teaching and examination for the Calcutta Matriculation Examination. That is Bengal's friendly gesture to her neighbours. We are sure the U. P. can make a similar gesture instead of a decision which cannot but be a source of permanent bitterness and estrangement.

What we plead for will not deprive Hindi-speaking children in the least of any facilities for receiving the highest education. It will benefit Bengali children without injuring other children.

Mahatma Gandhi is keen on removing all causes of inter-provincial misunderstanding. May we take the liberty to draw his attention to this subject? May we also earnestly request Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru to give some thought to it? And, of course, our appeal is meant for the U. P. ministry in the first instance.

Federation and The Princes

Latterly the rulers of the Indian States have shown a disposition to join the Federation. They have been given time till September next to arrive at a final decision.

The Calcutta Municipal Bill

The Calcutta Municipal Bill has passed both houses of the Bengal Legislature with all its anti-national, anti-democratic, anti-Hindu and pro-Imperialist features, and awaits the approval of the Governor.

De Valera Condemned I.R.A. Outrages

DUBLIN, July 27.

The bombing outrages in Britain were strongly condemned by Mr. de Valera in the Senate when, replying to the debate on a resolution demanding a Government statement "as to the justifiability and expediency of the bombing activities in Britain by Iresh citizens," he said, "We know what wrong has been done by the partition of Ireland. Unfortunately the Government of Eire is not in a position to remove the causes that have led to the unfortunate occurrences in England." There was no excuse for the bombings, Mr. de Valera added, and the Government of Eire had no sympathy with the bombings which had undoubtedly given the Eire Government a setback. He appealed to the people concerned to take into consideration the changed circumstances since the establishment of the Eire Government.

Mr. de Valera caused a sensation when he suggested as a remedy for removing the turmoil, which has embroiled the two countries, that those in the north numbering about 80,000, should be bought out, compensated and allowed to go elsewhere if they did not desire to come into an United Ireland.—*Reuter.*

While it is true that Mr. De Valera condemned the outrages, the second paragraph of the above message seems to imply that, if the remedy he suggested were not applied, the continuance of the outrages would be natural. Is that *ahimsā* of the Irish brand?

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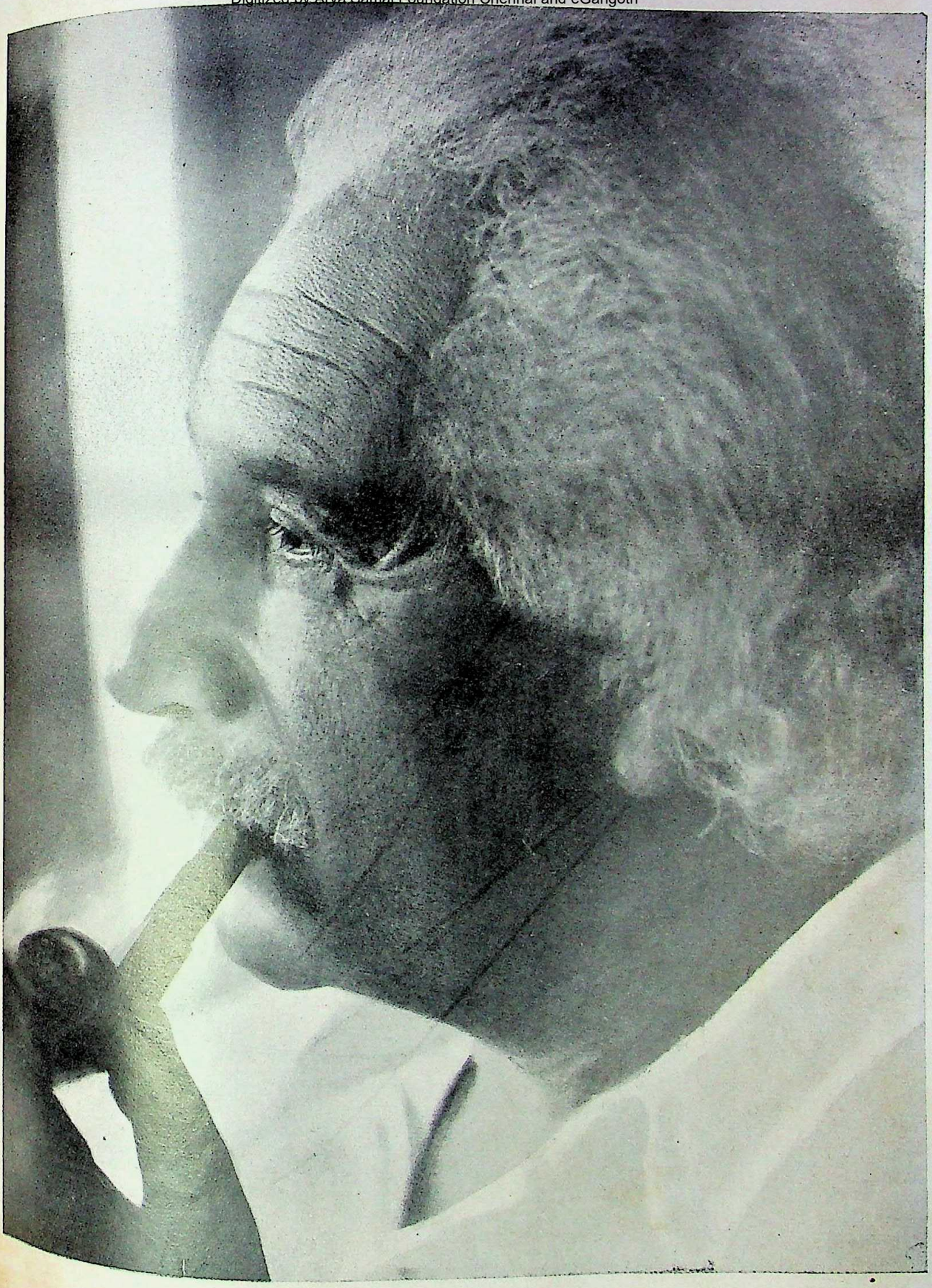

Jewish Frontier

Professor Albert Einstein
who has completed this year the sixtieth year of his life

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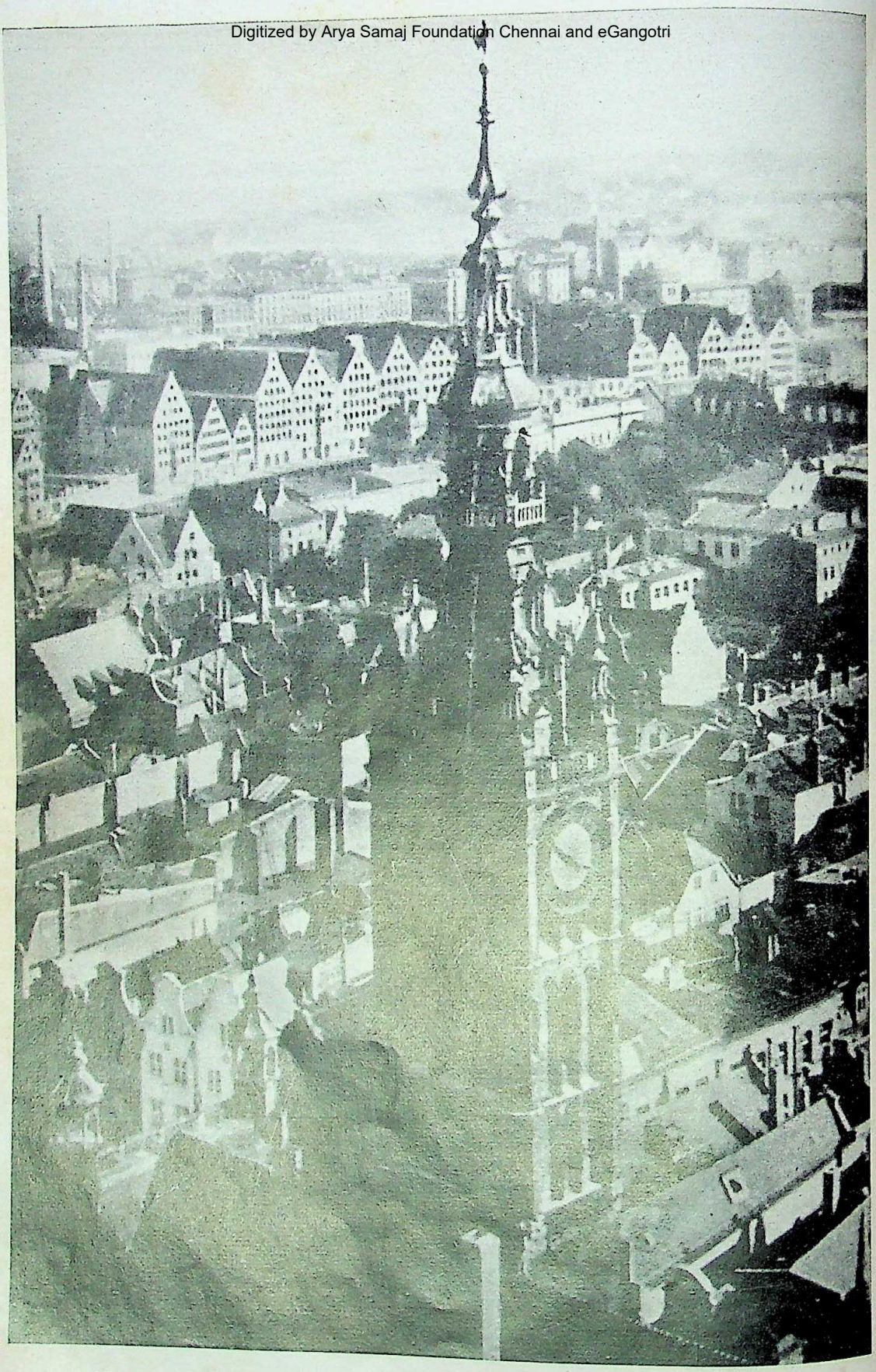

The tower of the Town Hall in Danzig containing the statue of the Polish King Sigismund Augustus

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ON THE BRINK

By Major D. GRAHAM POLE

Twenty-five years ago—on 28th June, 1914—Archduke Francis Ferdinand, the heir to the throne of Austria, was shot and killed at Serajevo and this act led directly to the Great War. Twenty years ago—on 28th June, 1919—the Peace of Versailles was signed, and everyone hoped that we had now entered an era of peace. Today armaments are being piled up at a rate never before dreamt of and every minute of the day sees tremendous sums of money being poured out on preparations for works of destruction—guns instead of butter. Truly the soldiers won the War and the politicians lost the Peace.

Last month, I pointed out that the European situation had not worsened. Signor Mussolini and Herr Hitler were then the two on whose decision the issue of peace or war seemed to rest. Now it is not merely the Berlin-Rome Axis that we have to consider, but the Berlin-Rome-Tokio triangle; and at the moment of writing Tokio seems to be the danger point. Doubtless Japan is getting every encouragement both from Berlin and Rome to try to bring about the dispersal of the British Fleet. If it were not for the European position and the necessity of keeping the greater part of our Fleet in European waters, as a deterrent to the two Dictators, Japan would never dare to take up the attitude and indulge in such outrages as she has been doing—to the great joy of Berlin and Rome. But Japan may very easily overstep the mark and achieve the almost impossible task of bringing America and her Fleet into action against her. Under these conditions the British Fleet could remain more or less concentrated in the West while America, with the British warships that could be spared for the East, would, along with the French, render Japan's position very precarious.

Japan's financial position is growing steadily worse, and the Chinese war, that is not a war, is not only not proceeding favourably to her but is taking from her a very heavy toll in men and money, without any very clear indication of an adequate return for such heavy expenditure. She is only too cognizant of the fact that Russia is on her border and that, in any general conflagration, Russia could and would over-run Manchukuo and threaten her communications in China. Indeed fighting has been going on on the borders of Mongolia and Manchukuo for over a month now and, although both sides claim to have had considerable successes, comparatively little is said about the losses on their own side.

In Europe, the Danzig situation is still a danger point. It is no better than when I wrote a month ago. But Poland's firm attitude has prevented Hitler trying to bring off one of his bloodless victories there—so far. He is anxious to avoid war if possible and he realises now that Chamberlain's "appeasement" policy will not be tolerated any longer by this country so that his chances of another Munich have receded—possibly never to return. Any attack on Danzig now would be an attack on Poland, and that spells War.

The German people are already living on substitutes for butter and the other necessaries of life. One can introduce ration cards for food during a war, but it is difficult to begin a war on ration cards and substitutes. Germany, of course, relies on a lightning stroke and a short, intensive, victorious attack. That *might* have been possible last September. Today, it is absolutely impossible and bombs on Berlin—which are not only possible but very probable—would quickly undermine any will to war which Hitler, with his propaganda, might try to arouse. At present, that propaganda is being concentrated—and we are told with much success—on making the German people believe that they are being "encircled" by various nations led by Great Britain and France. Mr. Chamberlain and Lord Halifax have been at great pains to deny this encirclement. But why? Surely, it is a fact that we are trying to encircle Germany and Italy. The whole point of our encirclement, however, is not so that we may attack them, but so that we may be in a position to ward off any attack they may make on peaceful nations. Germany and Italy would be welcomed into the community of nations that are being bound together to prevent unprovoked aggression, but in their present mood and under their present leadership there is little chance of their joining.

For about three months now we have been trying—or we are supposed to have been trying—to arrange a pact with Russia. At the moment of writing we have not yet succeeded. The whole proceedings are shrouded in secrecy. There is no doubt that such a pact is desired, as an insurance policy for peace, by the great majority of the people in this country who simply cannot under-

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stand—as the principles have been agreed on—why the completion of the formulæ should take such an unconscionable time.

But the nigger in the wood pile during all these weary weeks is not so mysterious a figure after all. It is, in fact, our own Mr. Chamberlain! The Russians have found it very hard indeed to believe in his eleventh-hour conversion to the Eden policy of resistance to the Dictators. During the past three years they have seen him resolutely shutting his eyes to German and Italian intervention in Spain and, in his answers to questions in the House of Commons, throwing dust in other people's eyes also. They have seen him at Munich accept the German thesis concerning the Sudetenland—and, in so doing, open the road for a German advance through Czecho-Slovakia to Russia and the Ukraine. In their eyes he has shown himself more than half a Fascist. They do not doubt that he and his friends regard a Russian alliance, at best, as a necessary evil. (Only the other day, Sir Francis Lindley, former Ambassador to Japan, was telling a meeting in the House of Commons that British prestige would suffer less if the negotiations with Russia failed than if they succeeded.) They suspect he would like to divert German aggression towards Russia. That is why they have been so obdurate on the subject of a Baltic, a water-tight, guarantee. In the words of *Pravda*, their official organ:

> "The Soviet is ready to meet Britain more than half-way if assured that Mr. Chamberlain will not cry later 'it was a misunderstanding' and leave Russia to hold the baby."

It is mistrust of Mr. Chamberlain, equally, that lies behind the Baltic unwillingness to accept a triple guarantee from Britain, France and Russia. Czecho-Slovakia relied on Britain, France and Russia—and, at Munich, Czecho-Slovakia was out-manœuvred by Mr. Chamberlain. Whatever, the apologists have to say for Munich, whatever hand-washing they indulge in on the plea that Britain had never given a guarantee to Czecho-Slovakia (they forget the guarantee laid on all member States by the League Covenant), the fact remains that Czecho-Slovakia put her trust in Britain when she agreed to accept the Runciman mission. This is the only lesson that Munich has for the Baltic States. They see that Czecho-Slovakia's contact with Britain drew on her destruction. Situated as they are, they are of course at the mercy of either Germany or Russia. At the moment they are in a state of precarious cordiality with Germany, entering into Non-Aggression Pacts and receiving visits from military missions and so on. German penetration is at work there plainly. But they are not going to invite the Germ wrath to come by accepting a guarantee agai German aggression. "We are not like Czech Slovakia," they proclaim somewhat loud "We have not got any dangerous guarantee

By the time, this reaches India, howeve I feel sure that the Peace Front will have bee established with Russia. During the past week speeches have been made, answers have bee given in the House of Commons, that might hav been construed as a beginning of a return t "appeasement." But all that is finished no Opinion has suddenly hardened in this countr Herr Hitler and his worst friend Goebbels hav finally over-reached themselves. The Briti Note to Germany in reply to the denouncemen of the Anglo-German Naval Agreement; th speech of Lord Halifax at the Royal Institute o International Affairs; the endorsement which i has received from all shades of political opinio in the country; the Manifesto to the Germa people which has just been issued by the Labou Party—all these show that the country is no of one mind in its conviction that any furthe act of aggression on the part of the Dictato will have to be resisted even if resistance mean WAR.

Why has opinion suddenly crystalised? I is difficult to pick out the psychological moment but some time during the past week it happened Somehow we woke up to two intolerable realities —that in the East as in the West the aggressors expect to dictate to us what must be our foreign policy. Japan lets it be known that we must "co-operate" with her in her campaign over China if we expect to remain in China; Germany actually suggests that the *raison d'etre* of the Anglo-German Naval Agreement was that we should allow her a free hand in Europe in exchange for our permitted naval supremacy!

What an unreal world the aggressors have made, how great is their delusion . . . Herr Hitler speaks of the new Germany enduring for a thousand years. Herr Goebbels boasts of a new culture. But the new Germany and the new culture will not last beyond their life-time. The reason it will not last is that it has no roots no continuity, no organic life at all. The Nazis do not believe in the slow processes of growth They believe in short-cuts. They do not believe in keeping faith, they think they can do without it. Just as they do not want friends, they want vassals. And they seem to think that all the laws of the universe, all the consequences of their actions, will be suspended in their favour What an amazing state of affairs it is, that such a point of view can deceive the German people Consider for a moment this extract from a book

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which has just appeared in England. It is called *Germany's Revolution of Destruction* and is the work of Herr Herrmann Rauschning, a former friend and associate of Herr Hitler.

"Hitler had told me that morning what was his view of the value of treaties. He was ready, he said, to sign anything. He was ready to guarantee any frontier and to conclude a non-aggression pact with anyone . . . . . Anyone who was so fussy that he had to consult his conscience about whether he could keep a pact was a fool. Why not please other people and ease one's own position by signing pacts, if the other people thought that got them anywhere or settled anything? He could conclude any treaty in good faith and yet be ready to break it in cold blood the next day, if that was in the interest of the future of Germany."

The last clause of the foregoing, of course, begs the whole question. Will the German people never tell him that? To Herr Hitler the interest of Germany means only one thing —expansion. At first he proclaimed that he only wanted Germans in the Reich. Next he took Czecho-Slovakia and said it was part of Germany's living-space. Now he is saying that he wants the return of all the territory that ever belonged to the German Empire . . . Suggesting that the Prussian Empire is the same as the Holy Roman Empire which it never was. Danzig, for instance, has a much older history as a Free City than Prussian Germany has as an Empire.

Herr Rauchning's book, of course, is not allowed inside Germany. But every German knows now that Herr Hitler is a self-proclaimed liar. It was possible to deceive them over Austria, not quite so easy to convince them that it was necessary to annex the weeping Czechs (as the German soldiers must have reported to them). But the inescapable revelation came to them when the German soldiers returned from Spain. Herr Hitler then told the German people for the first time that he had been intervening in Spain since July, 1936. And every German who cared to do so could recall that on August 9, 1936, the German charge d'affaires in London gave the British Government a formal assurance that "no war material was being sent or would be sent to Franco's forces from Germany and that German warships would not take any action which could be interpreted as giving support to the rebels." And that on August 24, 1936, Germany announced her adherence to the Non-Intervention Agreement.

Herr Hitler, perhaps it should be added, on the principle that two wrongs make one right, told the German people that he had decided to help General Franco "to the same degree . . . as the rest of the world lent its support to Spain's internal enemies." The Germans can make what they like of that. But in the interests of historical truth it is, I think, worthwhile drawing attention to a question put by Miss Eleanor Rathbone in the House of Commons. She asked the Prime Minister whether there was any evidence of substantial military intervention in Spain by the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics prior to mid-October, 1936. And the answer was, "No, Sir." So that, as Miss Eleanor Rathbone points out, disposes of the charge repeatedly made by pro-Franco speakers and writers that Russian military intervention preceded and provoked German and Italian intervention. On Herr Hitler's own evidence, the Germans were there in July, 1936.

But the strangest thing of all about this German intervention in Spain is how it could have been kept secret in Germany. (The Italians never made a secret of their intervention. They contented themselves with the fiction that their legions were "volunteers.") How is it possible to take thousands of men away from their homes, over a period of there years, without their people at home knowing where they are and what they are doing? This strange thing, of itself, is evidence of the terror that is paramount in Germany. The Germans no longer act like reasonable beings. Do they believe everything they hear—or nothing? Herr Goebbels' propaganda certainly has the queerest, the most self-contradictory, effect. At one and the same time the Germans are invited to believe that (*a*) Britain is decadent and powerless to resist; (*b*) Britain is trying to "encircle" them. How can *both* these things be true? Is it not the case, as Lord Halifax said in his speech, that not only are such assertions untrue, but the people who make them know them to be untrue? As Mr. Winston Churchill pointed out, the encirclement can be broken at any time by Germany joining it.

India must have heard with interest that speech which was made by her former Viceroy. What a good speech, what a classic pronouncement it seemed! What worlds away from the temporising and fantasies of Non-Intervention and Appeasement. At last the English people were given something to chew upon. As I listened to it, it seemed to me that just as the City of London appropriates Mr. Chamberlain as their particular Prime Minister, so the Universities at their rarest and best might speak through the voice of Lord Halifax. Why has he been so long in eclipse?

The prolonged eclipse of Lord Halifax is little short of disaster. Can there be any doubt that if he had made such a speech ten weeks ago, at the outset of the Russian negotiations, they would by now have been concluded? But

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instead he has wasted time playing second-fiddle in the Appeasement orchestra (or at any rate from time to time playing a tune that sounded to some very like Appeasement). Why again, at Geneva this summer, did he refuse to support Dr. Wellington Koo's appeal for help in China's struggle against Japan? The New Zealand High Commissioner, it will be remembered, wholeheartedly supported the Chinese appeal—as did Russia.

The Chinese delegate asked very little of Geneva. He wanted an international committee set up to enquire into the Japanese bombing of Chinese civilian populations. He asked the Council to recommend member States to give financial and material aid to China and restrict their imports of Japanese goods. Above all, he asked them to stop the export of armaments to Japan. Yet Lord Halifax could not agree to these proposals—pleading the present circumstances and the heavy responsibilities resting upon his Government in other parts of the world. Strange reasoning! Are we to believe that he and his Government have only just waked up to the fact that Japan in the East and Germany in the West are the two-headed menace that threatens us all?

Britain and the United States, it is startling to realise, are the principal exporters of armaments to Japan. The figures have just been published in New York. Last year Japan obtained from her Axis allies only 8.6 per cent of her war needs. But no less than 57 per cent of her total war imports came from the United States and the Philippines. While Great Britain and the Empire accounted for 20.6 per cent. These figures have been brought out by a Chinese expert working at the Bookings Institute—and he further points out that of all the Great Powers, Soviet Russia alone sold no war materials to Japan. On the other hand, Germany is shipping more arms and munitions to China, through Singapore, than any other nation!

What queer traders are these armament-makers, but how much queerer are their Governments! As everyone is aware controversy is raging now in the United States on the issue whether or not they shall permit the sale of armaments to belligerents in war time. The Roosevelt Administration is anxious to allow the sale on a cash and carry basis because such a basis, by reason of Britain's command of the seas, would favour the democracies. And the democracies are considerably handicapped owing to the quantities of war material that fell into Germany's lap when she seized Czecho-Slovakia. Well, the United States might make a beginning by easing the handicap under which China is labouring. And we, while we consider the best means to relieve the blockade of Tientsin, might take steps to ensure that no future British armaments shall not be used by those who threaten Britain. Why did Lord Halifax decline to agree to the Chinese proposals? It is to be hoped that the Government has thrown off the paralysis that obsessed it for so long—according to which the Dictators might do as they chose, but for us to take any positive action would plunge the world in war. Must we continue to export arms to Japan? Must we continue to buy Japanese goods, thereby giving her the currency with which to buy more armaments?

At the moment of writing, the air is full of rumours. Yesterday, a poster announced that Mr. Churchill and Mr. Eden were joining the Cabinet. That of itself would impress Herr Hitler that we meant business. And best of all would it be if at the same time Sir John Simon and Sir Samuel Hoare dropped out. Our two disastrous Foreign Secretaries. Could the revolution in our foreign policy be better underlined than by their departure? Commenting on this yesterday, a friend remarked that if the Arch-Apostle of Appeasement, Mr. Chamberlain, were to go also, the Russian Agreement would be a certainty. But of course he must remain. We cannot do without the vast numbers of Conservatives who "think" whatever their leader thinks.

The Conservatives, we are told, are preparing for a General Election in October. If the issue were not so serious we could laugh till we split at their complacency. For, they are going nap on the assumption that Mr. Chamberlain will have averted a world war—and this is to be the chief plank in their programme. The General Election will take place a week before the Municipal Elections, so if Mr. Chamberlain has saved the peace he ought to be able to save the Conservative Party for quite a long time to come.

But of course the peace, if it is saved, will not have been saved by any one Party. It will have been saved by the men outside the Government no less than by the men within (who could not see the danger until it scorched them and are themselves responsible for bringing us within a hairbreadth of war). It is not only Lord Halifax's speech, it is the Labour Manifesto joined with it—and together, please Heaven, they will convince the German Government that we are united and in earnest.

London,
3rd July, 1939

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LITERACY IN BENGAL IN EARLY BRITISH PERIOD

By A. N. BASU

In an address given at the Royal Institute of International Affairs in 1931 Gandhiji had stated that today India was more illiterate than it was fifty or hundred years ago, because the British Administrators when they came to India, instead of taking hold of things as they were, began to root them out.

Gandhiji had based his statement on the evidence furnished by Adam's *Reports on Vernacular Education in Bengal and Bihar (1835-38)* and Leitner's *History of Education in the Punjab since Annexation and in 1882.*

In a series of lectures before the Institute of Education, London, which have been recently published under the title *Some Aspects of Indian Education Past and Present* (Oxford University Press, 1939), Sir Philip Hartog, well-known in this country, has tried to prove that Gandhiji's conclusions were erroneous and that they were based on a wrong reading of the data and also that some of the statements made in the two authorities referred to above, need not be taken literally and seriously. He has attempted

"to remove, if possible, once for all the imaginary basis for assertions not infrequently made in India that the British Government systematically destroyed the indigenous system of elementary schools, and with it a literacy which the schools are presumed to have created."

One of the main conclusions of Sir Philip is that Adam's statement regarding '1,00,000 schools' was a legend rather than a reality.

In this short paper, I have tried to examine this conclusion of Sir Philip Hartog and discuss the problem as far as the evidence supplied by Adam's Reports are concerned. I have also drawn on other reports. But I have refrained from discussing the statements of Leitner, because I have not yet had the time to examine all the relevant matters relating to that.

The evidence in support of widespread literacy in India in the early years of British rule is supplied by the number of schools which existed at that time; but Sir Philip Hartog considers this evidence as unsatisfactory. He thinks it likely that there was wastage in these schools and due to that wastage these schools failed to produce literacy and hence the number of schools could hardly be a true index of the spread of literacy in the country.

One of the causes of the present-day wastage in the primary system of education is the poverty of the people. In those days those who were poor did not at all send their children to school. So there was no premature withdrawal and consequent wastage. As Adam mentions it, it was customary in those days to keep the children for about five years in the village *pathshalas;* the curriculum was simple; all emphasis was on reading, writing and elementary Arithmetic. So it would not be unfair to assume that the children did learn to read and write as a result of these years of schooling. Hence there could be hardly any wastage in the elementary schools existing in the pre-British days. So there is no reason why the number of schools would not serve as an index to the spread of literacy.

The question then is, has there been any diminution in the number of schools? Sir Philip Hartog's implication is that there has been no such diminution, on the contrary, he holds, the number of schools and scholars and consequently the percentage of literacy has increased under the British rule; but the following statements prove otherwise.

"In many villages where formerly there were schools, there are now none and in many others where there were large schools, now only a few children of the most opulent are taught, others being unable from poverty to attend, or to pay what is demanded." (Extracts from the Report of A.D. Campbell, Esq., the Collector of Bellary, dated Bellary, August 17, 1823; pp. 503-504 of the Report from Select Committee on the Affairs of the East India Company, Vol. I, 1832).

"In at least six villages that I visited, I was told that there had been *recently* Bengali schools which were discontinued, because the masters could not gain a livelihood" (Adam's Report, p. 111).

Incidentally it is interesting to note that the Collector of Bellary from whose Report I have quoted, adduced the following reasons for the explanation of the decay of learning:

"I am sorry to state that this is ascribable to the gradual but general impoverishment of the country. The means of the manufacturing classes have been of late years greatly diminished by the introduction of our own English manufactures in lieu of the Indian cotton fabrics. The removal of many of our troops from our own newly subsidized allies has also, of late years, affected the demand for grain; the transfer of the capital of the country from the native government and their officers, who liberally expended it in India, to Europeans, restricted

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by law from employing it even temporarily in India, and daily draining it from the land has likewise tended to this effect, which has not been alleviated by less rigid enforcement of the revenue due to the State. The greater part of the middling and lower classes of the people are now unable to defray the expenses incident upon the education of their children as soon as their tender limbs are capable of the smallest labour." (*Op. cit.*)

This then was the origin of wastage of which we hear so much in these days.

Sir Philip Hartog himself quoted instances of the widespread belief in the existence of a very larger number of schools in the days of the early British rule. Here is another such instance. In his evidence before the Select Committee John Sullivan, who had served in India for many years, said :

"There is a schoolmaster and village schools in almost every village in India, but the education they are enabled to give is of a very confined nature." (Report of the Select Committee, 1832, p. 65).

The following passages in Adam's first report are also of interest in this connection. Speaking of the district of Hughly he states :

"The indigenous elementary schools amongst Hindoos in this district are numerous and they are divisible into two classes; first, those which derive their principal support from the patronage of a single wealthy family; and secondly, those which are destitute of such special patronage, and are dependent upon the general support of the native community in the town or village in which they are established. The former are the most numerous, there being scarcely a village without one or more of them" (p. 39).

"The indigenous elementary schools amongst the Mussalmans are for the most part private places of instruction to which a few select pupils are admitted, . . . it was a rare thing to find an opulent farmer or head of a village who had not a teacher in his employment for that purpose. This class, however, is alleged to have dwindled away and scarcely any such schools are now found to exist" (p. 40).

What then about the 1,00,000 schools in Bengal that Adam speaks of ? Was it a myth as Sir Philip Hartog maintains, or had they substantial basis ?

It cannot be doubted that the statistics Adam provides in his third report do not bear out the statement he made in his first report of the existence of one lakh of schools in Bengal in those days, a statement which he reiterates (*cf.* p. 19) and which he feels were confirmed.

Perhaps the explanation of the apparent discrepancy between his earlier conclusion and his later statistics lies in the fact that as Lord Minto stated in his Minute dated 6th March, 1811, education was in a state of progressive decay among the people and the number of the educated people was fast on the decrease.

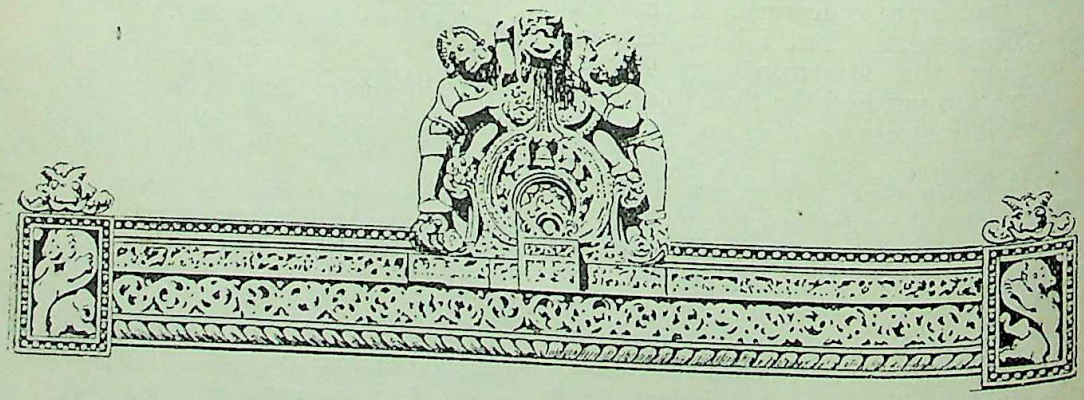
In one place Adam tries to explain the inaccuracy in his statistics by stating that

"the greater attention given by Europeans to the Mohameddan than to Hindoo languages and literature combined with the unobtrusive and retiring character of learned Hindoos, sometimes leads the public functionary to overlook institutions of Hindoo origin" (p. 36).

It is then evident that in the thirties there were surely not as many schools as there were immediately before that period; later statistics however do not disprove the claim that there was hardly a village, great or small, throughout the British territories, in which there was not at least one school and in large villages more.

Even Adam mentions that there were villages with more than one school (*cf.* Adam's Report, Long's edition, p. 164).

From the above facts a deduction may naturally follow that just before the British rule the spread of literacy was greater than it was in the period which followed. In the absence of accurate contemporary statistical records such a deduction cannot but be in the nature of a generalized statement.



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EMERSON AND THEODORE PARKER

By J. T. SUNDERLAND

In a previous article we pointed out that, while the influence of Dr. Channing's religious thought appears in the writings of many of the younger men of his day, it was in Emerson and in Theodore Parker that the greatness of his inspiration found most adequate expression.

Theodore Parker was one of the group of friends who, as Emerson tells us, "began to be drawn together by sympathy of studies and aspiration" and "from time to time spent an afternoon at each other's houses in a serious conversation,"—thus forming what was afterward called the Transcendental Club. Emerson writes, "Theodore Parker was our Savonarola, excellent scholar, in frank and affectionate communication with the best minds of his day, yet the Tribune of the people, and the stout reformer to urge and defend every cause of humanity with and for the humblest of mankind."

He was born in Lexington, Massachusetts, and was the grandson of the Captain Parker who commanded the colonists at the battle of Lexington.

After a course in Liberal Arts and Theology at Harvard University, he became a Unitarian minister, settling first over a small church in West Roxbury. There he attracted some attention as a young man who read and studied much, who was independent in his thinking and who occassionally said and wrote things a little too liberal to please his more conservative ministerial brethren.

In 1841 Parker delivered in South Boston a sermon on "The Permanent and Transient in Christianity" which at once made him famous. It stands with Emerson's Divinity School Address for its powerful liberalizing influence upon religious thought in America,—though its immediate effect was to start a bitter controversy between the conservative and the radical thinkers of the day.

As result of the fame which this address gave him, he received an urgent call to Boston. Here he had a career of fourteen years of great and ever-growing influence, preaching first to hundreds in the Melodeon Hall and then, in Music Hall, to thousands. Besides speaking in Boston every Sunday to the largest congregation in America, he lectured all over the North, fighting a mighty battle against slavery and in support of other reforms. Of his work in the cause of anti-slavery, Frothingham says, "Probably no one—not Garrison, not Phillips himself, did more to awaken and enlighten the conscience of the North."

At last, breaking down in health, he went to Italy in search of recovery, but died in Florence, May 10, 1860, and was buried in the little Protestant Cemetery, near the graves of Mrs. Browning and Walter Savage Landor. On the monument which marks his grave is the following inscription :

> "His name is engraved in marble,
> His virtues in the hearts of those he helped to free from slavery and superstition."

The friendship between Theodore Parker and Emerson began early in Parker's career. Emerson's Divinity School Address made a profound impression upon Parker. After listening to it, he wrote in his diary : "It was the most inspiring strain I ever listened to,—so beautiful, so just, so true, and terribly sublime." A little later he gave a lecture in Concord and spent an evening with Emerson, which he called a great event in his life. During, his ministry in West Roxbury, he often walked to Concord for a day with Emerson, which was always a source of inspiration to him.

In an essay dated 1849, we find Parker writing of Emerson : "The culture of Emerson is cosmopolitan. He trusts himself, he trusts man, he trusts God. Hence he is serene; nothing disturbs the even poise of his character, and he walks erect. Nothing impedes him in his search for the true, the lovely, and the good. He has not written a line which is not conceived in the interest of mankind. No faithful man is too low for his approval and encouragement; no faithless man too high and popular for his rebuke. Even Milton, great genius as he was, and great architect of beauty, has not added so many thoughts to the treasury of the race; no, nor been the author of so much loveliness. Emerson is a man of genius such has never appeared before in America, and but seldom in the world. No English writer, I think, is so original."

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It is easy to understand the mutual admiration and life-long affection between these two great men. Their philosophy of life and their ideals were essentially the same. Both were deeply religious in their different ways. Both were earnest reformers,—religious, social and political,—but by methods which often seemed opposite. Both were daring fighters; Parker with the mighty spear of a Goliath; Emerson with the often still more effective sling of a David. Externally, two men could hardly be more unlike, but many who knew them have commented upon their inner likeness. Said Edwin D. Mead, "Emerson was Parker writing books. Parker was Emerson preaching in a pulpit." Said William C. Gannett: "What Emerson uttered without plot or plan, Theodore Parker elaborated to a system. What Emerson did gently, 'an iconoclast without a hammer, who took down our idols from their pedestals so tenderly that it seemed like an act of worship,' Theodore Parker did as a strong son of thunder."

Emerson himself saw perhaps more clearly the differences between his friend's way of life and his own than he did the similarity in their thoughts and ideals. Immediately after Parker's death, Emerson wrote of him in his Journal: "Theodore Parker has filled up all his years and days and hours; a son of the energy of New England, restless, eager, manly, brave, early old, contumacious, clever. I can well praise him at a spectator's distance, for our minds and methods were unlike—few people more unlike. . . . He sacrificed the future to the present, was willing to spend and be spent; felt himself to belong to the day he lived in, and had too much to do than that he should be careful for fame. He used every day, hour and minute; he lived to the latest moment, and his character appeared in the last moments with the same control as in the day of his strength."

At a meeting held in Music Hall, Boston, in commemoration of Parker, Emerson spoke of this honored friend as follows:

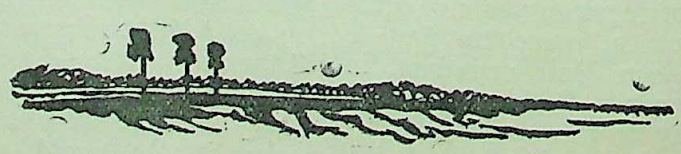
"Theodore Parker was a son of the soil, charged with the energy of New England, strong, eager, inquisitive of knowledge, of a diligence that never tired, upright, of a haughty independence, yet the gentlest of companions; with decided opinions and plenty of power to state them; rapidly pushing his studies so far as to leave few men qualified to sit as his critics. . . . It is plain to me that he has achieved a historic immortality here; that he has so woven himself, in these few years, into the history of Boston that he can never be left out of your annals. It will not be in the Acts of City Councils, nor of obsequious Mayors, nor in the State-house, the proclamations of Governors, with their failing virtue—failing them at critical moments—that coming generations will study what really befell; but in the plain lessons of Theodore Parker, in this Music Hall, in Faneuil Hall, or in Legislative committee-rooms, that the true temper and authentic record of these days will be read.

"The vice charged against America is the want of sincerity in leading men. It does not lie at his door. He never kept back the truth for fear to make an enemy.

* * * * *

"His ministry fell in a political crisis; in the years when Southern slavery broke over its old banks, made new and vast pretensions, and wrung from the weakness or treachery of Northern people fatal concessions in the Fugitive Slave Bill and the repeal of the Missouri Compromise. Two days, bitter in the memory of Boston, made the occasion of his most remarkable discourses. He kept nothing back. In terrible earnest he denounced the public crime, and meted out to every official, high and low, his due portion. It was his great service to freedom. . . . Ah, my brave brother! it seems as if, in a frivolous age, our loss were immense and your place cannot be supplied.

"The sudden and singular eminence of Mr. Parker, the importance of his name and influence, are the verdict of his country to his virtues. We have few such men to lose. Amiable and blameless at home, feared abroad as the standard-bearer of liberty, taking all the duties he could grasp, and more, refusing to spare himself, he has gone down in early glory to his grave, to be a living and enlarging power wherever learning, wit, honest valor and independence are honored."



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MAHARAJA RANJIT SINGH

A Study

By GIRISH PRASAD MATHUR, M.A.

Just a century ago died the lion of the Punjab, the statesman, the warrior, the idol of the Sikhs—Ranjit Singh. Ranjit Singh lived to play a magnificent role in history at a time when the British arms were gloriously successful in Europe and India alike. Napoleon in Europe and the Marathas in India were crushed by 1820 and the tentacles of British Imperialism threatened the entire world. For full 40 years by dint of his tact and insight Ranjit Singh saved the Punjab from being swallowed up by the all-absorbing British arms. Following in the wake of the Maratha conquest, the Punjab would have been certainly annexed by the British 30 years earlier than 1849 when it was actually done, had there been no Ranjit Singh. Thus Ranjit Singh occupies a very important place in Indian History, he being the last and the most successful Indian to effectively check during his life-time a portion of India from becoming red. Not only did he save the Punjab from the British but also through diplomacy, cunning and dissimulation, through a policy of blood and iron, he checked the powerful Afghans under Dost Mohammad from conquering the Punjab and the unruly border tribes from plundering it. More, he saved the Punjab from getting permanently cut off from the Indian Empire. Afghanistan was a portion of Indian Empire but once it became independent it has continued to be so down to the present day. If Ranjit had not risen in the Punjab the probability was that Sindh, the N.-W. F.P. and the Punjab would have been a part of Afghanistan today. Ranjit Singh is important in other respects also. He found the Punjab at the opening of the 19th century full of discordant elements —a mere geographical expression; the Muslims were consuming themselves in mutual rancours; the twelve Sikh Misls were fighting amongst each other under petty chiefs inspired by political ambitions instead of religious fervour that had spent itself. He left Punjab an organised and homogeneous kingdom by destroying the Misls, conquering Multan in 1818, Kashmir in 1819, Attock in 1813, Peshawar in 1834, and placing all under his absolute rule; brought the scattered people

Maharaja Ranjit Singh

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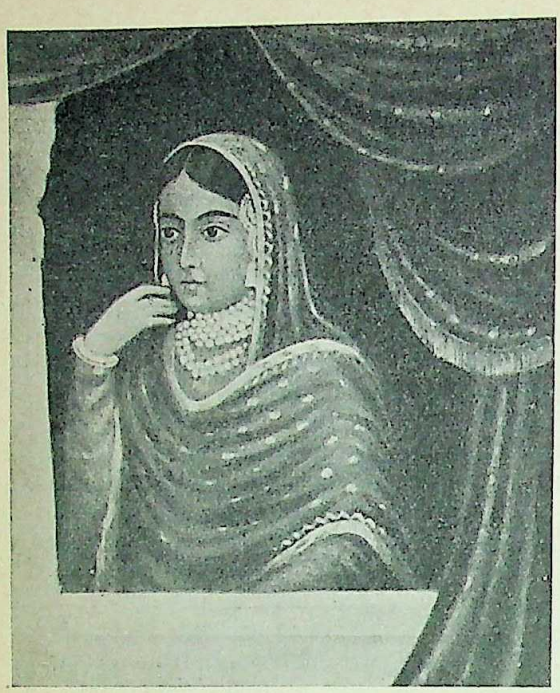

Maharani Jhindan, Maharaja Ranjit Singh's youngest wife

of the Punjab under a uniform and consistent system of Government; removed the last traces of aliens from within the borders of the Punjab. He converted the Punjab from a theocratic into a secular State; gave it a workable and efficient civil administration; conferred upon it a splendid army trained by European officers (in a single generation he raised his army from less than 8,000 untrained troops to a magnificent force of 75,000 men), and thus directed into proper channels the misplaced energy of the Punjabis. He furnished Indian nationalism with what it greatly needs—a tradition of strength and left behind a heritage of Sikh prowess, so advantageously utilized by the British from time to time.

Such was Ranjit Singh and such his achievements which this article is meant to recall after a hundred years. The European writers are all praise for him. He has been compared with Mohammad Ali of Egypt, Frederick the Great of Prussia and Oliver Cromwell of England. Jacquemont calls him "Bonaparte in miniature." Even Griffin who is generally hostile to Ranjit has adopted this comparison. Osborne in his book, *Court and Camp of Ranjit Singh,* calls him as the greatest of leaders of men from Ceaser to Napoleon and the greatest Indian of the nineteenth century.

Ranjit's Relations with the British

Once Ranjit said in a prophetic vein, '*Sab Lal Ho Jayga.*' That shows that he was conscious of the superior strength of the British and as such during his life-time he took no offensive measures against the British. Adhering to a strict policy of conciliation and friendship he could yield to British demands on more than one occasion if it served the purpose of uniting and strengthening the Sikh kingdom. When in 1805 Ranjit refused help to Holkar against the E. I. Company, it was because he dreaded the discipline of the English army which was present just on his frontier and which entering the heart of his small kingdom could have easily nipped in the bud a nation yet to be born. If we examine the circumstances which led to the treaty of 1809 and the terms thereof we will find that Ranjit Singh had to eat the humble pie because he recognised statesmanlike the superior strength of the British. The threat of Colonel Ochterlony's troops, the knowledge how Scindia and Holkar and Akalis were recently defeated by the powerful British forces; the fear of the Sikh chiefs

Maharaja Ranjit Singh and Lord Auckland, the then Governor-General of India

revenge who may demand protection from the British and many other practical considerations impressed upon Ranjit Singh the necessity of agreeing to the unpleasant terms of the treaty

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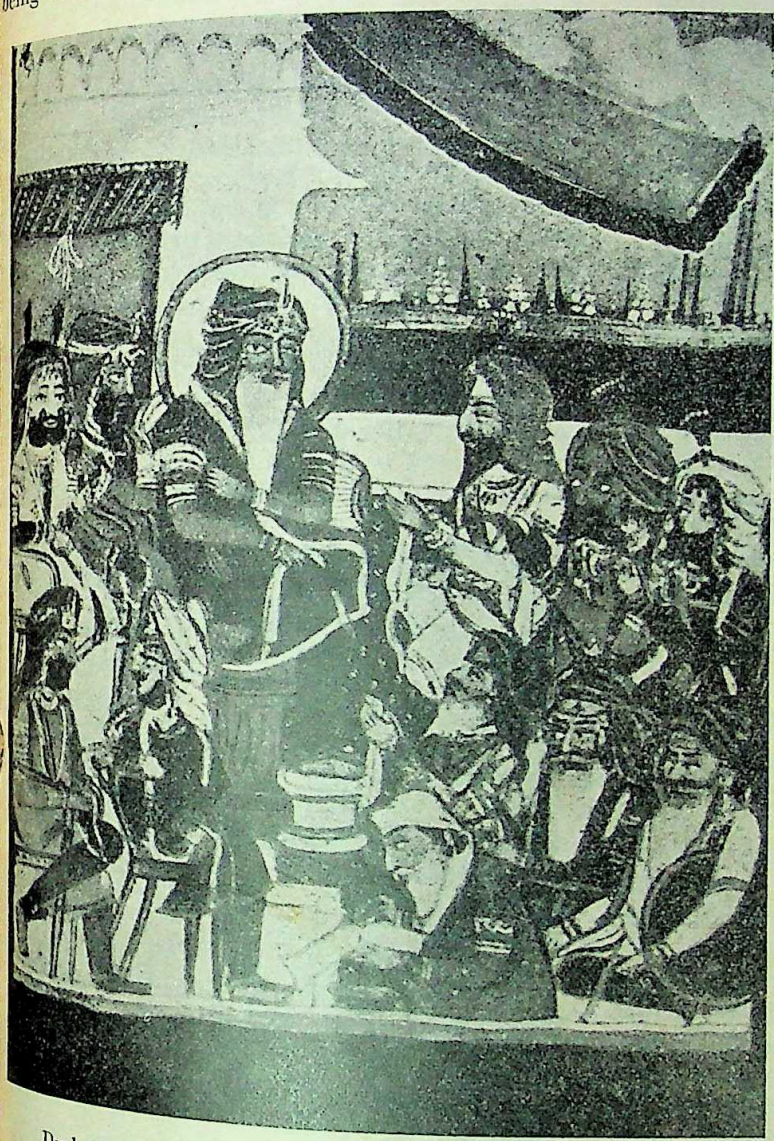
of 1809. The Cis-Sutlej settlement of 1809 deprived Ranjit Singh of the Sikh states lying between the Sutlej and the Jumna and thus he could never realise the cherished ambition of being the sole ruler of all the Sikhs. A diplomatic defeat it was no doubt, but when we consider that Ranjit's subsequent conquests of Multan, Attock, Kashmir, Peshawar, etc., and "his becoming master of the Punjab almost unheeded by the English"* were possible only after the security from the direction of the British was ensured by the 1809 agreement, it speaks volumes for his statesmanship and his capacity to take a practical view of things. The Cis-Sutlej settlement, brought about as it was by a military demonstration, left behind a legacy of suspicion but by 1812 Ranjit managed to remove all these and invited Ochterlony, the English Agent at Ludhiana, to attend the marriage of his son, Prince Kharak Singh. Ranjit was always anxious to avoid any cause for offence to the Company. In 1822, there was a dispute about Wadni and Ranjit submitted; in 1827 there was some ill-feeling about Chamkour, Anadpur, Makhiwal and Ferozepur. It is true, all these were restored to Ranjit but Ferozepur, the most important place, was snatched away by the Company. When Appa Sahib, the dispossessed ruler of Nagpur sought refuge in the Punjab, Ranjit refused him shelter so as not to incur the resentment of the Company. All these facts show the anxiety on the part of Ranjit to maintain friendship with the British. The attitude of the British, on the other hand was to limit Ranjit's ambitions and thwart his designs everywhere. The treaty of 1809 was the first step; the denial of Ranjit's claims to Ferozepur in 1827 which legitimately belonged to him, the second step; the commercial treaty in 1832 with the Amirs of Sindh and thus depriving Ranjit of his designs on Sindh, the third step; the denial of Ranjit's claims to Shikarpur in 1834-36, the fourth step; the tripartite Treaty to which Ranjit was an unwilling partner, the fifth step. All these facts show conclusively the utter helplessness of Ranjit Singh against British diplomacy and his consciousness of it. His greatness lies in the realisation of the superiority of British forces; in his efforts to avoid as best as he might this superior force falling like a huge tree on a gently growing plant. Thus could he create a strong and puissant nation out of the debris of a hopelessly disorganised Sikh community.



Durbar of Maharaja Ranjit Singh (from an old painting)

It is not possible here to give even the briefest reference to his civil administration nor to the magnificent army which Ranjit raised and to which he gave the greatest attention. A brief review of his character, however, will interest the general reader.

Illiterate, ugly, 'short and mean-looking,' simple and superstitious, Ranjit Singh was yet witty, pleasing in manners, courteous in conversation, attractive, communicative, extreme-

* Cunningham.

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Sardar Harisingh Nalwa, the famous general of Ranjit's army

ly inquisitive in nature and fond of learning. A born lover of sports, intensely fond of riding, hunting and shooting, having a virile physique and undoubted personal courage, he possessed an unsatisfactory moral character. He had a weakness for wine and women which he indulged in excess and with a cynical disregard of public decorum. His sensuality was responsible for the disregard of his family with the result that he left weak and irresolute sons behind. In his religious views, Ranjit was no bigot, though had a genuine respect for Sikh Scriptures. Although he regarded himself as nothing more than a mere drum (Ranjit) of the Sikh Commonwealth for the assertion of political supremacy against Moslems and the Afghans, he was tolerant to a fault, and included in his administration Muslims, Sikhs, X'ians, and Hindus. Griffin and others charge Ranjit with avarice but when we consider his handsome rewards to officials of all castes and creeds, his lavish entertainment of guests (it is said that he gave to Capt. Wade Rs. 5,000 a day and 101 pots containing foods of different kinds), the charge does not seem to be true. If he confiscated Hari Singh Nalwa's estates after his death or ordered the triumphant soldiery to surrender to him the spoils of Multan or compelled Kharak Singh to deposit his mother's cash worth Rs. 50,00,000 or if he possessed himself of Kangra estates, it was the outcome of his avarice or fanaticism. It was the result of a deliberate and calculated policy. He did not approve of hereditary wealth and houour and like 'Tarquinius Superbus' he struck down all the tall poppies in the garden. Ranjit was cut out to be a great soldier. Possessed of a thorough knowledge of warfare, his military schemes of conquest were always of a practical nature. Never following Afghans and tribesmen into the hills he avoided exhausting his strength in wild and hazardous projects. He showed a remarkable talent for matters of military organisation and adopted the western system of warfare more thoroughly and comprehensively than others.

Ranjit Singh's Despotism

Ranjit established a pure and unmitigated despotism. He was the pivot round which the entire Government hinged. By destroying the Misls and allowing the Gurmata to decay he

Faqir Nur-ud-din, foreign minister of Ranjit Singh

converted the Sikh Commonwealth which was a loose confederacy into a military monarchy based on personal rule. He was the State in person and could say with Louis XIV, "I am the State." But the dictatorship of Ranjit was not so absolute as the dictatorship of a Mussolini or a Hitler. Ranjit Singh could not igno-

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altogether the living principle of the Khalsa, the most potent factor of Sikh religious life, nor the Akalis the most fanatic bigots of Sikh community, nor the martial nobility nor the common people possessed of arms and military traditions. His dictatorship was thus limited It was also a benevolent dictatorship. It did not meddle with village life nor with the development of individual character and liberty, for even the meanest man could rise to wealth and power by dint of sheer merit. It gave peace, prosperity and contentment to the Punjab such as was never known before. His dictatorship, again was not based on any theory of divine right. He never arrogated to himself any high sounding titles or claimed supernatural powers. But the despotism of Ranjit had the one fault common to all despotisms—there was none as capable to succeed him; none who could prevent a rupture between the conflicting interests at the court which his commanding genius had held together. His ministers were mostly his favourites and adventurers and reflected the will of the sovereign; on his death they shamelessly took to personal gains at the cost of collective benefit. His callous neglect of his family and the undue favours to Dogra Rajputs became the subsequent cause of the downfall of the Sikh Power. But Ranjit is not to blame. There has been no dictator in the history of the world who has not left behind causes of the downfall of the nation which he had uplifted to the loftiest heights. Sulla, Augustus, Frederick the Great, Peter the Great, Napoleon—all were dictators but after them causes of decline set in. The commanding genius of the dictator does its work in his life-time and not subsequently; and if subsequently his country declines, the merits of the dictator cannot be minimised. If today, Hitler and Mussolini were to die and Germany and Italy pale into insignificance tomorrow, the glory due to them and the services to their countries cannot die. If after Ranjit Singh Punjab was swallowed by the yawning mouth of the British Imperialism, Ranjit's place in the galaxy of the greatest men of India cannot be questioned. He will ever remain the saviour of the Sikhs, their hero and their god.

[Photographs by the courtesy of the *Tribune*, Lahore]

POLITICAL PARTIES IN THE DOMINION OF CANADA

By Professor NARESH CHANDRA ROY, M.A. Ph.D.

In the present House of Commons at Ottawa, which was elected in 1935, the Liberals have a large majority. The total number of seats in the House is 245 and out of this number the Liberals occupy as many as 142. Of the remaining 103 seats the Conservatives have 75, the Social Credit group 21 and the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation (C. C. F.) 7. The House of Commons is elected for a period of five years but it may be dissolved earlier if such dissolution suits the party in power. Ordinarily the next election is due in 1940 but there is a talk of the dissolution and general election in the autumn of the present year. It is expected by the opposition that in the next election, whether it comes this year or in 1940, the Liberals will not find it possible to stand their ground. Even if they come back with a majority, that is likely to be very small and even precarious. The Co-operative Commonwealth Federation is particularly hopeful about the future and expects to return a far larger number to Ottawa.

The Liberals and the Conservatives constitute the two old parties which have alternately dominated the political life of the country since it became a Dominion under the British North America Act of 1867. The former are led at present by Mr. Mackenzie King who is sixty-five years old and has been at the helm of his party for about two decades. He was at one time a civil servant and the Deputy Minister in the Department of Labour. He resigned this position in order that he might join politics and enter Parliament. He is not at present a very vigorous man. He seems to be aging and there are people inside the party who rather think that in the interests of Liberalism in the country he should now retire and give place to some younger man. Sixty-five is of course not too old an age but Mr. King suffers often from sciatica and finds it difficult to pay continuous attention to public affairs. He speaks slowly but very clearly in the House. The writer did not notice any faltering in his tone but those who heard him before think that he has deteriorated a good deal. His policy is "wait and see." His

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opponents in political life are of opinion that there is no greater past master than Mr. King in the art of avoiding all controversial questions and postponing to the future the decision of all complicated but vital problems.

It is very difficult to explain the platform of the Liberal Party in Canada. The only subject on which it seems to have a definite

The writer with Mr. J. S. Woodsworth, M.P., leader of C. C. F. Party and Prof. B. C. Guha (centre)

standpoint is tariff. It does not believe in high tariffs. Some of the members may be said to be even free-traders. The majority may not go to that extent but pins its faith to only low customs duty. In other respects the Party as a whole has really no views of its own. It meets the situation as it arises. Some of the members are really progressive and believe in legislations which however, the other members of the Party will characterise as rank socialism and declare as such out of court. The term Liberalism therefore implies nothing. It represents no set of political principles. Most of its members are in fact as conservative as the diehards of the Conservative Party itself.

In the election of 1935 the Liberals defeated the Conservatives rather heavily. For this triumph of the Liberal Party two men were particularly responsible. One is Mr. Mitchell Hepburn who carried the province of Ontario for the Party and the other is Mr. J. G. Gardiner who carried for it the province of Saskatchewan in particular and the Prairie in general. Both Mr. Hepburn and Mr. Gardiner are machine men. They built up party machines in their provinces so successfully that the candidates of the other parties and groups had only a bad time of it during the elections. Mr. Gardiner was formerly the Premier of the Saskatchewan province and is now in the Dominion Cabinet as Minister of Agriculture. Mr. Hepburn is now the Prime Minister of Ontario. While Mr. Gardiner is a valued friend and colleague of Mr. Mackenzie King, the Dominion Premier, Mr. Hepburn's relations with him are very bad. In fact the two are now at daggers drawn. Mr. Hepburn does not miss a single opportunity to fall foul of Mr. King. The latter of course is a more dignified man and maintains discreet silence. But inwardly he reciprocates the feeling. The relations between the Dominion Premier and the Provincial Premier, though both Liberals, have in fact reached such a stage that in Ontario there are practically two Liberal organizations now. Mr. King does not think it safe to depend upon the Liberal machine built up by Mr. Hepburn. He has authorized the creation of a separate Liberal Party organization in the province.

The Conservative Party was led till the autumn of 1938 by Mr. R. B. Bennet, the former Prime Minister of the Dominion. His health however gave way and he found it difficult to stand the rigour of the Canadian winter. So the doctors advised him to make his home in some milder environments. Accordingly he left Canada some time ago and settled in England. His mantle fell upon Dr. R. J. Manion. This gentleman is a medical man by profession but has been long in politics and in the Parliament. In the Conservative Government of Mr. Bennet, he was the Minister in charge of the Railways. He is comparatively young and appears to be popular in the House. He speaks fluently and directly but it is doubtful if he has more than average ability. As the leader of the opposition he is certainly no equal of the leader of the Government. If the Conservative Party is to be led to victory in the next election, it seems essential that a new leader must be found with greater personal magnetism and greater parliamentary ability.

The Conservative Party, as the name implies, believes generally in maintaining the *status quo*. It is not a party of change. It is a party for conserving what exists. It is true that in its ranks there are men who are far advanced in their social and economic view

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and who do not wax eloquent in regard to the imperial connection. But generally speaking the party may be said to exist for maintaining the existing social and economic organization of the country. It is definitely protectionist and will oppose the lowering of the tariff.

It may now be asked as to what differences there are between the Liberal and Conservative Parties in regard to their platforms. As it has been mentioned already except in regard to the question of tariff policy, little difference is noticeable between the two parties. In both the Liberal and Conservative ranks there are men who are really very progressive and advanced and even radical in opinion. Similarly, again in both parties there are men who are diehard in sentiment, outlook and policy. They would set their face against any change proposed. Now in view of the fact that the platform of the two parties is virtually the same and in view of the fact that the personnel of the two parties is also similar in character, there are many who think that they may be fused together and may constitute one united party. So far they have not only maintained their separate identity but have fought each other as if they disagree in fundamental matters. But this struggle is more a matter of tradition than a matter of principle. And already there are signs on the wall to show that there is every likelihood of the two parties coalescing in the near future. The advent of the Co-operative Commonwealth Party appears to make this inevitable. If this new party is to be kept out of influence and power, the two old parties must cease to quarrel and must close up their ranks. The retirement of the old leaders of the two parties may help in establishing the new alignments. Mr. Bennet has already retired and if Mr. Mackenzie King also follows in his rival's footsteps the path will be paved for the unification of the Conservatives and the Liberals into one party for maintaining the status quo. Such a development is in the logic of things. The present division of political life into Conservative and Liberal is a highly artificial one.

The next political group in the House of Commons which requires mention is the Social Credit party. This is a transient group and does not appear to have any future. During the period of economic crisis which began in 1929 different remedies for the ills of the world were suggested in different countries. Major C. H. Douglas of England was the author of one such proposed remedy. He wrote a number of tracts in which he propounded his theory of social organization in which people were expected to live with certainty as to their economic welfare. Maladjustment was the one cause of economic distress which afflicted people all over the world. This could be remedied, he thought, by a new policy regarding currency and credit. The ideas of Douglas were taken up by Mr. William Aberhart, a gentleman of German origin in the province of Alberta. He organized a party whose platform was made up of the principles enunciated by Douglas. This party came soon to be known as the Social Credit party. Its purpose is to equate consumers' purchasing power with total available production. This is to be gained by means of (*a*) the national control of currency and credit, (*b*) the establishment of national credit account, (*c*) the inauguration of a compensated price discount and (*d*) the payment of the national dividend to every citizen.

Parliament Building at Ottawa

In the elections both to the provincial and Dominion legislatures in 1935, Aberhart's party was eminently successful. The people in this province had suffered a good deal during the previous few years and they thought it right to give Aberhart a chance. In the provincial legislature Aberhart secured an excellent majority and the members returned to the House of Commons at Ottawa from Alberta were also mostly of his persuasion. In the province Aberhart formed the government

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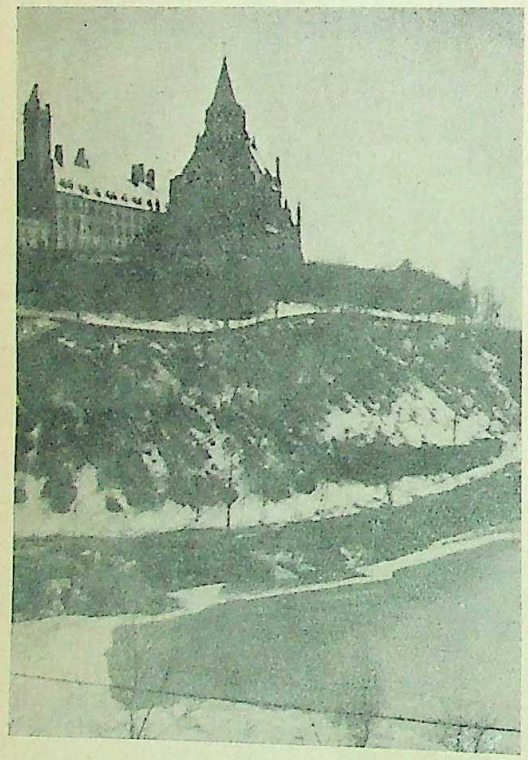
which is still in office. In the Dominion House of Commons his group is led by Mr. J. H. Blackmore. But although four years back Mr. Aberhart and his party attained such success in Alberta, it is unlikely that the confidence which the people then reposed in this group will be renewed in the next election. It is now clear that the Social Credit Party in Canada consists of a number of faddists who think that the ills of this Dominion can be cured by one method and that method consists in a particular manipulation of the currency system. In a time of economic crisis and in a moment of absolute helplessness the people of Alberta might have given Mr. Aberhart a chance and might have even pinned their faith to his



Parliament Building from behind

quack remedy. But now it does not seem possible that this group will stand the ground in the next trial of strength.

The other political group which demands mention here is at present a small one in the House of Commons at Ottawa. It consists of only seven members and is led by Mr. J. S. Woodsworth. This group has been elected under the auspices of the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation which was organized in 1932 and which is making slow but steady progress in the country. Until the Great War of 1914-18 the labour movement did not strike much root in the Canadian soil. In 19[illegible] however, there was considerable labour troub[illegible] and there was an attempt also at suppressi[illegible] of strikes by violent methods. As a result [illegible] the application of such methods an atmosphe[illegible] was created in which some of the labour leade[illegible] thought it right to contest parliamentary ele[illegible] tions and actually some of them found the[illegible] way to the Dominion Parliament. One [illegible] them was Mr. J. S. Woodsworth. This gent[illegible] man who was born in the province of Ontar[illegible] in 1874 but was brought up in the province [illegible] Manitoba, had been educated in the universi[illegible] of his province and at Oxford mainly for we[illegible] as a Methodist Minister. In fact, until 191[illegible] he had been engaged in the work of a cler[illegible] man. But, as already mentioned, about th[illegible] time labour troubles broke out and he thoug[illegible] it right to espouse the cause of the under do[illegible] He had to give up his position in the Methodi[illegible] Ministry and henceforward devoted all hi[illegible] time to the organization of labour moveme[illegible] In 1921, he came into the Canadian House [illegible] Commons and sat there as a labourite. For th[illegible] next ten years however the Labour Party di[illegible] not make much headway. The programme [illegible] this Party was also not very clearly an[illegible] definitely chalked out. But in 1932 came t[illegible] end this period of indefinite action. Th[illegible] Co-operative Commonwealth Federation was now started and today Mr. Woodsworth happens to be the national chairman of thi[illegible] Federation and in this capacity he leads th[illegible] small group of seven members who had bee[illegible] returned under its auspices.

The readers may of course be puzzled by the name of the Party as the present write[illegible] himself was. But he was told in reply to hi[illegible] question that this name was decided upon i[illegible] 1932 as a result of considerable deliberatio[illegible] In the province of British Columbia in whic[illegible] the Party is making very rapid headway i[illegible] has to appeal to the industrial workers wh[illegible] happen to live in the urban areas. In th[illegible] province of Manitoba, however, where also th[illegible] Party is achieveing considerable success, it ha[illegible] to work among the rural agricultural workers [illegible] Now the peasants, as it has been proved i[illegible] France and even in England, are not attracte[illegible] very much by the tenets of socialism. Socia[illegible] lism as a cry in fact leaves them cold. Bu[illegible] co-operation has an appeal of its own both fo[illegible] the industrial and agricultural workers [illegible] Besides in North America (in Canada as we[illegible] as U. S. A.) socialism even as an ideal is looke[illegible] upon with considerable suspicion not only b[illegible] the great capitalists but also by the ordinar[illegible] rank and file of the people. So it was n[illegible]

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thought wise to alienate the sympathy of the general people by adopting openly the socialist label. Hence the innocuous name of the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation was chosen for the party.

The platform of the Party, as drawn up in July 1938, appears to have much in common with the platform of the British Labour Party. Its mottos are security, freedom, unity, democracy, justice and prosperity. The object of the C. C. F. is

"to build a society in which every man and woman has an opportunity for useful and congenial work, a decent income and a voice in the management of both political and economic affairs. It aims to establish a social order based on Freedom, Peace and Plenty for all."

It thinks it can gain its purpose by planning "the production and distribution of our wealth in accordance with the needs of the people." It wants "to place the entire issue and control of currency and credit under a publicly-owned and controlled Bank of Canada." It believes that

"no form of social ownership can be really effective apart from the socialization of the financial system. This involves more than monetary reform though monetary reform is also an integral part of the C. C. F. proposals."

It accordingly wants

"to socialize, in the public welfare, industries and services, the public ownership of which is essential to the operation of the national plan, particularly those which are monopolistic in character."

Among the other items of reform which the C. C. F. wants to carry out is the rehabilitation of the fishing industry and a proper standard of living for fishermen by encouraging co-operative credit facilities and associations, by stimulating the establishment of co-operative fish packing and processing plants and by guaranteeing adequate prices for the fishermen's products. The C. C. F. also wants to introduce the system of unemployment insurance. Canada is one of the backward countries in this respect and the Party of Mr. Woodsworth is out to make good the situation. With regard to Unemployment Relief which is now a responsibility of the municipalities the C. C. F. has very definite and clear-cut views. It wants that the Dominion should take up the responsibility.

In regard to National Unity and Foreign Policy—the two subjects which are increasingly exercising the mind of the Canadian public—the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation has very advanced views of its own. It has set its face definitely against the decisions of the British Privy Council under which the provinces have the Dominion at their mercy. It wants that the British North America Act should be immediately amended so as to bring the Canadian constitution into line with modern conditions. In regard to foreign policy it wants that the Canadian people should cease to regard

Mr. C. G. McNeil, M.P. of the C. C. F. Party

their country as a mere colony and should assert the fact that Canada is as free and independent as any other independent country in the world and it is in the light of this new status for Canada that its foreign policy should be shaped.

The Co-operative Commonwealth Federation group in the House of Commons is at present a very small one. But all the seven members who make up the group are exceedingly hardworking and earnest men. Mr. Woodsworth himself is a clear and convincing speaker. His deputy, Major J. W. Coldwell, who is a younger man, appears to have complete grasp of the problems of his country. He also speaks clearly and convincingly and has a fine voice which reaches all parts of the House and ought to appeal to all sections. Mrs. MacInnis, whose husband is also in the House as a C. C. F. member, acts as the Secretary to the group. She is the daughter of Mr. Woodsworth and is a surprisingly well-informed woman. It seems certain that the Federation will forge ahead in the coming years.

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Side by side the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation is working the Communist Party. It has no representatives in the House of Commons at Ottawa. But outside it has eighteen thousand members and has succeeded in returning one member to a provincial assembly and about one hundred to the different municipal bodies. It does not seem that the two left parties are willing to co-operate with each other. On the contrary, as in Great Britain, there appears to be not only much suspicion but bad blood as well between the two. The word Communism stinks in the nostrils of most men in Canada as it does in the United States. In the province of Quebec where the Roman Catholic Church holds complete sway over the mind of the people, communism which stands for godlessness is given no quarters. In 1937, was passed a law in that province which is known as the Padlock law. It puts communism practically under a ban. If any one is found to preach communism, the room in which he lives may be put under lock and key by the police and he turned out.

Apart from the parties which have been enumerated above, there is one other party which is working only in the province of Quebec but whcih has no national affiliation. This is what is known as the national Union Party—the party which is now in power in the province. It has an interesting history behind it and may be told here in a nutshell. For long (more than a quarter of a century) the Liberal Party was in power in Quebec. It was headed for over twenty years by M. Tatchereau whose family has been settled in the province since the third decade of the 17th century. He has in his veins the blue blood of the old French nobility. He has the reputation of being a very polished and cultured man himself and all the members of his family are also similarly soaked in culture, which is the heritage of many of the old land-owning families in Quebec. Professor Kennedy of the Toronto University, who is a good friend of the Tatchereau family and knows it intimately, told the writer that such was the tradition of the Tatchereaus that in family conversations there can never be any mention of money and material wealth. All financial questions are taboo. The Tatchereaus talk about literature, philosophy, art and similar subjects. This is certainly surprising in North America where everything is counted and valued in terms of money. When you will be taken round a building or a monument, it is not the architecture of the building but the number of dollars which it costs the Government, about wh you will hear. In this material appraisal values Canada may not have gone to the sa extent as the great republic immediately to south, but still this country also is tin with the same brush to a great extent. T province of Quebec, where old traditions still maintained and sometimes maintai with a vengeance, appears to be an excepti to this rule. And the family of M. Tatchere illustrates it in an eminent manner.

Now sometime back the Liberal Party so long by M. Tatchereau became unpopul Many of the Liberals themselves cut aw from the Party moorings and founded wh came to be known as the Nationalist Par By nationalism of course it did not mean t Canadian nationalism. It meant the nation ism of Quebec which was racially, spiritual culturally, and linguistically separate from t rest of Canada. The Nationalists believ that Quebec must cut away from the Domini if it was to maintain its distinctive charact Just at the time that these Liberals, no turned Nationalists, broke away from t Liberal Party and thinned its ranks, the Co servatives who were so long in the wilderne came forward to exploit the opportunity. Th joined hands with the Nationalists and t coalition thus formed came to be known as t National Union Party. It fought the electio of 1935 under the leadership of M. Dupples who was formerly a lawyer at the Three Riv but joined politics and entered provincial leg lature in 1928. He is now forty-nine years age and has been in the Quebec Assembly sin he was first elected to it eleven years ago. H coalition party was returned to the Assemb with a large majority and he was according called upon to form the government. Or however he became the head of the minist he forgot all about the Nationalism of Que and is now as loyal to the federation as premier of any other province. This attit of his has no doubt alienated a number of Nationalist friends. But he seems to strongly entrenched in power. The policy is following has an authoritarian and fas bias which appeals to the dignitaries of Rom Catholic Church. The Padlock Law wh was passed two years ago partly illustra this policy of the Dupplessis Government. is expected that so long as he maintains t authoritarian attitude, he will have the supp of the Church and therefore of the electors So the National Union Party which has onl provincial significance is likely to remain power for some years to come.

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In the wider world of Canada, however, if the Liberals and Conservatives combine and fight as a uited Party against the C.C.F. the alignments will be clear and logical.*

Ottawa, Canada
April 25, 1939

* The photographs reproduced here were taken by Professor B. C. Guha of the Science College, Calcutta.

FANCY INDIAN EMBROIDERIES

For Home and Personal Use

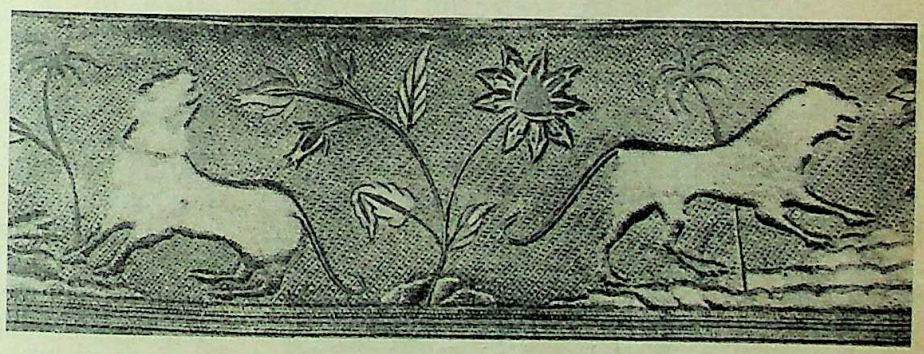
By WAHIDA AZIZ

Embroidery is an ancient art. It is mentioned in the earliest histories of the world and when 'Moses wrote and Homer sang,' it is said, 'needlework was no new thing.' The Old Testament gives minute description of the embroidery of the priestly garments, and it is supposed that the Hebrew women learnt the art from the Egyptians. It is probably from this source that it passed on to us.

Indian embroideries which are practised all over the country today comprise a large number of different kinds and classes of fabrics produced by art workers inspired by widely varied aims and working under conditions indefinitely diverse. Embroidered muslims are a class by themselves, but mention of the cotton, woolen, silk, satin, velvet, pashmina or kashmir and other fabrics, ornamented with embroidery by the art workers of India, brings into view a vast multiplicity of textile products, manufactured in many different places.

The clothing of the people of India might almost be described as woven in the required shapes and sizes and but rarely cut into garments that fit the body. It is this circumstance, very possibly, that has given birth to the incongruous indifferences, when European costumes are resorted to, these being made to fit the body or even to serve the purpose for which they were originally designed. By far the largest portion of the people of India are dressed in cotton. Certain colours or methods of ornamentation are, as a rule, rigorously adhered to by the more important communities. Further, the designs usually met with have been elaborated after centuries of adaptation to the special purpose of each particular garment.

The essence of decorative art may be said to be conventionalism—the poetry of arts as it might be defined. It does not follow that in the scheme of colours adopted, the leaves in a floral design need be green any more than the flowers and fruits must of necessity originate at their true positions botanically. To secure the effect and feeling, no absolute adherence to every condition of nature is the aim of this branch of art. Perhaps the most striking feature of Indian art may be said to be this masterly treatment of colour in which the response and balance is invariably complete.



A design in 'Kalabatun.' Gold wires have been worked throughout

Pastoral Art

A cursory glance of the Indian embroideries will reveal one or two aspects of collective interest that will be found interesting. Embroidery has attained its highest development in Northern or North-west India. It is more frequently found among the inhabitants of the hills than of the plains. It is a pastoral art in its inception. As a rule, highly coloured embroideries are found in temperate tracts and white embroideries in tropical countries.

From the historical point of view, it would be of advantage to study this subject in both cases, the result attained by the aboriginal tribes as well as that by the skilled artificers

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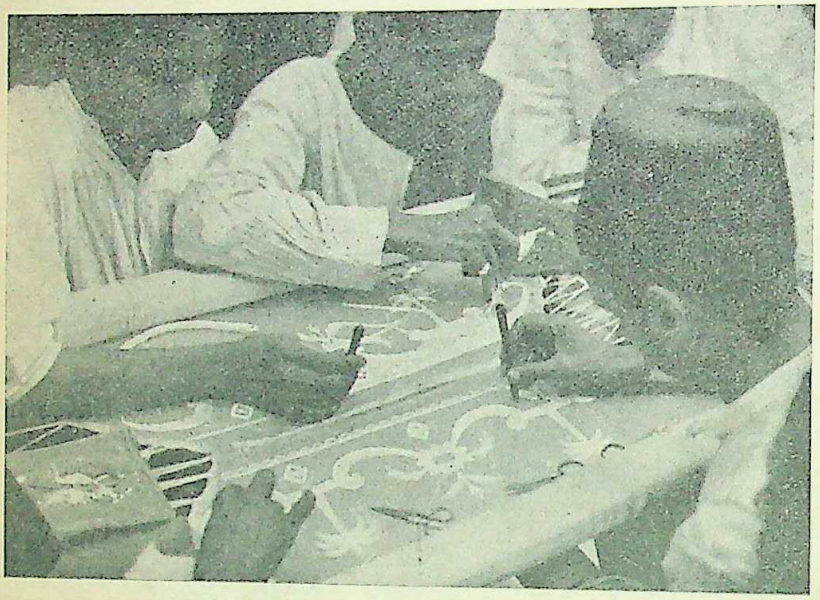
of the civilized communities. Throughout the mountainous tracts of India embroidery, in some form, is nearly always met with. The stitches employed and the art conceptions displayed by these aboriginal tribes are of the greatest possible value, in conveying a conception of the knowledge possessed by them, prior to the Muslim conquests and domination. A study of the embroideries characteristic of the hill tribes of Assam would afford materials for the production of an epitome of the needlework not of India only but of the world. Some of the examples seen in these tracts are of a very advanced order and exceedingly beautiful, such as the line-darn stitch embroideries of the Kamptis and Singpos. The graceful scrolls worked by the women of Manipur on their garments in satin-stitch, are indicative of art conceptions possibly of the greatest historic value. The embroideries of the Garo and Khasia Hills are similarly beautiful and will richly repay critical study and comparison with the best results in the more advanced provinces of India.



'Kamdani.' Gold and silver threads being worked on a 'Sari' border. 'Kamdani' is done on silk or muslim

Methods Adopted

The peculiarity of Indian needlework is that the needle is pulled away from, not drawn towards, the operator. In other words, the action of sewing adopted here is just the opposite to that pursued in Europe. The persistence with which we work in this so-called 'opposite direction' seems due to the lesser development of the extensor muscles of the body, and not a perversity in character.

It would be noted that prior to the Mus conquests the needle was not in much dem since the garments of the Hindus were mos worn in the condition in which they were wove Still, the extremely local character and intim association with distin races and aboriginal trib of many of the Indian for of embroidery, point to th being indigenous. Moreov the stitch used very materi ly influences the nature the designs adopted. F example, curves would next to impossible with da or satin stitches, but ve easily attained by ch stitch. And this is precis the character of the em broideries met with in di tricts where the one or t other forms of needlewo prevails. Similarly, the pr ference for embroidered ga ments has largely dictat the class of fabrics to b woven. For example, it customary for darn stit to be employed on coarse cotton and ch stitch to be used on silk or woolen fabric From these and such like considerations, there fore, it may be accepted that the actions a reactions of embroidery on the artistic feelin and industrial attainments of the people India is ikely to have been considerable a far-reaching.

In addition to darn stitch, two or th other forms of needlework are met with T Kashmir shawls, table cloths and curtains. outlines of the patterns in woven shawls a sharpened up by stem-stitching, with pash thread. In all the cheaper embroideries, su as those produced very extensively in m towns of the Punjab, the embroidery is do with coarse pasham or even imported wool yarn, in stem and feather stitches. In the fi forms the embroidery is in darn stitch and minute that the individual stitches can, w difficulty, be recognized by the naked eye.

Fine Embroideries

Within the last few years, embroidere all kinds have become so popular that a fa large and prosperous industry has sprung Delhi, Agra, Benares and Lucknow in United Provinces have been famous for m centuries for their rich embroideries, both gold and silver wire as also in silk thre

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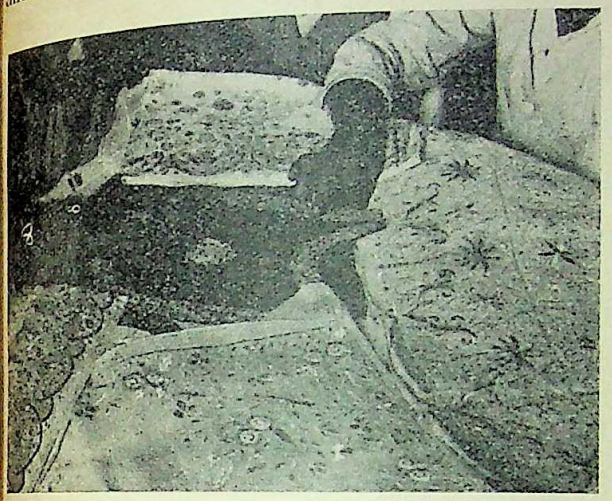
They orginated possibly with the grandees of the Mughal Court and for many years were met with exclusively on heavy textiles, such as velvet and satin, having a lining of coarse cotton to



'Zardozi.' Gold and silver wire being worked on velvet

carry the weight of the massive work placed on the surface. This style of work is used mainly for men's coats, caps, collars, and other such purposes.

Darn and satin stitches are extensively used by the people of the Punjab, Sind and Kathiawar. In Eastern Bengal, occurs another surprisingly interesting centre of these styles of needlework. From Dacca come the best and finest embroideries in gold, silver and silk, and those embroidered neck-cloths which are given in marriages. Besides, phulkari work, such as handkerchiefs, curtains, embroidered with muga silk, is also a speciality of this place.

In Bahawalpur, Multan, Montgomery, Dera Ghazi Khan and Jhang, a form of embroidery is done that might be described as a knotted form of crewel. The thread passes through and through, repeating the same pattern on both sides, but a twist or knot is given by alternately looping one over the other in a short darn stitch. Many beautiful 'kamarbands' (waist-belts) are made of this and sold in thousands all over the country.

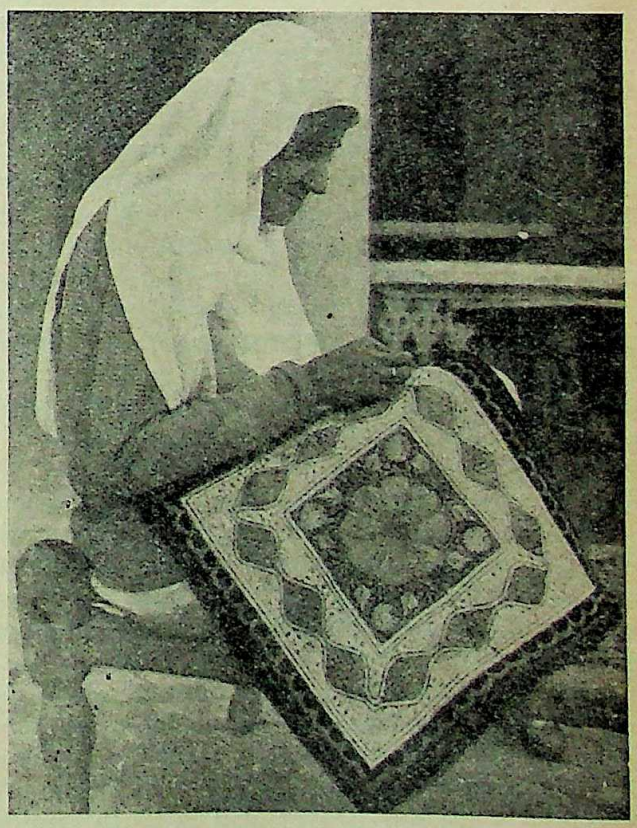
Gold and Silver Embroidery

Gold and silver embroidery falls under two heads :—(1) the heavy and massive (zardosi) and (2) the light and graceful (kamdani). The former is worked on velvet or satin with usually a heavy cotton lining to give support to the gold work, while the latter is on muslin or fine silk. They are mainly accomplished as 'couching' and 'laid' embroideries, that is to say, certain portions of the design are cushioned so as to raise the embroidery above the general level, while in still other instances gold braiding or specially-formed gold wires are laid in the required fashion and attachment given by yellow silk brought by needle from below.

Another very expensive and true embroidery is what is called 'kalabatun.' This is mostly done in Delhi, Lucknow, Multan and Peshawar. It has been estimated that Delhi alone produces over 3,000,000 miles of these wires per annum.

With some kinds of these embroideries, a form of braiding is done which make them look artistic and beautiful. It is called 'dori' work and is commonly seen on pashmina fabrics. The chief trimmings produced are gota, kinari, and badla. These, by the looms used, might be described as knitted more than woven into an open texture.

Apart from this, the massively heavy embroidery of elephant trappings and masnads (the gold carpet placed in front of the throne) still exists, and is used by Rajas and Nawabs in almost all the States throughout India. There is hardly any locality that does not show



An Indian lady at her embroidery work

something in its gold embroidery that is as distinct as are its ruined tombs, mosques temples and palaces—something that marks the individuality of its rulers and the dynasty of

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which, perhaps, it was the capital. This shows that every kind of national industry has its romance, its own record of steady development, and its own distinct characteristics, wh account for its charm.

[Photographs by Miss Wahida Aziz]

TATA AND GANDHI

A Study in Contrast

By FIROZE COWASJI DAVAR, M.A., LL.B.

Economists judge the greatness of a country by its wealth, moralists by the virtue of its inhabitants. Both criteria are indispensable to the well-being of the state, and the patriot can afford to discard neither. In the latter half of the 19th century India was industrially so far backward as to appear almost mediæval. Her present position is very largely due to the enterprise and ability of Mr. Jamshedji Noshirwanji Tata, the centenary of whose birth was celebrated by his grateful fellow-countrymen in March last. It is to this born pioneer and his sons, who carried on their father's work in the same spirit, that India owes her industrial regeneration and economic prosperity, for, as Lord Curzon remarked, no Indian of the present generation had done more for the commerce and industry of India than J. N. Tata. The vast hydro-electric works, supplying electric energy to 90 per cent of the mills in Bombay, and the colossal iron and steel works, that have converted the unknown village of Sakchi into the ultra-modern city of Jamshedpur, are only two of the many concerns that bear testimony to the genius and foresight of the master, who, in words of his biographer Mr. F. P. Harris, united the vision of an American captain of industry with the love of minutiæ of a German. Today the House of Tatas provides bread to 76,000 Indians—a proud record unbeaten in the land populated by crores of Hindus and Muslims.

But man does not live by bread alone, for great is the country, says Mahatma Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi, where truth and non-violence most prevail. Dear is India to Gandhi's heart but dearer still is truth, and so inherently religious is his nature that he always places truth and non-violence before liberty. Gandhi in 1921 wrote in *Young India*:

"If India made violence her creed, I would not care to live in India: she would cease to evoke any pride in me. My patriotism is subservient to my religion."

His transparent honesty was admit when he withdrew the Satyāgraha movem when it was at its height only because it w degenerating into mob-fury. Gandhi throu his non-violence teaches not cowardice as too often supposed, but the noble gospel suffering and sacrifice for the sake of liber truth and love.

Gandhi, like religion, stands for renunci tion, Tata, like science, for acquisition Gandhi preaches relinquishment of world desires, Tata acquired wealth but gave aw munificent donations to advance the welfare the people. Gandhi decreased the denomina of the country and reduced his own sartori and dietetic needs to a khaddar loin-cloth an a cup of goat's milk. Tata increased t national numerator by amassing millions an providing employment to thousands; but s Sir Dinshah E. Wacha observes in his life the great industrialist, he was convinced th wealth was only a means to an end, the en being the service of humanity in general an his country in particular. Tata, for instanc shrewdly calculated that an I.C.S. post, hel by an individual till his death at seventy, co our country nearly two lacs of rupees. So posts were usually occupied by Englishmen w thus drained our country of a good round su during their lifetime. By establishing his co mopolitan scholarship Tata managed to secu these posts for Indians, and it was remark in 1925 that 20 per cent of Indian civilia (and some leading doctors and engineers to were Tata scholars. Tata again realized th the one thing lacking in India's mater development was science, without continu progress in which industrial advancement w not possible. This led to another cosmopolit charity—the establishment of the Bangal Research Institute, which cost the princ donor thirty lacs, said to be the first large su ever set apart for purely educational purpo

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in modern times. Gandhi, being a saintly person works for the relief of the down-trodden and backward classes: Tata was a man of the world and believed in the survival of the fittest. Tata's aim in his charities was not so much to prop up the weakest and most helpless but to ameliorate the condition of such people of strained circumstances as had brains and merit to be of use to the country.

Gandhi, like a typical Hindu sanyāsin, practises and preaches the principle: "I have not, I crave not, I care not." Tata, imbued with the true Zarathushtrian spirit, would have said: "I get in order to give." Gandhi's philosophy is essentially negative: he thinks of destroying Lancashire's commercial supremacy by boycotting its goods and asking people to spin their few clothes themselves on a 'charkhā.' Tata was decidedly positive and aimed at introducing Western methods and machinery and beating Lancashire on its own ground by producing in his mills cloth better and cheaper than English stuff. Gandhi is nothing if not an idealist; Tata was a man of rare vision but, as Sir Lawrence Jenkins said about him:

> "He strove for realities and was not one to let down empty buckets into empty wells."

Gandhi always dreams about the past when there were no machines to grind men down to soulless drudgery, and when people could meet their own requirements on the spinning-wheel. Had this retrograde theory of *Back to Nature* (after all not for the first time broached by Gandhi to a wondering world) been literally followed, the great Indian leader would have put the hands of the clock of India's progress back by a few centuries. In achieving India's freedom he would have destroyed her material and hampered her intellectual civilization. This theory of retrogression to primitive conditions doubtless possesses some charming romantic and poetic possibilities, but when reduced to practice it appears as absurd as the voluntary return of a full-grown adolescent to babbling childhood. The charkhā is good enough for the poor, the unemployed, the cultivators who lie idle several months in the year: but it is an eyesore to the cultured, and the very idea of wasting two precious hours over that ante-diluvian wheel looks like a revolting anachronism.

Tata on the other hand realized that machinery with all its evils (and their name is legion) had after all come to stay, and that its attendant disadvantages had to be manfully combated and conquered or at least modified. Tata was consequently all for better and more efficient machinery, for he believed that the renunciation of the same would spell the industrial and economic ruin of the country. But we need not whip a dead horse. Gandhiji himself travels by railway and motor cars and sends messages over the telephone and the telegraph, and thus silently disproves the much-maligned *Back to Nature* theory. Great men are often subject to great fads, and idealists generally tend to ignore all sense of proportion and proceed to undesirable lengths. It is difficult, for instance, to forget or forgive Gandhi's quixotic freak, comic and yet criminal, of destroying several palm trees in Gujarat. His hare-brained adventure of the burning of British-made cloth alienated the sympathies of some of his warmest admirers like the Rev. C. F. Andrews, who rightly condemned it for the hatred it created among the people for the British. Gandhi's extravagantly futile advice to the Indians not to marry and breed a population of slaves in a country already swarming with them was fortunately not taken seriously by his adherents or even by the members of his own family. In short Gandhi by his Himalayan blunders, his too apparent inconsistencies, his unaccountable shufflings, and his astounding instances of complete *volte-face*, has came to be the Chinese puzzle of Indian politics. But great men are irresponsible in the sense of their being more at the mercy of their inner voice than wicked people are under the domination of their lower appetites. Honest and outspoken criticism is the only weapon a mystified nation can wield against the utterances of unbalanced genius. But Gandhiji, like all great men, has suffered most not from his enemies, but from the uncritical and blind devotion of his own followers, who consider his own foibles as virtues and thus make their hero's position all the more desperate. If only the blemishes of great leaders were duly criticised by the thinking public, it would help to bring their undoubted merits and services into well-deserved prominence.

Tata through up-to-date machinery rendered the most memorable services to his country by utilizing to the utmost her raw materials. If Tata had renounced machinery and advocated the cult of the charkhā, foreigners would have wormed their way into Indian markets, founded their own industries in our country, and monopolised her resources as they have done in other parts of the world. This would have forged another link of servitude on India's already heavy chains. But Tata

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easily foresaw the calamity and averted the dreaded evil with the help of Western machinery, thus bringing prosperity to his country and laying the land of his birth under an unforgettable debt of gratitude. Gandhi's heart is replete with universal love, but for India's sake he would break with the West—an attitude never appreciated by Dr. Tagore. Tata on the contrary held that our country was more likely to profit by co-operation with the West than by snapping all connection with it. As Sir G. Sydenham Clarke (later Lord Sydenham) observed while unveiling Tata's statue in 1912 :

> "The application of the spirit of the West to meet the needs of the East has found no greater exponent than Mr. Tata."

But the similarities between these two great Indians are hardly less pronounced than their differences. Both men were reticent, believing more in deeds than in words. Both were keen on seeing that India should buy indigenous materials, and it is significant that Tata renamed his Dharamsi Mill at Kurla in Bombay as "Swadeshi Mill" and that before the cult of Swadeshi had been established or even seriously thought of. Both must be considered radicals in politics, looking to the circumstances of their own times. Tata had been associated with the Congress, whose cause he promoted unostentatiously with his purse. He is reported to have once remarked to his friend Sir Pherozeshah Mehta that he (the latter) was not even half so radical as himself in political matters. Gandhi in spite of his dislike of Westernisation, and Tata despite his being an Indian first and foremost, were men of cosmopolitan outlook and claimed some of the noblest and most intellectual Westerners as their intimate friends. Both were thoroughly self-respecting. Gandhi is prepared to forgive the aggressor but not the aggression. When once severely handled in South Africa by a white fellow-traveller, he took the beating quietly, but refused after all to relinquish his seat to the ruffian who so rudely and unjustly chose to deprive him of it. Tata was once ill-treated by an Englishman, but the former, against all advice to the contrary, refused to pocket the insult till the man of the ruling race tendered an apology. Tata is said to have given up voyaging by steamers belonging to a well-known English company, because he noticed certain invidious distinctions made therein between Indians and Europeans.

Both these great men were endowed with wonderful steadfastness and perseverance. Gandhi as a staunch satyagrahi faces the heaviest odds but refuses to budge an in when he believes himself to be in the rig Tata was a scion of one of the priestly famil of Navsari, noted for their extreme tenac in any cause they happened to espouse. T characteristic was often displayed by our h who was repeatedly baffled in life but n never daunted by his disappointments. Wh he took over the Dharamsi Mill at Kurla, i found it extremely difficult to renovate a work it successfully, but he plodded on for t long years, brought expert men from t Empress Mills of Nagpur, and was satisfi only when he raised the Dharamsi Mill to high level of efficiency. It is the privilege greatness to make out or kindle greatness kindred spirits. Men like C. R. Das, t Nehru father and son and the Patel brothe were grappled to Gandhi's soul with hoops steel, and the adherence of such distinguish men indicates the powerful hold and magne personality of the master. Tata also in h own way and in a much restricted circle i spired some of his followers with his own ra genius and enthusiasm. Three names only ne be mentioned—that of his brilliant secretar Prof. Barjorji Padshah, Mr. (later Sir) Bezon Dadabhai, the able manager of the Empre Mills of Nagpur, and Mr. A. J. Bilimoria the Iron and Steel Company.

Tata was at his best when he engaged his restless mind on some project or the other great or small. He carried on experiments i agriculture, horticulture, sericulture, cotto growing, cold storage, the manufacture of arti ficial ice and the boring of Artesian wells. H building activities were continued on an exte sive scale, and the Taj Mahal Hotel, glorious asset of Bombay, will remain memorial of Tata's magnificent contribution the city he loved so well. Annoyed at t exorbitant charges of several Europe steamers, Tata once conceived the ambitio project of building a line of his own, flying h own flag of "Humata, Hukhta, Huvarasht (good thoughts, good words, good deeds), t key-note of the Zarathushtrian faith. He h also thought of a scheme for the reclamation Back Bay, and another about the conversi of Juhu Tara, then a negligible little villa into a sea-side resort. But he was not destin to outlive his 65th year and could hardly sp time for minor pursuits. Both Gandhi a Tata loved the poor and the depressed, Gandh over-sensitive heart painfully reverberating cries of grief sent up by crores of his dow trodden countrymen. Tata's genuine sympat for the poor may be judged from his advoca

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of inordinately heavy taxation on the rich, for he held that incomes over Rs. 50,000 per year should be taxed at 20 per cent. Lastly, we may refer to Gandhi's puritanical tastes and stoical habits of life, his orange-juice and goat's milk being likely to go down in history as the minimum diet of the world's Dictators. Tata, it is true, was fond of the good things of the world, and indeed his esurient indiscretions are said to have hastened his end. But it is remarkable that both men hated drink and condemned drunkenness, and Tata heartily disapproved the idea that the right to sell intoxicants should be knocked down to the highest bidder.

But after all is said and done, the fact remains that Tata was only a pioneer of industries, even though the greatest in India, while the world-renowned Gandhi, who belongs to a different category, is the inaugurator of a whole age. Gandhi's interests and activities are so all-embracing and many-sided, that there is hardly a department of life unaffected by them. When a country festers in the depths of political and social degradation, bound and chained like Andromeda, and when the prospect looks gloomy with no relief in sight, some Perseus of rare genius or virtue, like Gandhi, is despatched by the Lord to lead her out of bondage. As patriot, thinker and leader of men, Gandhi's place is among the few immortals in the world's history, who by their predominant influence have promoted the welfare and moulded the destinies of nations. Gandhi has effected an all-round and far-reaching awakening both in British India and (let us hope even after the Rajkot affair) in the Native States, and its results, visible in politics, literature, art, philosophy, religion, law and social reform, include the emancipation of women, the drive against illiteracy, the introduction of prohibition and the extinction of untouchability.

Hindu religion, as lived by the Rishis of old, was displayed in the last century by Sree Ramakrishna Paramhansa; but religion in actual practice in every conceivable walk of worldly life has been lived and taught in our own days by Gandhi, the indefatigable experimenter with truth. Gandhi has breathed a new soul in the decaying ribs of India, and the country now dances to the tune of this Mohan of the modern age, the most powerful soul-force in the world at the present day. Gandhi is greater than can be described in these few lines; yet it must be conceded that our industrial salvation at any rate lies not in his primitive gospel of charkhā-spinning, *Back to Nature* and renunciation of machinery, but will be achieved on the lines laid down by India's foremost industrialist—Jamshedji N. Tata.

EDUCATION IN HYDERABAD

An Analysis

By S. RAMA CHAR

FIGURES speak. To him who knows their language they convey a more accurate and vivid picture than a mass of isolated individual instances. In this article I propose to interpret the meaning of figures (provided in official publications) relating to the Educational policy of the Hyderabad State.

At the outset I would like to make it clear that I bear no ill-will towards any sect or community. If from the facts and figures at my disposal I am forced to come to the conclusion that the Government of H.E.H. the Nizam are partial towards a particular language and community to the detriment of others it is not my fault. I do not grudge the progress that a particular community is making in the sphere of education. In fact, even the achievements of the minority community are not worth being proud of. The "achievements" are anything but progressive. If the conclusions that I derive are wrong I am open to correction.

Though in size and population Hyderabad is the premier State in India, from the point of view of literacy it is the most backward State. As far back as the year 1881, 37 people in a thousand were literate in Hyderabad. Today the expenditure on education is at least 50 times what it was in 1881. But the literacy figure is only 48.5 per thousand. The following table from the census report will bear out my contention. It will be seen that Hyderabad stands last in the list.

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LITERATE PER MILLE AGED 5 AND OVER

PROVINCES	MALES 1931	1921	1911	1901
Bengal ..	188	181	161	147
Madras ..	219	173	171	137
C. P. & Berar ..	110	87	62	103*
Bombay ..	149	138	139	131
Travancore ..	408	—	248	215
Mysore ..	174	143	112	117*
Baroda ..	331	277*	229*	199*
Hyderabad ..	85	57	51	21

LITERATE PER MILLE AGED 5 AND OVER

PROVINCES	FEMALES 1931	1921	1911	1901
Bengal ..	22	21	13	9
Madras ..	25	24	20	11
C. P. & Berar ..	11	8	3	8
Bombay ..	23	24	16	10
Travancore ..	168	—	50	31
Mysore ..	33	22	13	8*
Baroda ..	79	51*	25*	9*
Hyderabad ..	12	8	4	5

In Hyderabad about 28.6 per cent of the boys of the school-going age and about 4.7 per cent of the girls of the school-going age attend school. The total number of public schools today in the State is 4790 with a strength of 3,62,160 students against 7890 schools and 3,39,696 students in Mysore; 3862 schools with a strength of 7,55,139 students in Travancore; 2542 institutions with a strength of 2,80,735 students in Baroda. Let us not forget that Hyderabad is at least eleven times larger than Travancore and is three times more populous than Travancore. It is twice the size of Mysore in area and its population is 2½ times that of Mysore. While Baroda is less than a tenth of Hyderabad in area and its population is about 1/6 that of Hyderabad.

The Nizam's government do not seem to grudge any amount of expenditure on education. The expenditure on education since 1881 has been steadily increasing.

Year	Expenditure
1881	Rs. 2,29,220
1891	„ 3,03,292
1901	„ 7,48,665
1911	„ 10,19,787
1921	„ 68,29,902
1931	„ 90,77,083
1938	„ 1,03,75,755

While the annual expenditure on education in Hyderabad is about a crore of rupees, that of Mysore is only 66 lakhs, of Travancore and of Baroda within 40 lakhs. The budget allotments for education in Hyderabad are more than double that of Baroda and Travancore, but the educational condition is not half as satisfactory as theirs.

* Aged 10 and above.

I do not for a moment suggest that the educational attainments of Mysore, Travancore and Baroda are anything to be very proud of. Only this much I say, that if theirs is bad, Hyderabad's is worse. Hyderabad spends about a crore of rupees on its 4,790 institutions which have a strength of 3,62,160, whereas Mysore spends about 66 lakhs on its 7,890 institutions which have a strength of 3,39,696 pupils. On a rough calculation Mysore spends about Rs. 19 on every boy and Hyderabad spends about Rs. 27. We must also remember that Mysore has almost double the number of schools Hyderabad has, and therefore Mysore's establishment charges must be more than that of Hyderabad. Yet Mysore's average is much less than that of Hyderabad. This is because the Administration is top-heavy.

According to the latest census report (1931) the population of Hyderabad State is 1,44,36,148. Linguistically Hyderabad can be divided into three provinces. Telangana (Andhra), Maharashtra, and Karnataka. In all these parts of the State there are inhabitants whose mother-tongue is, besides the local language, *Urdu*. The Telugu-speaking population of the State is 69,72,534, Marathi-speaking 37,86,83, Kanarese-speaking 16,20,094 and Urdu-speaking 15,07,272. Thus we see that in order of merit Telugu comes first, Marathi second, Kanarese third, *and Urdu last*. Urdu is spoken by 10 per cent of the total population of the State. Yet the medium of instruction in the Osmania University is Urdu. The Urdu medium of instruction has undoubtedly given a great impetus to Muslims. At the same time, as Urdu happens to be a foreign language to a vast majority of the Hindus, it has acted as a brake on their progress. The following chart will bear out my contention :

Year.	Total population	Hindu population	Muslim population
1881 ..	98,45,594	88,93,181	9,25,929
1891 ..	1,15,37,040	1,03,15,249	11,38,666
1901 ..	1,11,41,142	98,70,839	11,55,750
1911 ..	1,33,74,676	1,16,26,375	13,80,990
1921 ..	1,24,71,770	1,06,56,453	12,98,277
1931 ..	1,44,36,148	1,21,76,727	15,34,666

Year.	Hindu Literates	Muslim Literates	No. of Literates per 1,000 among Hindus	No. of Literates per 1,000 among Muslims
1881 ..	2,64,507	45,752	29·8	49·4
1891 ..	3,46,475	70,147	33·7	61·6
1901 ..	2,50,267	63,110	25·4	54·6
1911 ..	2,67,041	81,260	23·0	59·0
1921 ..	2,77,056	1,15,522	26·0	89·0
1931 ..	4,05,614	1,58,859	33·3	103·5

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This table shows that even in 1881 the general literacy of Muslims was higher than that of Hindus. But during the fifty years between 1881 and 1931 the literacy figure for Muslims more than doubled itself whereas that of the Hindus has increased by only 0.4 per cent.

While the Muslim population of the State is 15 lakhs, the Hindus are 122 lakhs. The Hindu population is eight times that of Muslims. From the tables given below it will be noticed that in primary classes Muslims are numerically less than the Hindus though their proportion to the population may be larger. But as we go up to Secondary and Collegiate stages it will be seen that they outnumber the Hindu students, though they form only 1/10 of the Hindu population.

STUDENTS—PRIMARY EDUCATION

Year	Hindus	Muslims
1900	25,373	15,324
1905	26,418	16,516
1910	29,359	17,645
1918	20,309	20,747
1925	1,38,317	67,817
1930	1,80,833	99,827

STUDENTS—SECONDARY EDUCATION

Year	Hindus	Muslims
1900	6,418	5,496
1905	6,002	6,107
1910	6,261	7,985
1918	10,500	12,546
1925	18,008	18,974
1930	21,506	21,624

STUDENTS—COLLEGES

Year	Hindus	Muslims
1900	22	12
1905	24	8
1910	49	30
1918	98	207
1925	391	607
1930	483	667

From the above tables it will be noticed that while all along the proportion of Muslims in schools to their population is higher than the proportion of Hindus to their population, the Muslims have been making rapid progress, particularly from 1918, the year the Osmania University with its Urdu medium of instruction was inaugurated. The attempts of the Nizam's Government to elevate Urdu to the status of a National language has resulted in disaster to a large majority of the people in the State. Perhaps this is what Lord Irwin had in mind when in 1929 he said :

"It will be the task of mature statesmanship so to shape the policy of the University that it may have as strong an appeal to the Hindus as to Mahomedan subjects of Your Exalted Highness."

I am afraid even the establishment of the Osmania University was not actuated with high ideals of education. It seems to me that the Osmania University was established with a similar object which actuated Macaulay to introduce English education in India, the object being to produce Urdu-knowing people for recruitment in government service. When the Afafjahi Dynasty got firmly established in Hyderabad, it adopted Urdu as the State language. As sufficient number of Urdu-speaking people were not available in the State, a large number of people had to be imported from the Punjab and the United Provinces. Later on the Government felt the need of local people knowing Urdu. Sir Akbar Hydari, who may rightly be called the father of the Osmania University, was not unaware of the disadvantages of the Urdu medium. But as H. T. Ansari, the Registrar of the Osmania University, puts it, he met the objections thus :

"He (Sir Akbal Hydari) also referred to the two objections that might be argued against the selection of Urdu as the medium of instruction in the proposed university, firstly, that the majority of the people spoke other languages and secondly, the absence of good books in Urdu. As to the first it was pointed out that although it was true that those whose mother tongue is Urdu are in a minority yet Urdu is the cultural and official language of the state and of *polite society*, and is generally spoken by those *classes from which students proceeding to a College course are drawn*." (Italics mine).

The object of starting the University seems to have been to impart instruction to one class of people who spoke Urdu and who would proceed to University and from thence on to Government service. The interest of the masses of the people does not seem to have been considered at all. But it may be asked if it was for the benefit of this class that Urdu was chosen as the medium of instruction and introduced in secondary and primary schools also.

There are as many as 21,830 towns and villages in the State; among these the number of villages, which have a population of less than 5000, is 21,732. On the average there is one school for every 46 villages in Hyderabad State. While Travancore has one school for every 1,320 of its population, Hyderabad has a school for every 3,012 of its population. There are at least 3,000 villages in the State with a population of 500 to 1000 each, which have no school of any kind at all.

Under such circumstances one would expect that the Government would encourage private agencies to take up the education of their countrymen. But Hyderabad is a curious place.

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It is difficult to find conditions parallel to that of Hyderabad anywhere in the world. The Nizam's Government do not tolerate the idea of private educational institutions being established. An order of the government prohibits the starting of private schools. If any individual or association establishes an educational institution without the permission of the government the Director of Public Instruction or the Divisional Inspector of Schools is empowered to take necessary steps "either through the first Taluqdar of the district concerned or the Police Commisioner of Hyderabad to have such schools closed". The disastrous effect of this policy is revealed by the fact that while in 1925 there were 3,142 private educational institutions with a strength of 76,654 boys, at the end of 1932 there were only 868 institutions with a strength of 25,262 pupils. I fail to understand why the Nizam's Government are afraid of private educational institutions. Mr. Ramchander Naik, at present one of the judges of the Hyderabad High Court, says :

"The circular against the starting of private schools is the greatest obstacle in the spread of education. It has created difficulties which have caused a serious reduction in the number of schools. The people of the state rightly look upon it as a slur on their loyalty and intelligence. The real object of the circular seems to be to swell the number of Osmania University schools and to show to the government how successful the innovation has been. Outwardly the reason given is that people cannot be trusted with management of private schools. Every other country in the world is encouraging private citizens to take the education of the people in their own hands; whereas this premier State actually prohibits the people from taking part in such activities."

The Hindu population of the State is 1,21,76,727 and the Muslim population 15,34,666. The total Urdu-speaking population of the State is 15,07,272. It would be a mistake to think that the mother-tongue of all the Muslims is Urdu or that of all the Hindus is Telugu, Marathi or Kanarese. There are in the State 89,592 Brahmin Hindus, 21,001 Adi Hindus, 368 Jains, 1,400 Sikhs, 3,305 Christians, 3,261 Tribals and 234 belonging to other sects, whose mother-tongue is Urdu. Urdu happens to be the mother-tongue of 1,19,161 non-Muslims. Therefore Urdu at best can be the mother-tongue of 13,88,111 Muslims. That means even among Muslims there are as many as 3,46,555 people who do not know even how to speak Urdu. Thus we see that the Urdu medium of instruction is not only harmful to the majority of the Hindus but to as many as 3½ lakhs of Muslims. The above figures relate only to the language spoken. But as for literacy in Urdu, one per cent of the total population or 133 per thousand are literate in Urdu.

Year	Total	Per 1,000 of Males	Per 1,000 of Females
1931 ..	133	217	45
1921 ..	108	180	36

The table shows the progress made in Urdu literacy from 1921 to 1931—not a very startling result considering the tremendous efforts that have been made to push Urdu.

If people venture to condemn the adoption of Urdu as the medium of instruction, attempts are made to placate them by pandering to their feelings of patriotism, with the talk of a National language. I confess I am one of those who believe in evolving a common language—for the whole of India. Evolving a common language does not mean the suppression of provincial languages. One would only make an exhibition of his ignorance if he says that "Urdu," the language taught in the Osmania University, is Hindustani. The language taught in the Osmania University is full of Persian and Arabic words, some of them cannot even be pronounced by the Hindu students without difficulty. A perusal of any of the books published by the Translation Bureau of the Osmania University will bear out my argument. Hindu students are forced to learn two languages which are not their mother-tongue. Let it not be forgotten that English is a compulsory second language in the Osmania University. Under such circumstances there is no wonder that in attempting to learn two languages, they learn none.

In the words of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru all provincial languages

"are ancient languages with a rich inheritance, each spoken by many millions of persons, each tied up inextricably with the life and culture and ideas of the masses as well as of the upper classes. It is axiomatic that the masses can only grow educationally and culturally through the medium of their own language."

That being the case I do not hesitate to condemn the Urdu medium of instruction for one and all in the Osmania University.

From a close examination of the figures and statistics relating to education, which I have set out in some detail (though I am conscious of the fact that the attempt has been very incomplete), certain conclusions inevitably follow.

Firstly, it is obvious that the large sums of money spent on education in Hyderabad are not used economically and are not made to yield their best return, and that the administration is top-heavy.

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Secondly, the educational policy of the Nizam's government is intended to give the benefit of education to a narrow section of the population and not to diffuse it widely among the masses.

Thirdly, the arbitrary choice of Urdu as the medium of instruction (despite the praises showered on it by men of such widely different opinions as Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru and Dr. Rabindranath Tagore) has had the effect of shutting out the majority community from its proper share of education, with the result that the general percentage of literacy is lowest in Hyderabad.

His Exalted Highness Lieutenant-General Asif Jah, Muzaffar-Ul-Mulk, Wal Mumalik Nizam-Ul-Mulk, Nizam-Ud-Dowla, Nawab Sir Mir Osman Ali Khan Bahadur, Fateh Jung, Faithful Ally of The British Government, G.C.S.I., G.B.E., Nizam of Hyderabad is also the proud possessor of the coveted title of "Sultan-Ul-Ulum." It is an irony of fate that not one in a score of the beloved subjects of the "Sultan-Ul-Ulum" can even read and write.

TAGORE'S BIRTH-DAY CELEBRATION IN AMERICA

The India League of America celebrated on May 7th the 78th birthday of Rabindranath Tagore with great success. Many had to be turned away for lack of accommodations. The staging of Tagore's *Chitra* was an exceedingly attractive addition this year. Audience included such prominent and representative persons as Dr. Geiger, formerly professor at Vienna University, an eminent Indologist and a friend of Tagore, Dr. & Mrs. Schwartz, former German Consul in New York, Mr. Govind Behari Lal, prominent Journalist and winner of Pulitzer Prize, Mr. & Mrs. Otto Wierum, Vice-President, Bar Association of New York, Mr. Bomanji of Bombay, Mr. Shankar Marathe of Sogani & Co., Dr. Potter, founder of the Humanist Society, Mr. Fyzee-Rahameen, well-known artist, Mr. Hemendra Rakhit, member of Board of Director of Alumnii Association of International Houses, a Rockefeller Institution, and others.

Mr. Nibahu Ram Checker, President of the League, welcomed the guests. He dwelt on Tagore's contribution to India and the world. Like Kalidas and Shakespeare Tagore, said Mr. Checker, is the living link between the cultures of the East and West in this age of stress and strife. Dr. Bibhuti Bhushan Mukherji, with his usual dignity and humor, acted as the Toastmaster introducing the speakers in appropriate manner. Tagore's song of victory, *Jana-Gana-Mana-adhinayaka jayo he, Bharata bhagya vidhata*, sung by Mrs. Indu Marathe, opened the proceedings of the meeting.

As the first speaker of the evening, the Toastmaster introduced Miss Shanti Flaum of Palestine and Santiniketan, translator of Tagore's works in Hebrew and Arabic. Miss Flaum vividly portrayed the various activities of Santiniketan and its unique character as it attempts to synthesise the many cross currents of the cultures of the East and West. She recalled what Tagore said to an audience once, pointing to his advanced years, that now it is "your portion to come and take your place here as fellow workers and dedicate yourselves to that I consider the purest ideals of Humanity." Dr. Jaidip Singh, a Harvard scholar and an able interpreter of Indian Nationalism in America, stressed the unique significance of the Nobel Prize awarded to Tagore. Tagore, said Dr. Singh, has succeeded in the wellnigh impossible task of conveying the innermost spirit of Indian poetry into English. He spoke of Tagore's deep patriotism—displayed when as an indignant protest against the Amritsar tragedy he flung aside his knighthood—a patriotism as deep as his spirituality and purity of character.

The versatile Madam Atya Begum, wife of the famous artist, Fyzee Rahameen, outlined Tagor's varied achievements as a poet, essayist, painter and musician, and dwelt on Tagor's deep interest in aesthetic dance.

The Begum Shahiba was followed by Dr. Lin Yutang, the outstanding Chinese Scholar now in America, author of *My country and My People* and the *Importance of Living*—both among the best known and most popular books of recent years. He was there, he said, to pay his homage to Tagore as *the Poet Laureate of Asia* and he was there to express gratitude for Tagore's eloquent protest against the Japanese aggression in China. The exchange of letters between the Poet and Noguchi, he humourously characterized as "Poetry and Trash—with Tagore contributing the Poetry, and Noguchi the trash!" Dr. Syud Hossain, Professor of Oriental Civilization at the University of Southern California who recently returned from India and have had interviews with Tagore, found in Tagore a mystic and poet who converts "the sorrows of a suffering humanity into joyous and benignant song—one who is enwrapped in, and enraptured by, the multifold beauty of the Universe." Tagore's face, said Dr. Hossain, radiates an unusual grace—a grace only to be achieved by an inner spiritual illumination. Mr. Nirmal Das, playwright and artist and a contributor to American journals on Indian art and music, recited in Bengalee verses from Gitanjali to the delight of the audience. Mr. Mirza Jaffar recited a beautiful poem in Urdu, his own composition depicting Tagore as one who is the servant of the Nation but a ruler of our heart. The speeches were followed by the pesentation of *Chitra*, directed by Mme. Hilda Boulter, with a cast of Hindu and American players. It was artistically staged and enthusiastically received. Mr. Bhupesh Guha, Director of the Institute of Hindu Dancing gave an exquisite rendering on Esraz and flute during intermissions.

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UNEMPLOYMENT AND VOCATIONAL EDUCATION

By Prof. Dr. H. L. ROY, M.I. Chem. E., A.B. (Harvard), Dr. Ing. (Berlin).

The problem of "unemployment" engages the attention of all thoughful people. The term, unemployment, is applicable, from the standpoint of economics, to those who have had regular employments before and are now thrown out of work without being incapacitated by old age, illness or accident. These are hard cases, because such a condition implies that the worker and all his dependents are without any means of livelihood. In India during recent times, the clamour is raised regarding the unemployment of educated youths after leaving college or school. Economically speaking this condition is not so very serious as the former one. They had not been wage-earners and were dependent for their up-keeping on their parents or relatives; the end of their educational life means a partial relief for their supporters. Their unemployment produces a demoralising effect on the middle-class society but raises no very great immediate economic problem. Moreover, they form only a microscopic minority of the Indian population. Their unemployment is due to wrong selection of vocation. Almost every middle-class young man somehow passing the Matriculation Examination goes in for college education and continues there till he gets his Master's degree or is driven out because of repeated failures in the middle courses. Then comes the question of unemployment. He has attained no particular qualification. He generally chooses his subjects not out of any special love or liking for them but because they are easier to secure the requisite pass-marks. He is a product for which there is no great demand in the market. Pali, botany, logic, anthropology, zoology, physiology, psychology, history, etc., and any queer combination of them are taken without any particular aim. This satisfaction of middle-class bourgeois vanity for getting a university degree leads the young men and their families to trouble and dissatisfaction. This unwise investment of time and money means waste of national energy. University education is meant for those poor young men who are intellectually brilliant and for the rich who can afford the luxury of college life and culture; in the struggle for existence this training is not of much help. The law of demand and supply rules the market prices of inanimate and animate commodities including human beings. Brilliant M.A.'s or M.Sc.'s in anthropology or zoology will fetch no better price than mediocrates because the country is not in need of such men at present. General departments of the universities are primarily for culture and advancement of knowledge and the subsequent employment of the graduates is not their main or direct concern, and the *raison d'etre* of the universities is not to be measured by the ability of their graduates to earn a comfortable living. The universities will justify their existence if their graduates get a sound liberal education and culture through disciplined training which would enable them to think rationally, act manly, and express themselves in speech and in writing in an explicit and logical manner. A young man so trained should fit in in any sphere of life and activity, and the education will not be entirely of no economic value.

It is neither wise nor just to curse the universities and still send our young men to them without any definite aim or purpose. The are our own creation and as long as they serve the purpose of preparing the boys for government and semi-government jobs of which even the highest are nothing but glorified clerkships requiring no initiative or farsightedness, and requiring only execution of orders from above. The unemployment of the university educated men has directed people's attention to reform in the university education and administration. The defect in the whole system is that in the country there is only one system of education —the general education imparted by and through the universities, provision for training in different vocational lines during the school age and post-school age being almost neglected in proportion to that for general education.

It should not be asserted, neither is it a fact, that there are too many schools and colleges. The percentage of the total population attending schools and colleges is far below that obtaining in more advanced countries of the world. The defect really lies in the paucity of different types of educational institutions and in the ratio of distribution of students in general and vocational educational establishments.

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The term "vocational institution" has a much wider meaning than for what it is generally used. It should include all institutions which train men and women for careers in life, unless education should be a hobby and not a preparation to earn one's livelihood. In a more restricted sense the term excludes only such educational institutions which impart general culture. This is the logical meaning of the term, but the usage of words is not governed by logic. The conventional definition is more immediate for our purpose. This term generally includes only such institutions which impart education in specialised branches of training for industrial, commercial and agricultural professions of the undergraduate and pre-university standard.

The natural question arises—when should a boy or a girl enter a vocational institution and whether vocational education should be imparted along with general education in ordinary schools?

As an adjunct to general education such training cannot be wide and intensive enough to fit a student for a career in the line, and so should not be called vocational training. It can only impart a technical bias and some of the students may find technical lines more suited to their talents and aptitude than general education. It helps the guardians and the teachers to some extent to sort out the students for different lines. From the pedagogic point of view some kind of manual work is absolutely necessary for Indian students who are more prone to speculations and less alive to the objective side of life. Moreover, it gives their brain a little rest and they enjoy the joy of creation. A student taking up any technical career, and for that matter all students, should develop the power of observation. The teaching in our schools is very defective in this respect. In the elementary classes the students should be asked to observe in detail the changes that occur in the animal and vegetable world and compare them with the printed illustrations. The way these subjects are taught frustrate the purpose with which they have been introduced into the curriculum. These should not form parts of examinations. The teachers should try only to rouse the interest of the students, and sharpen their power of observation. Another subject which is neglected in schools is Drawing. Drawing is the language of engineers and technicians. A scale drawing of any object or machine with section, projection, plan elevation, etc. explain more facts about it and makes more vivid than pages of written description of the same. This teaching develops in the student a sense of proportion as well. The question now arises—at what stage should a student join a real vocational institution? This problem in our country at the present condition of spread of education involves many factors. In Europe and America where in most advanced countries primary education is compulsory, the students begin to join vocational schools just after the period of compulsion is over. Every one has to earn for himself, and according to the social tradition and convention prevailing does not become dependent on relatives. Literacy in India has spread up to now amongst only about 10% of the whole population. The caste-people have not yet been economically so oppressed as to eliminate the caste-and-family pride to an extent which would drive them into manual work of the artisans. The joint-family system is also responsible for the wasteful continuation of general education by students who have been found unfit for it. They will beg, borrow or be dependent on even distant relations to enable them to continue their studies in schools and colleges which have repeatedly declared them to be failures. And at last when every avenue for general education is closed to them they enter vocational institutions with an inferiority complex. There are, of course, exceptions, and this state of affairs is changing but with very depressing slowness. Moreover, the number and kind of vocational schools fulfilling the industrial needs, local conditions and capacities of the students are found wanting. It must be admitted here that the number of students attending the vocational schools of all sorts has increased about fourfold during the last thirty years; but it must also be recognised that industrial development of the country has increased at a more rapid rate.

We may now consider the nature of the needs of the country for vocational schools. The present-day easy means of communication is shortening distances and breaking up barriers between different parts of the world and the economic life of different countries is rapidly approaching similarity. Every country is being industrially developed and trying to be self-sufficient and self-supporting as far as possible. Individual characteristics are disappearing almost to intangibility. The social life undergoes metamorphosis owing to economic conditions. However much we may vocally assert the distinctiveness of Indian life from the rest of the world, those who have eyes to see cannot deny that we are gradually and in spite of our protests advancing towards the western

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mode of life and living and consequently our vocational educational system will have to be modelled according to the patterns existing in other industrialised countries. Of course, modifications have to be introduced to suit the present economic life of and spread of general education in India, specially in Bengal. Which kind of vocational schools should be started? To find a solution of this problem let us enumerate briefly the subjects that are taught in other countries specially in Germany. Germans, in every sphere of life, are very methodical and they plan their activities to the minutest details and with utmost efficiency and thoroughness.

Germany

The compulsion to attend school is universal. It is realised through the elementary schools which consist of 8 one-year classes and the following Fortbildungsschule (continuation schools) which carries the scholars up to the end of the eighteenth year. In both these schools teaching and educational appliances are provided free. In other words, every young man or woman under the age of 18 (with one or two specified exceptions), no matter where located or how employed, must attend school. The eight years' study in the elementary schools is not enough; average students finish the elementary school course at the age of 14 and then they step in to the higher general educational schools or must enter the continuation schools usually at the age of 14. Since between the ages of 14 and 18 the great majority of the population belongs already to the class of working men employed in some firm or factory, these continuation schools are for all practical purposes vocational schools. These schools are by law maintained by the industrial guilds, unions of artisans, chambers of commerce, trading corporations and such other economic establishments. The State, the city and local governments are also responsible for the founding of such institutions wherever necessary. The tendency is to treat these schools more from the stand-point of their economic significance for the country than from that of their character as educational institutions. The inspection and legal control are vested, therefore, chiefly in provincial ministries of commerce, industry, forestry and agriculture and only to a very small extent in the ministries of education, science and art.

The different types of such continuation schools, where the students are already apprentices, are the following:

(*i*) Trade-schools:—The course covers three years. The subjects taught in general principles of commerce, business correspondence, German composition, accounts, book-keeping, economic geography, and civics. In commerce special attention is directed to transportation, banking and business law.

(*ii*) Industrial schools, *i.e.*, schools for handicraftsmen:—Three principal subjects are taught. First and foremost is the study of raw materials, machine tools and appliances as well as the manufacture or construction of goods. Then comes the study of the business side of production, including the knowledge of credit, banking, money, export, import, calculation of wages, prices, costs, etc. Finally, the student get a general idea of law, civics, sanitation, cultural institutions of the land, and last but not the least, economics.

(*iii*) Factory schools:—These schools are maintained by the great factories and workshops for the benefit of their raw recruits and apprentices. The curriculum is as comprehensive as in an ordinary technical school comprising, as it does, engineering in the different branches, general science, German composition, accounting, civics, drawing, economics and culture history. Physical exercises, gymnastics, sports, etc., demand special attention on the part of the authorities.

(*iv*) Railway schools:—These are maintained by the railway workshops and factories for their apprentices and workmen, and the curriculum is similar to the one mentioned before with variations to meet the special needs of the railway work.

(*v*) Mining schools:—Same as above with variations to meet the demands of the profession.

(*vi*) Rural schools:—These are adapted to the needs of the boys and the girls living in villages who are in one way or other engaged in helping their parents in agricultural work. But these are not, strictly speaking, agricultural institutions; their character oscillates between an ordinary school and a technical professional school of an all-round character.

(*vii*) Schools for working women. Vocational schools for girls belong to three categories, *e.g.*, domestic science, agricultural, commercial, and industrial. The institutions are meant for young women actually employed in domestic houses or factories. The courses cover in general the following branches of knowledge: German, sanitation, civics, cooking, household work, needle work, including dress making, nursing and care of children, gymnastics, sports, music. The professional lessons comprise book-keeping, drawing, sh

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hand, typewriting, etc., and are indeed the same as those for men desribed in sections (*i*) and (*ii*).

Besides these continuation schools which the boys and girls between the ages of 14 and 18 join after finishing their education in the elementary schools, there are the *Fachschulen* (schools for special industries) which demand the same entrance qualifications. A few words must be said first regarding the highest technical colleges which are called *Technische Hochschule* in Germany.

The industrialisation of Germany as that of other countries has been brought about by many factors. As a rule, outsiders cast their eyes on the *Technische Hochschulen* which academically and socially enjoy the rank of universities, as the chief if not the sole spiritual sources of Germany's industrial might.

On an intensive examination, however, one should be inclined to revise one's impressions and judgments. One discovers that Germany is a vertiable jungle of industrial, professional and other institutions. Their name is legion and they are bewilderingly complex.

It is this vast number of technical schools of all denominations, distributed as they are in every nook and corner of Germany that has democratised inventions, discoveries, industrial skill, practical experience and scientific knolwedge among the masses of German population. The backbone of industrial Germany is built up on the nurture furnished by these schools which though bearing the modest name of *Schule* have not failed to maintain a standard of tuition sufficiently high, such as may enable the scholars to take charge of factories and workshops as responsible managers and experts.

"Industrial research" is a problem for which perhaps in most cases the best equipment can be secured in a *Technische Hochschule*. In order to equip oneself, further, as teacher of industries for a technical institution, one generally provides oneself with the training and discipline such as are available in *Technische Hochschule*. But those whose chief interest lies in the building up of factories and workshops find their aims invariably best served in such technical schools as are known as *Fachschulen*.

These *Fachschulen* which the girls and boys join after finishing their elementary school career may be classified as follows :

(*i*) Schools of architecture :—Courses are of about three years' duration. Students have to pass an entrance examination and must have previously worked as an apprentice for about one year to an architect. Students leave the school with certificates in overground architecture and underground architecture. The curriculum includes general culture, economics, and special subjects needed in this line of work. There are about 70 such schools in Germany with about 13,000 students on the roll, and these institutions are maintained by the State.

(*ii*) Schools of metal industry :—These schools impart training in machine making, mechanical engineering, and all kinds of metal work. Students are generally admitted after at least 4 years' training as apprentices or workers in factories. So the age of the students varies between 20 and 30 years.

(*iii*) Schools of manufacture :—At least three years' practical work in factories after elementary public school course is the prerequisite for admission. The curriculum is finished in two years. There are two types of courses : Manufacturing side of the industry and engineering side of the industry.

(*iv*) Schools of spinning and weaving.

(*v*) Schools of industrial arts and handicrafts :—Every conceivable art and craft has its special schools in Germany; and where it is not possible to institute a full school certain classes in the schools or museums are devoted to the subject.

In these institutions the training of taste is provided for the representatives of every industry. Accordingly, there are separate classes for carpenters and manufacturers of furniture, house-decorators, painters, modellers, scluptors in wood and stone, metal-workers, die-cutters, black-smiths, silver and gold smiths, enamel workers, designers, painters of advertisements, printers and compositors, book-binders, glass-painters, glass-cutters, and porcelain artists. For women there are special classes in weaving, knitting, needle-work, embroidery of all sorts, clothing fashions and garment making.

In each school the studies are oriented in three directions. First, there is the artist's aspect of every craft. And for this the scholars have to take general drawing, calligraphy, drawing of plants and animals, nature study and water colour painting. Secondly, there is the technical and manufacturing aspect. The corresponding studies are construction, details of the special subjects, and raw materials. Finally, there are courses in book-keeping, calculation of costs, industrial legislation, and civics.

The scholar must be at least 17 years old and must have practical experience in the crafts. The schools are visited not only by young men

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and women who seek a full training which lasts often about 4 years and generally 2½ years but also by elderly people who come in for certain courses in order to learn some thing new for their crafts as well as by artisans who, while employed as assistants in some studies, seek to advance their knowledge by attending evening classes.

(*vi*) Schools of mining :—The object of these schools is to turn out technical officials, engineers, etc., for the mines.

(*vii*) Schools of navigation : Navigation comprises five different kinds of sailing, each with its own technique. So there are five different schools or grades—(a) coasting, (b) small or short distance sailing, (c) fishing in high seas, (d) piloting, (e) long distance shipping.

(*viii*) Technical schools for special industries :—

A. Metal industries—(a) Smithies of all sorts, (b) Installation industries—water, gas, heating and ventilation, (c) Instruments and machine-tools—the apparatus for telegraph, telephone, typewriters, sewing machines, automatic calculators, cycles, gas-meters, water meters, photographic and cinema apparatus, gramophones, electrometers, etc., etc., (d) Clocks and watches, (e) precious metals. The course covers three years and comprises lessons in goldsmiths' work, steel cutting, embroidery in silver, etching, colouring and printing on metals, foundry work, casting, etc., etc.

B. Wood work :—(a) Carving and cabinet making, (b) Toys, (c) Carriages, (d) Musical instruments, etc., etc.

C. Chemical industries :—(a) Paper manufacture, (b) Dyeing, (c) Soap-making.

D. Ceramic industries :—(a) Bricks and tiles, (b) Procelain, (c) Glass.

E. Photography.

F. Leather industry.

G. Garment-making and tailoring.

H. Food products.

The description of the system of vocational education given here is that of one of the most methodically-planned and highly-industrialised countries of the world. The conditions prevailing in India are different but we can take lessons from this system for a beginning. The cry that India is having too much of general education is miscalculated and misleading; we should not curtail but rather expand it. What we need is more education and education of all sorts. The vocational education should be given the same honour as is paid to the general education. Students who are found deficient in the ordinary schools are not necessarily less intelligent. The tests which they are put and by which they are declared unfit are not the only tests to judge their intelligence and abilities. Even in the undeveloped state of our country we find that the so-called failures in schools prosper in life. The sorting out of students for different lines of training should start after they have finished the elementary education. This will effect a vast saving of man power as regards time, human energy, and human intelligence. Most of the so-called failures in our schools are to a large extent due to the usual absence of linguistic abilities. In England, France, or Germany an insignificant percentage of the whole population has the same knowledge of a foreign language as is possessed by an average student in a High English School in India. So we will have to change our measuring stick and not make fetish of the knowledge of the English language. Once we admit the usefulness of vocational education we should now see how we can provide for the same. In Messrs. Abbot & Wood's report they have warned against the admission of more students in vocational schools than could be absorbed by the existing industries. Apparently the authors have always in their mind the large scale industries. But as shown in the case of Germany there are vocational schools for every conceivable human activity and employment. The securing of service is not the criterion of usefulness of any systematic training. There will always be some who will not be able to utilise any kind of training. They are perhaps temperamentally unfit for jobs; they will continue learning new arts and crafts till they find a suitable one.

The Government of Bengal has already started a few vocational schools and we are thankful for the same. But very much yet remains to be done. The Government pleads want of funds and not want of good intentions. One way out may be suggested as a beginning. There are some private vocational schools in and around Calcutta. Government should recognise them and with advice and some financial help remodel them. The proprietors or managing committees, as the case may be, of such schools will resent government interference, because government connection, in most cases meant in the past absolute government control, irritating red-tapism, and rigid formalities. The Government will have to change their methods and approach people in a genial conciliatory mood. I am speaking from personal experience. I am connected with a college of

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engineering and technology founded in 1906 which has trained more mechanical, electrical, and chemical engineers, foremen, surveyors and draftsmen than any other single institution in India and yet we have never met with much encouragement from the government. Perhaps we are also somewhat stiff-necked and can't bow down sufficiently to please the authorities. But with proper good intentions on both sides there can be found a *via media*.

So, to start with the expansion of vocational schools these private enterprises should be helped, regularized and remodelled and made more efficient. The remodelling should be done along the following lines :

(*i*) The medium of all instructions should be in the mother-tongue as far as possible.

(*ii*) As a pre-requisite, teaching of drawing should be made compulsory in the primary and secondary schools.

(*iii*) Curriculum should be drawn up for every line of training on a scientific basis, because every art if critically looked into will be found to have a scientific basis.

(*iv*) Economics of the trade or manufacture should be taught.

(*v*) Book-keeping, accounting and cost calculation are absolutely necessary parts of the training; and want of knowledge in these subjects has been the cause of failure of many public and private enterprises.

(*vi*) Knowledge of marketing of raw materials and finished goods of the line of training should be thoroughly taught to the students.

(*vii*) Cultural education embodying the study of the mother language, national history and civics should not be neglected, because we want that students coming out of these schools should be as good citizens as anybody else.

To cut down expenses the space in the schools should be utilized as much as possible. Classes should be held in the morning, at noon, and in the evening leaving intervals for cleaning only.

The existing general school and college buildings can be utilised for lecture classes of the vocational schools; for practical classes accommodations can be made with slight additions and alterations.

A regular survey of such non-governmental public and private vocational institutions should be made by the government through the Department of Industries and new lines of vocational education may be opened after full consideration by an expert committee. The existing schools should be thoroughly overhauled where necessary and curriculum drawn up on a scientific basis.

ECONOMICS OF INDIAN LABOUR

By X

Dr. Rajani Kanta Das is a well-known economist and his writings on Indian labour and industry in the pages of this REVIEW and other periodicals, both national and international, as well as his treatises, have been before the public for the past twenty years. He has been a pioneer in the field of Indian labour economics. In addition to his various earlier works in the different aspects of labour, he has issued two new volumes, namely : (1) *Industrial Labor in India*,[1] published, though without his name, by the International Labor Office at Geneva; and (2) *Principles and Problems of Indian Labor Legislation*, published by the Calcutta University as Special Readership Lectures in 1937.[2]

The most important approach to India's social development is the improvement of the working and living conditions of the wage workers, to which he has devoted the best part of his energy for over a quarter of a century. In 1916, he presented his study on Indian labour as doctoral dissertation, in the University of Wisconsin, and in 1921-22 the Bureau of Labor Statistics, Department of Labor, United States Government, subsidised his studies on Indian labour and published parts of them in its official organ the *Monthly Labor Review* and even appointed him as Special Agent for a special economic investigation on the Pacific Coast of North America. His treatises on factory labour, factory legislation, and the labor movement in India, as well as on Hindustani workers on the Pacific Coast, appeared in 1923.

It was on the merit of his works on Indian labodr and his connection with the U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics that Dr. Das was called upon by the International Labor Office to undertake, as research economist, a survey of labour conditions in India in 1925. His preliminary report on industrial labour in India was submitted to the Royal Commission on Labor in India in 1929, which is known to have made full use of it. The International Labor Office has also published his writings on woman and child labour in India, labour legislation in (British) India, and labour legislation in Indian States, in the *International Labor Review*. The present volume on *Industrial Labor in India* is merely a continuation of his former studies. It appears at a moment when India is engaged in national planning and industrialization, for

1. International Labor Office, Studies and Reports, Series A (International Relations, No. 41), Geneva, 1938, pp. VIII+335. Price 7s. 6d. or $2.

2. Calcutta University Special Readership Lectures, University of Calcutta, 1938, pp. XIV+281. Price Rs. 2-8.

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both of which the accurate and impartial study of Dr. Das is a welcome contribution.

After the brief survey of the geographical, social, political and industrial background, the report deals successively with the nature and extent of industrial employment, labour legislation, industrial relations, employment and unemployment, health and safety, hours of work, wages, standard of living and housing and welfare in all classes of organized industry, such as plantation, factory, mining and transport. Although a good deal of material has been drawn from the report and evidence of the Royal Commission on Labour in India, many other sources, both of past and recent years, have been tapped to trace in some detail the historical development of each aspect of labour and also to give a comprehensive and up-to-date view of the working and living conditions of all classes of workers now employed in organized industry.

One of the objects of Dr. Das in most of his writings is to give an objective and comprehensive, though constructive and concise, description of his subject-matter with a view to building a positive background of national thinking, and on this point the present volume under review is a great success. But in conclusion he also points out that India with her immense resources of power, raw material, labour, potential home market and constant pressure of increasing population upon the land, is bound to make a much greater progress in industrialization, indicating a still larger increase of wage workers in organized industry. The solution of some of the labour problems depends upon the concerted activities of the workers, and trade unionism has already made considerable progress. But due to the fact that the Indian workers have not yet sufficient strength in solving some of their problems through collective bargaining, labour legislation is still a most important factor in the improvement of the labourer's working and living conditions in India. Moreover, labour legislation has become an important institution in modern industrial society for the solution of the increasingly complicated problems of production and distribution.

Regarding immediate labour measures, he shows the necessity of extending child labour laws to small factories and workshops, of reducing working hours in seasonal and non-regulated factories as well as in small mines and plantations, of extending the scope of the maternity benefit law to all women workers and of social insurance to all cases of sickness, old age and unemployment, and of employing women doctors and inspectors in all industries employing children and women workers. It is also shown that there is a great need of material help from both the municipalities and Provincial Governments for carrying on welfare activities in relation to workers' housing, health, education and recreation.

The more important of Dr. Das's present works is, however, *Principles and Problems of Indian Labor Legislation.* With a brief notice of labour legislation as the most dynamic instituation in modern society, growing, as it has done, from a simple restraint on child labour in Great Britain to a mighty world-wide institution of international significance, the history of Indian labour legislation is briefly described and its procedure analysed. After enumerating its fundamental principles and elucidating its chief problems, the sginificance of labour legislation in social development is indicated.

The principles which guide, or, more properly, should guide, labour legislation, such as social justice, social welfare, national economy and international solidarity, are enunciated with a view to ensuring its continued progress in conformity with the social and industrial development of the country. Social justice has long been acknowledged as a foundation stone of labour legislation, but the rights and privileges as secured by law do not always lead to the moral and material welfare of the workers. The emphasis on the importance of social welfare as a separate and distinct principle of labour legislation is therefore to be welcomed. Nor less important is national or social economy as a distinct principle of labour legislation in view of the fact that workers' welfare, *e.g.*, shorter hours, better security and higher wages etc., are ultimately dependent on the economic condition of a country. Moreover, the increased welfare of the workers, as indicated by better health and a higher standard of living, naturally add to the labour efficiency and national productivity, as well as to the higher purchasing power, thus securing a permanent home market for industrial products. Finally, international solidarity is an important, though not altogether new factor in labour legislation inasmuch as in spite of the temporary setback the world has increasingly become an intenational market, where "sweated" labour in a backward country affects the labor conditions in an advanced country. As a matter of fact, the progress of legislation depends upon the concerted action of all the nations.

The problems of labour legislation are roughly classified under three headings: first, the development of a national labour policy, for which he advocates the growth of intelligent public opinion, workers' class solidarity, employers' enlightened interest, and representative government; secondly, the development of a class of wage workers who should specialize in the work of modern industry and live with their families in or nearby industrial centres, and for whom should be provided adequate housing, proper sanitation, general and technical education, security in employment and income, and suffrage in the local and Provincial Governments; finally, the organization of State function, with special reference to constitutional adjustment, administrative co-ordination, and adaptive legislation, has also been fully discussed, and the importance of labour research and of the National Labour Council in the development of labour legislation is indicated.

The most important problem discussed by Dr. Das is the creation of a class of industrial workers for modern organized industry. This suggestion is quite contrary to the recommendation of the Royal Commission on Labour, which would like to have the recruits from the village for temporary work in modern factory, a recommendation which was strongly criticised by Mr. Das in the pages of this *Review* in 1932. Modern industry has to compete in the international market and the success of such industry depends upon the efficiency of the workers who are trained for such work. It is absurd to think that a class of peasants and casual workers recruited at random from the village and at a comparatively advanced age could be easily adapted to the work of a modern machine-power industry, and yet a body of twelve commissioners, six of whom were Indians, did not hesitate to recommend such a measure.

The last but not the least important chapter of the volume is of special significance; in it it has been shown that the Labour Code has already been achieved in all branches of organized industry throughout the country. What is more significant is the fact that the Labour Code is an important landmark in the upward movement of the labouring classes, on the moral, material, and intellectual development of which depends the welfare of society in general. Labour legislation has thus become an important process of social development.

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RELATIVE RELIGIOUS-MINDEDNESS OF THE HINDUS AND THE MUHAMMADANS IN BENGAL

By JATINDRA MOHAN DATTA M.SC., B.L.

It is a fact easily verifiable that reverence and conformity to religious observances is less and fast declining among the Hindus of Bengal. This is but a reflection of want of religious-mindedness among them. Last year shortly after the Pujahs the writer went to Puri with two of his friends; one of his friends (scion of a family responsible for at least two dozen temples), who had been to Puri previously, never re-visited the Temple of Jagannath during our stay there excusing himself by saying that he has seen all that is worth seeing previously; the other friend went only once into the inner sanctum while he regaled his eyes with the beauty of the Temple from outside several times—and he, a Brahmin, having the family idol worshipped daily at his home. Of the crowd assembling in the evening at the time of Arati we found by actual count only 5 or 6 Bengalees on three successive days; although at the time about 250 houses on or near the sea-beach, besides the several hotels, were occupied by the Bengalees. One grandson by the distaff side, who inherited the vast wealth of his ancestor amounting to several lakhs, found it inconvenient to come down from the cool heights of Darjeeling to perform the *Chaturthi Sradh* in time. These are not exceptional instances; such attitude is unfortunately becoming too frequent.

On the other hand the Muhammadans of Bengal are religious-minded, and religious fervour is on the increase amongst them—the cause may be partly political; but the fact is there. Lt.-Col. Upendra Nath Mukerji writing some 35 years back observes in his *A Dying Race* thus:

"The main fact remains that in every village in Bengal there is a mosque or meeting place where religion and morality are taught; there is a 'muezzin' attached to it who calls to prayers and reminds the village people of their religious duties at least four times a day; there is a teacher or mollah who helps the religious duties of his congregation and there is a general meeting of practically every Mahomedan, at least once a week, to perform his worship or listen to the sermon.

"This goes on quietly without noise or ostentation all the year round, wherever there are Mahomedans, in every village in Bengal. It is to be remembered that there is no Church building society, no central organization; there is no State help, no obligatory payments, no church laws, no compulsion, no collection at the end of the service. *To the Mahomedan religion is just as necessary as food or drink.* (italics ours). He seeks it, he practises it, just in the same way as he works for his food. In their homes, most Mahomedans pray regularly every day. The women pray apart but just as often and sometimes oftner than the men. Mothers teach prayer to their children, fathers insist on their sons going through their devotions." (See Chap. XIII, p. 62 *et seq*).

The broad facts being what we have stated above, the question is, can we measure quantitatively the relative religious-mindedness of the two communities? We can only see or measure outward manifestations of religion; the deeper spiritual experience may be felt, but the same cannot be measured. How then are we to say that community A is more or less religiously-minded thon community B? If a community is religious-minded, ordinarily we may expect it to spend money on its places of worship. The same community, if fond of show, may be expected to spend money on its temples or mosques, etc., or mere externals. So from the money spent on mere externals we cannot conclude whether a given community is more religious-minded or more fond of mere externals. If we use the term 'religiosity' to express and include both religious-mindedness and love of show, we may get a measure of relative Religiosity of the two communities. And from this we may also get a measure of relative religious-mindedness.

The Hindus and the Muhammadans of Calcutta are typical of all Bengal; so what may be found to be true of Calcutta is very likely to be true of all Bengal. The proportion of the Muhammadans in the area under the authority of the Calcutta Corporation is somewhat less than that in the 'Census' Calcutta. The percentage of the Muhammadans in Census Calcutta have varied from 31.8 in 1881 to 23.0 in 1921 and 26.0 in 1931; the average being 27.7 per cent. For the area under the Corporation it is 3 per cent less; so we take the percentage of the Muhammadans in Calcutta Corporation to be 24.7, or some 25 per cent.

The Corporation does not levy any rates and taxes on temples and mosques; but in

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the assessment registers their situations and annual valuations are given. From such assessment registers we find that in the 32 Wards of the Corporotion, there are 475 Hindu temples or places of public worship with a total annual valuation of Rs. 3,66,282; as against 411 mosques with a total annual valuation of Rs. 3,74,634.

Thus 475 temples, etc., supply the religious needs of the Hindus of Calcutta, who form some 70 per cent of the total population; as against the 411 mosques, etc., for the 25 per cent of the Muhammadans.* The Relative religious-mindedness may as a first approximation be therefore said to be :—

Hindu : Muhammadan—475/70 : 411/25 *or* 1 : 2.7 . . . (1)

Some 4 or 5 years back it was ascertained that the Muhammadans pay only 5.6 per cent of the total taxes and rates. Thus 25 per cent of the population pay some 6 per cent of the rates and taxes; while the 70 per cent Hindus pay some 90 per cent. The relative wealth (so far as Calcutta is concerned) may be said to be in the proportion of :—

Hindu : Muhammadan : : 90/70 : 6/25 or 1 : 0.18, or 5.35 : 1 . . . (2)

The average annual value of a Hindu temple, or place of worship is Rs. 771; the corresponding average for a Mosque is Rs. 912. Relatively to their wealth the Muhammadans spend (912/1 : 771/5.35) or 6.31 times more than the Hindus. Or in other words the relative expenditure of the Hindus and the Muhammadans in religious buildings for the same wealth is as 1 : 6.31 . . . (3)

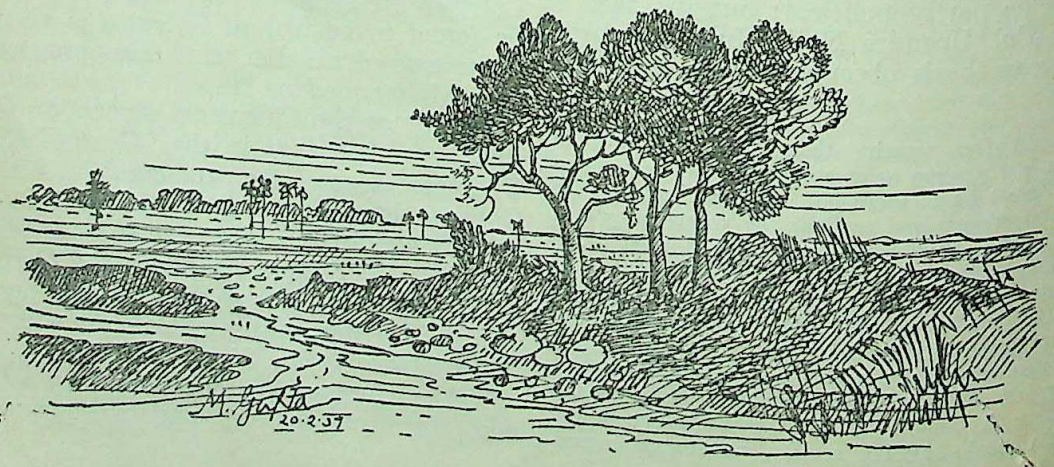
Dividing the ratio 1 : 6.31 by the relative religious-mindedness 1: 2.7 as found above (1), we get the relative Religiosity as :—

Hindu : Muhammadan : : 1/1 : 6.31/2.7 or 1 :2.34 . . . (4)

We are not unmindful of the fact that many of the Calcutta Hindus build temples, ghats, etc., outside the municipal limits of Calcutta on the banks of the sacred Bhagirathi. To give only a few examples, the Maharaja Tagore has got his Siva Temples and the Kali Temple, the Sanskrit College at Mulajore, Rani Rasmoni has the famous Temples of Dakhineswar; the Dutts of Hatkhola have two sets of Twelve Siva Temples and Ghats on the opposite banks of the Ganges, etc., etc. Even allowing for such temples and ghats, etc., it may be safely asserted that the Muhammadans are *twice* more religious-minded than the Hindus; and their religiosity is also *twice* greater than that of the Hindus.

As this is a preliminary study on an intricate and complicated subject it is feared there may be fallacies in our argument. There there may be other very relevant facts of which we may not be fully cognisant. We would therefore appeal to the reader to point out all such fallacies, and bring together the other relevant facts.

* In this connection it would be interesting to compare the 20th century Calcutta with the Mediaeval Cordova of King Alhakem (c. 976 A.D.). In Calcutta, the total number of occupied houses is 2,10,686 in 1931. As the Muhammadans are some 23 per cent of the population, we may estimate the number of houses occupied by them to be 48,000. In Spain, when the Western Caliphate of Cordova was at its height of glory under King Alhakem, "there were twelve hundred thousand houses, six hundred mosques, fifty hospitals, eighty public schools, and nine hundred baths for the use of the public." (Conde's *Arabs in Spain*, Vol. I. p. 489, Bohn's Edition). Thus there was 1 mosque for every 2,000 houses in Cordova as against 1 mosque for every 118 houses in Calcutta. It would thus seem that the modern Muhammadans of Calcutta are more religious-minded than their Cordova co-religionists of the 10th century.



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THE ROMANCE OF THE INDIAN FILM INDUSTRY

By D. D. KASHAP, M.A., B.Com.

One of the happiest persons in India at the present moment is Mr. D. G. Phalke, the man who produced the first Indian motion-picture in the year 1913. Little did he know then, that his furtive attempt would result in building up one of the most important industries of the country—the cinematograph industry. This month the 25 year old chlid celebrates its Silver Jubilee in Bombay and of course the father is mighty proud of it.

The Growth of the Industry

Mr. Phalke's enterprise marked the establishment of the industry in this country. The picture "Harishchandra" took the public by storm and it attracted so much attention that soon small producing concerns were set up in Bombay, Calcutta, and Kolhapur, in most cases using residential bungalows as studios. The American movies had already made the people cinema-minded to a certain extent, and they eagerly took to the Indian products, presenting themes with which they were pretty familiar. The producers reaped enormous profits because the expenses were so low. A fairly good picture could be produced with Rs. 10,000/- and quite often it earned more than ten times its cost of production. It must be said to the credit of the Indian technicians that they performed their task rather well in spite of the fact that they had no previous experience of the work and the equipment at their command was so crude and primitive.

The first outstanding success of the industry was the "The Light of Asia," a picture illustrating the life of Buddha. It had great vogue not only in India but abroad also. In 1928 came talkies, adding more expense to production costs, but not until 1931 did the Imperial Film Co. of Bombay, produce the first Indian talking picture, "Alamara." The same company were once again pioneers of a film-process. In January, 1938, they produced the first Indian colour picture, "Kisan Kanya." Incidentally, this concern is closed now. It is rather unfortunate, that the company which had done so much pioneering work should suffer from mismanagement and thus be forced to stop production.

The tremendous success achieved by the first talkie made the Indian producers plunge headlong into turning out sound films. The studios worked feverishly day and night and pictures were completed in the shortest possible time. The 100% talking and singing Indian pictures echoed triumphantly in the once silent cinema halls. It was a period of great boom. New concerns were floated by dozens. This hectic growth ended in a slump, and a large number of film companies flopped. The cost of production of an average picture had increased to Rs. 50,000 and the returns did not increase proportionately. The novelty of the sound had ceased to attract the public to the theatres.

The Present Position

Today the film industry enjoys as envious a position as is enjoyed by the much older industries like cotton, tea and jute. To say that it has made a spectacular progress during the past 25 years would be an exaggeration. But it cannot be denied that it has achieved a good deal, taking into consideration the numerous handicaps under which it had to work.

One of its greatest achievements is the winning of the sympathies of the general public, who seem to be taking a keen interest in its affairs. Indian films and Indian screen celebrities have become the favourite topics of conversation in the house-holds. There was a time when prejudices against working in pictures were very strong and among many people there was a taboo against film actors and actresses. The industry was considered to be the asylum of moral lepers. But now both indifference and hostility have been overcome and members of good families, instead of uneducated dancing girls and men about town, are found working for the screen.

Scratch a modern Indian youth, and he turns out to be an ardent film-fan. The glamour of the cinema in India as in the western world attracted an army of young people who invaded the centres of film-production in the hope of making their fortunes. Disappoinment and dis-illusionment drove many of them back to their homes, but of this great multitude have arisen many Indian stars.

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Vital Statistics

The following figures will give the reader some idea of the importance and magnitude of the industry :

Number of Cinemas in India ..	996
Indian Film Producing Concerns ..	75 (Active Producers).
Number of Indian Films Produced ..	200 Feature films annually. (Average of last 5 yrs.)
Amount spent in Publicity in Newspapers alone ..	Rs. 43¼ Lakhs.
Amount spent in general Publicity including Newspapers ..	Over a Crore of Rupees annually.
Import Duty Paid by the Industry, yearly on raw and exposed films only ..	Rs. 14,89,382 (1937-1938).
Transit charges (paid to Railways)	About Rs. 15,00,000
Total Investments in the Industry ..	Roughly 17 Crores.
Remittance to U. S. A. and U. K. annually ..	55 Lakhs.
Number of skilled workers supported by the Industry ..	About 40,000
Number of Foreign Pictures shown in India ..	400 (Average of last 5 yrs.)
Number of Distributing Offices ..	Indian 253, Foreign 34 (1937)
Leading Film Journals ..	68
Number of Touring Cinemas ..	500

The Shortcomings

At present the principal handicap of the Indian film-producers is the lack of capital. Most of the concerns are privately owned and it has been found difficult to interest honest investors and banks in the film industry. So far the procuders have been at the mercy of greedy financiers from the cotton and share markets who charge very heavy rates of interest. They treat the poor producers in the same way as the Pathan money-lenders treat the mill-hands. Now when the industry has ceased to be of a speculative nature, there is no reason why the industry should starve for capital. The proverbial 'shy' Indian capital is all the more 'shy' in the case of the film industry.

Then there is the ridiculously small market for Indian pictures. Imagine three hundred and fifty million people with only 996 cinemas to serve them. Film production in India is severely handicapped by the fact that these 350,000,000 possible cinema-goers are split up into different races speaking different languages, and professing different religions. Moreover, the great mass of them are illiterate living in remote and obscure villages, where the cinema is totally unknown.

Looking Ahead

There is no doubt about the fact that industry offers an unlimited scope for the fu as an integral part of national planning.

The film is now a medium of unriva excellence for amusement, education and propagation of ideas. Through full le pictures, documentaries, educationals and ne reels it can get at the nation with a directn that no other method can offer. It is a that so far the above-mentioned short subje have been relegated to the backgrund on acco of the huge length of Indian pictures; but st are being taken to remove this drawback the near future. The film is an accur reporter and selecter of events, nothing is small or too big to come within its scope. T camera's eye ranges over the life of a wild b or the retreat of an army, it reconstructs past and offers and criticises the pres in terms more vital than those we kn ourselves. It is a tremendous power for go or evil; and it should be the aim of industry that film in India shall be a pow for advancement. Along with the radio it c help to lift the curse of illiteracy from country's teeming millions.

Europe and America have long recogni the potency of the film-art. The U.S.S.R. perhaps offers the most striking example of film as an integral part of national plan. That the Soviets have welded their unlettered m lions into a unity is largely due to th skilful use of film for propaganda. In It and Germany, the film has long had its nic in the affairs of State; and France, home of art, has always respected the medium both pure creation and social satire. Britain so far recognised the film, that *laissez fa* has gone by the board and the Cinematogra Act of 1927 has now been revised to back British production and exhibition for the n ten years. The U. S. A. is the stronghold the industry by right of quality and quanti but what is more noteworthy is the way which, of late years, the medium there grown up, and with the goodwill of the State now driving home some of the most profou social lessons through a medium originated slapstick.

In response to the numerous delegati of the Indian producers the Government India has also promised to give some mate help to the industry. It is hoped that various difficulties of the producers will be moved in due course, and they will themselves equal to the task befo them.

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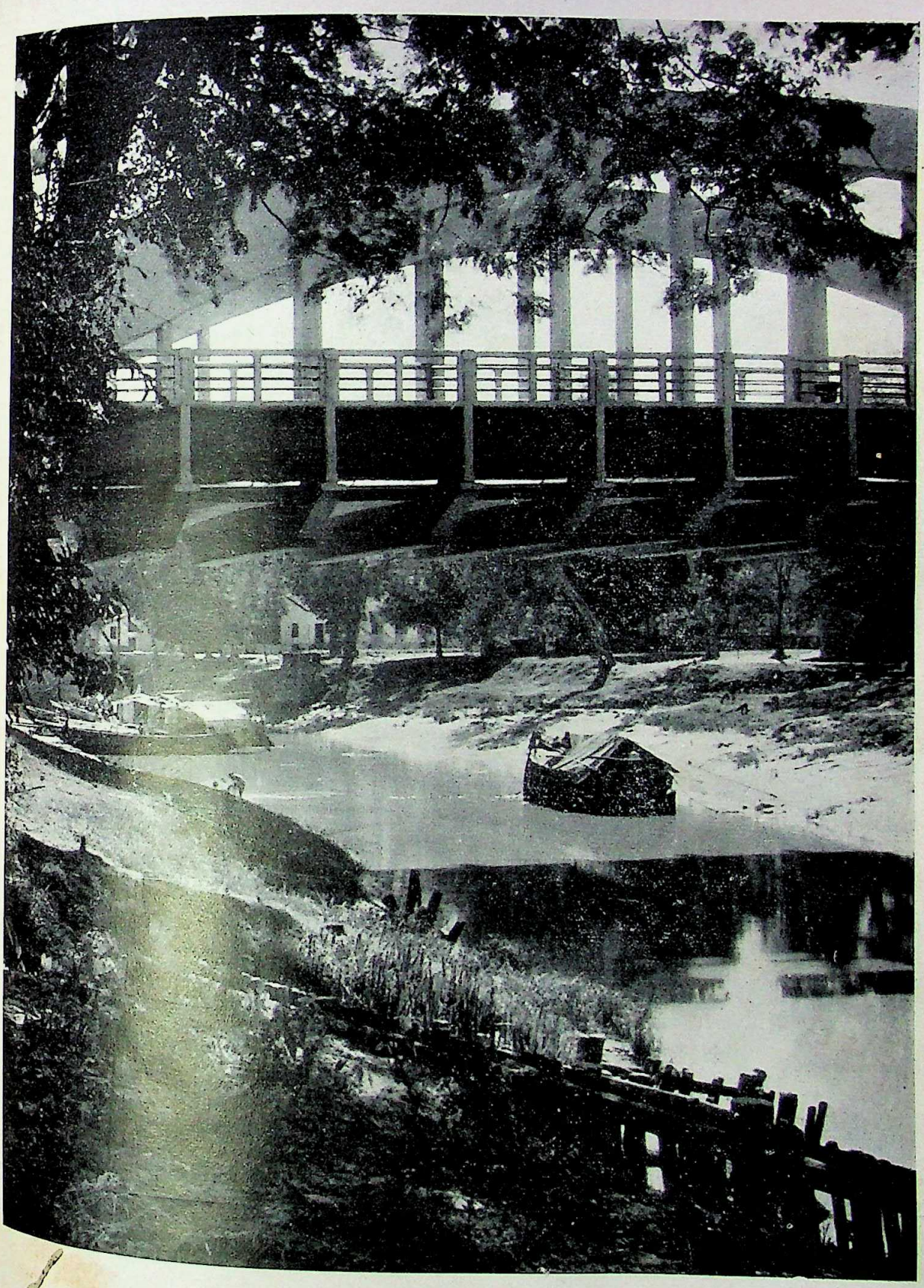

Kidderpore Bridge

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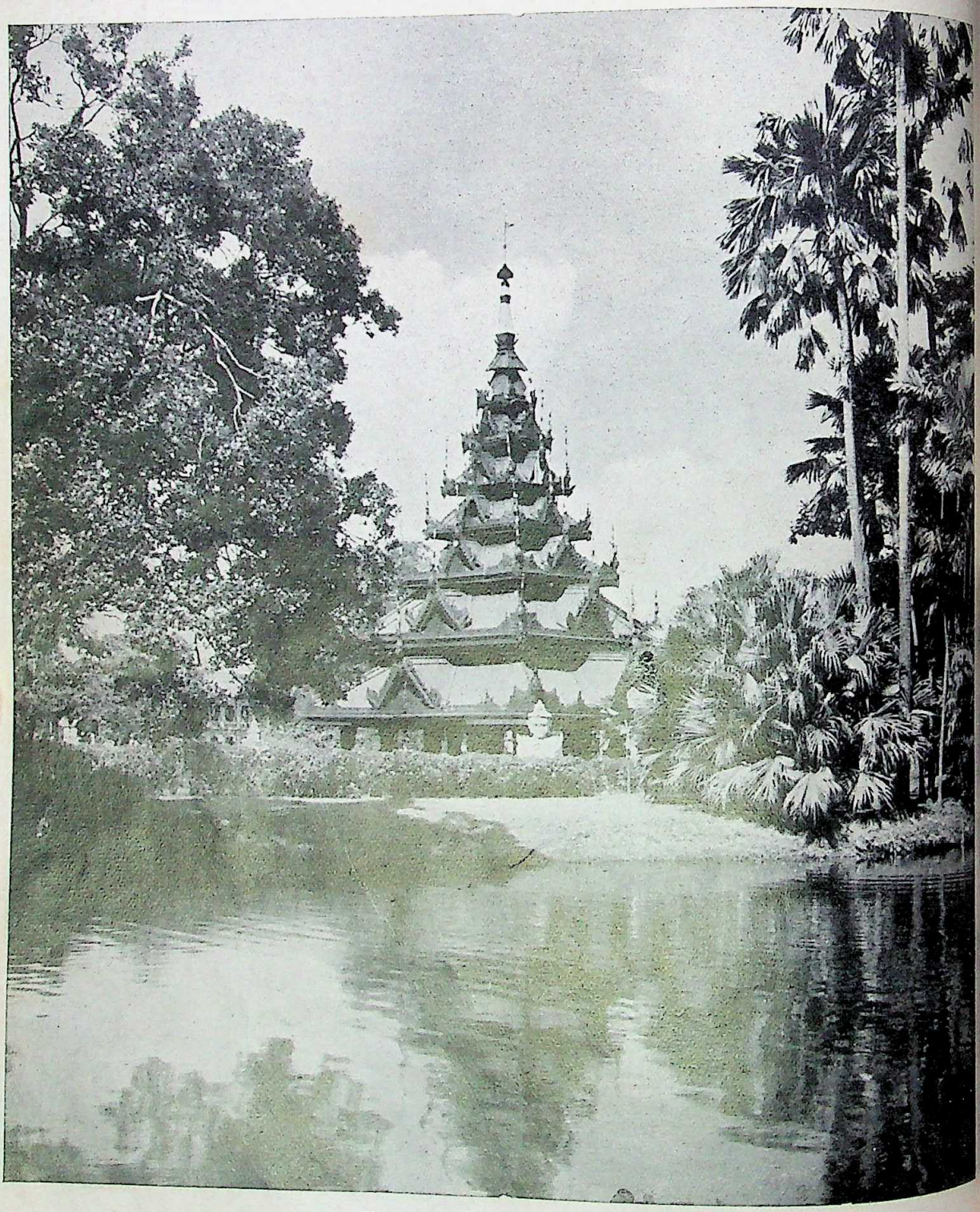

The Pagoda, Eden Gardens

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Navaratna Temple

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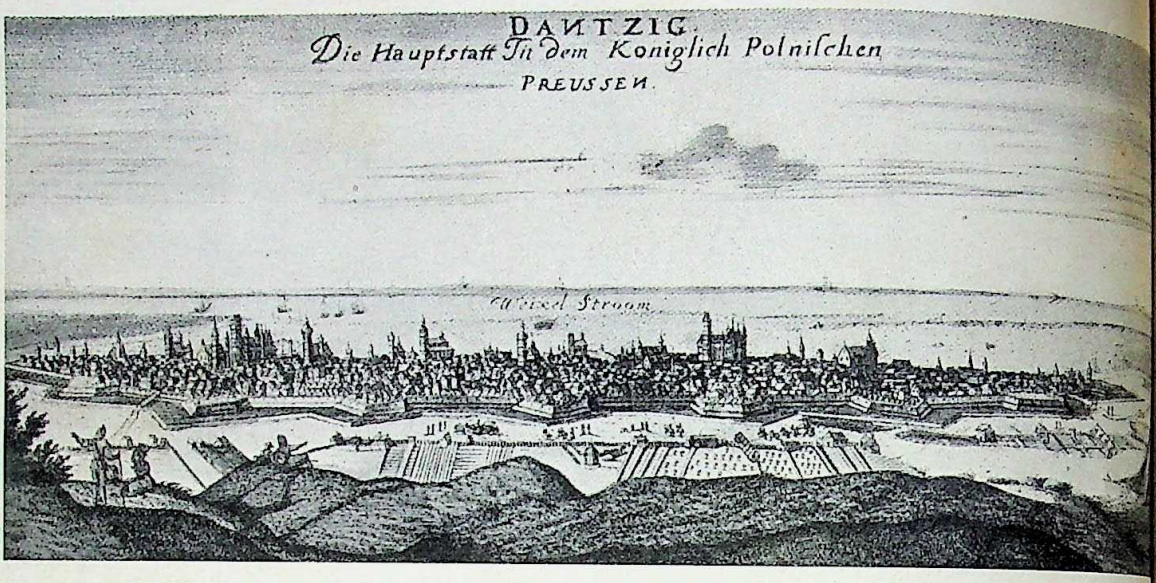
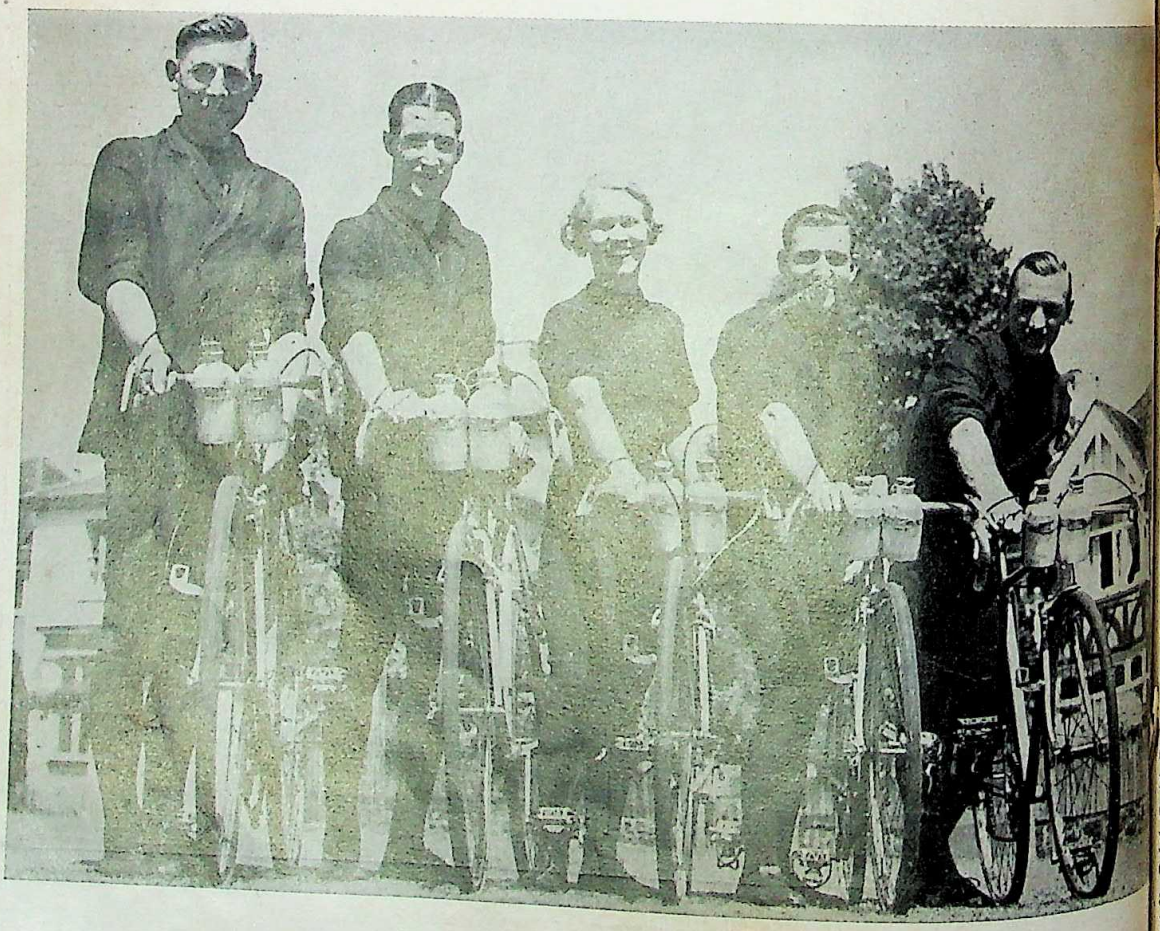


Danzig, the metropolis of the Polish Kingdom of East Prussia, from a map published in the 18th century in Germany



Some world-famous cyclists of today

From left to right : Richard Kemps, Harry ("Shake") Earnshaw, Marguerite Wilson, Celestin Riga and Cyril Heppleston

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POLITICS OF AN INDIAN MUSLIM

By ABUL MANSUR AHMAD

As a future citizen of India a young Muslim must of necessity interest himself with current politics exactly in the same manner as and to the same extent with a young man of any community living in India. But his choice in this direction has never been as easy as that of his friends and playmates of other communities and unfortunately it is growing more difficult every day. Rapid growth of new and divergent political ideologies like Socialism, Communism, Nazism and Fascism added to the already existing theocratic and democratic nationalism and imperialism has always been sufficiently perplexing and bewildering to make the choice of any young man of average intelligence anything but easy. Added to this, a young Muslim has got to consider and be on guard about the possibility or otherwise of reconsidering the special religious and cultural independence with the Indian nationalism. The factor is a special problem with him because his community though a part and parcel of the Indian people is an important minority community with a dominating religion and distinct culture of its own which have bound together the Muslims of different provinces of India surmounting all minor provincial and racial distinctions amongst them in such a manner and to such an extent as has never been done by any other religion or culture.

It is here that a young Muslim has been at a fix, and the teachings and activities of the leaders of his community, either past or present have been no indicator to any easy solution. The old and past leaders like Shaikhul-Hind, Abdur Rashul, Sayani, Mohamed Ali, Ali Imam and Ansari are no good examples if the present day leaders are to be credited with common sense and intelligence. Even present day leaders like Jinnah, Shaukat Ali, Fazlul Huq, Hasrat Mohani are no clear pointer to any definite direction. All of them had one sort of politics during their young age and having had quite a different sort of pilitics in their old age. Mr. Jinnah who as an ardent Congressite nationalist in the year 1916 refused to preside over the Lucknow Conference of the All-India Muslim League on the ground that it was a communal organization, is today in the ripe old age running at an extraordinary speed from one end of India to the other with the most ardent appeal to the Indian Muslims to organize themselves on communal lines. Similar is the case, though with divergent degrees, with almost all the active Muslim political leaders with the honourable exception of a very few. In short, very few Muslim leaders of active politics have been considerably either 'communalists' or 'nationalists' throughout their political life. A great majority of them had been, in their early life, ardent supporters of the Congress which has been practically accepted by all sections of Indians to be the political platform of national struggle, but with their growing wisdom at ripe old age, as they themselves assert, they have left the Congress in disgust for the alleged communal proclivities of its Hindu leaders. There are also some who themselves joined, and asked other Muslims to join the Congress at a considerably later stage of their life. This diagonally oppossed effect of wisdom and gray hairs upon the brains of the different Muslim leaders, has created no little difficulty in the way of young Muslim's making his political choice. No doubt, there is in his young mind that natural urge for the political liberation of his motherland inflamed with youthful imagination inspired by the example of youths of other countries of the world, but forsooth, he cannot in his enthusiasm, be so foolhardy as to tread a path which his predecessor has discarded as wrong after a sad experience of a long period covering more than a quarter of a century. This has greatly bewildered the young Muslim and created in him an intellectual impasse and spiritual deadlock. Is there no way out? That is the most important question impatiently put by the young Muslim to his leaders.

Intelligentsia is the heart of the body-politic wherefrom the blood of new ideas is circulated throughout the rank and file of a particular nation or community. In India it is the lives of Gandhis and Nehrus, Tilaks and Dases, Patels and Boses that are supplying the blood of inspirations in the minds of the younger generation so far as their [illegible]tical

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ideas are concerned. But in the present Communal atmosphere of suspicion and ill-feeling these inspirations emanating from these ideal personages loses much of their appeal and effectiveness before they can reach the heart of the Muslim youth. These leaders are being characterized by the Muslim leaders as Communal leaders of thought with definite anti-Muslim motives and even machinations. If these non-Muslim leaders are not to be followed, who are then there to replace them in the minds of the Muslim youth as sources of inspiration? Surely, Jinnahs and Huqs, Sikandar Hayats and Saadullahs! But where is in them that amount of self-immolation for a lofty ideal and a great cause, which alone can inspire awe and admiration in the imaginative mind of the Muslim youth? Will he, then, follow Ansaris, Azads and Mohamed Alis? It is not possible either. They seem to have been oblivious of the separate identity of the Muslims, and they, together with those who have followed them, have been condemned as hirelings of the Hindus by Jinnahs and Huqs who seem to have been valiantly fighting the cause of the Indian Muslims.

Now, therefore, an Indian Muslim youth has not got before him that clear-cut path of political life to adopt which his friend of the other community has got. He agrees with Gandhis and Nehrus that India must be made politically free. He agrees with Jinnahs and Huqs that Muslim interests should be safeguarded and Muslim position assured before political independence is to be fought for. But he agrees with none in their condemnation of each other as communalists. If Gandhi's and Nehrus call upon their Muslim compatriots to join hands with them in their political struggle against the foreign imperialist, they are perfectly within their jurisdiction. If, on the other hand, Jinnahs and Huqs, as leaders of a minority community, want to be assured of their minority rights, they are also perfectly within their jurisdiction.

It is here that the Muslim youth becomes perturbed, his ideas become confused and his vision clouded. It is again here that his idealism is blurred, his keen sense of patriotism wounded and his energetic enthusiasm damped. His inferiority complex due to his minority position and educational and economic backwardness, his sad experiences of bitter disappointments, his loneliness accompanied with positive want of sympathy from his brethren of the majority community in every field of activities, his ostracism exclusion by the rigid and superstitious social conventions of the majority community appearing to his inferiority-complex mind as hatred and contempt, his unjust exclusion from employments as a result of nepotism and favouritism, natural children of officialdom and clerkocracy, appearing, not without reason to his aggrieved mind to be communalism pure and simple; all these go to solidify the thick clouds of doubts and suspicions into one hard rock of distrust against the sense of justice of the members of the majority community. It is here that the Muslim youth becomes convinced of the truth and correctness of Mr. Jinnah's reading of the Hindu mind. Now, if Mr. Jinnah's diagnosis is correct, why not the prescription of the remedy—so argues the Muslim youth within his mind.

But is that really so? It is this apparent truism that the Muslim youth has got to examine. We concede, he is, as he always has been in the past, faced with great difficulty in making his political choice, but never before in his life, has he been faced with two clear-cut alternatives as he has been at the present moment. It is high time, that he should either join the ideology of the Muslim League and organize themselves on communal basis, or in the alternative give up the idea of communal organizations and join the national platform and work shoulder-to-shoulder with his compatriots of other communities in the task of building up the political destiny and economic structure of his great nation. In either case, he has, of course, got to give first consideration to the question of an honourable and prosperous existence of his own great community. He has got most calmly and dispassionately to consider as to which of these two alternatives will be more conducive to the well-being of his community accompanied with let us say, if possible, the political and economic liberation of his country. Let us examine Mr. Jinnah's theory first.

Now, according to Mr. Jinnah's theory Indian Muslims have got to organize themselves on communal lines into one compact body. But it is not physically possible and practicable to bring all the eight crores of Muslims into the fold of one organization unlike any other community of the world. Like other communities, the Muslim community also has got its own black sheeps. Mr. Jinnah knows it and admits it. So he says: let the best elements in the Muslim community be united under the banner of the Muslim League as the best elements in the Hindu community has done under the banner of the Congress

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When, in this way, both the communities will have been organized in their respective house, let these well-organizd communities in their turn be federated into one great Indian nation to fight against the foreign imperialist.

Now, let us calmly examine the correctness of or otherwise of Mr. Jinnah's political ennunciation. This theory apparently presumes that all the best elements in a particular religions denomination, who belong to that denomination either by accident of birth or by the factum of choice must, of necessity, also hold the same political opinion either with regard to the form of Government and structure of society or with regard to the mthod of attaining them. In other words, it presumes that all the good Mussalmans believe collectively either in the independent, or in the dominion or in the protectorate state of India: it also presumes that all the good Mussalmans collectively believe either in a nationalistic, or in a socialistic or in a communistic state in India; still also it presumes that all the good Muslims collectively believe in the same method, either violent or non-violent, constitutional or unconstitutional, of attaining that political status. These are presumptions preposterous enough, on the face of them, to be dismissed straightaway, for two honest and good Muslims, equally strong in their belief in all the teachings of Islam, may, and generally do, honestly differ in their political outlooks and ideologies. This is exactly what is happening at present with regard to the political ideologies of Mr. Jinnah himself and Maulana Abul Kalam Azad. In spite of both of them being good and honest Muslims they are differing like poles asunder in their political outlooks and ideologies both with regard to the goal and the means of attaining that goal. Exactly similar has been the case between Mr. Jinnah and his great and illustrious namesake Maulana Mohamed Ali. This has been the honest difference between Ghazi Anwar Pasha on the one hand and Ghazi Mustafa Kamal Ataturk on the other; Zaghlul Pasha on the one hand and Tewfiq Pasha on the other; Nahas Pasha on the one hand and Meher Pasha on the other; Sultan Ibn Saud on the one hand and Sharif Hossain on the other; Reza Shah Pahlabi on the one hand and Ahmed Shah on the other, and so on and so forth.

In short, there shall always be honest and fundamental difference of opinion on political issues between good and honest Muslims themselves. So even if we disregard the existence of cowards, weaklings, sycophants, traitors, title-hunters, job-seekers and count without them, it is both theoretically and practically impossible to unite all the Mussalmans of India on the one and the same platform of the same political organization, because a political organization means and implies and presupposes identity, not only of the political object but also, of the method and means of achieving that object. Herein, two good and honest Muslims can honestly differ and that also too fundamentally to accommodate each other as much as a good and honest Hindu like Mr. Srinivas Shastri can fundamentally differ from another good and honest Hindu like Mahatma Gandhi. It was for no other reason than this that good and honest Mussalmans like Maulana Zafarali Khan and Maulana Hasrat Mohani have been compelled to resign, and another good and honest Muslim like Sir Wazir Hasan has been driven out, from the Muslim League. Herein, therefore, Mr. Jinnah's theory is based upon an enterily wrong hypothesis.

There is another weak spot in Mr. Jinnah's theory of communal organization of the Mussalmans. His clarion call to the Muslims to unite is also a clarion call to the Hindus to do the same thing, Mr. Jinnah would not, perhaps, object to the Hindus organizing themselves.

But why this unity of the Muslim in the one camp and of the Hindus in quite a different one? Why can't the Hindus, and the Muslims unite in one and the same camp as the Congress wants them to do. Evidently this organization of the two communities in two different camps does not mean and imply that they are doing it as against the foreign imperialist. Communalist leaders frankly admit that the fundamental difference that is keeping the two communities apart cannot be obviated, and disputes between them cannot be settled, unless and until they are first organized in two different communal camps. This is rather a serious implication ominous enough to indicate a dark age in the political future of India. It simply implies that civil war is indispensable to bring the two communities to the realization of each other's strength which is necessary to make them admit and recognize each other's rights and privileges. As an astute politician. Mr. Jinnah cannot seriously mean this, for it is the Muslims that will be injured most as a result of a civil war, and to the posterity he will be regarded as the worst enemy of the Indian Muslims who will have been responsible for bringing about such a war. Yet it is precisely what Mr. Jinnah's political theory means and implies and his recent acti-

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vities and propaganda are, at a breakneck speed, leading us to. Needless to add, that the same is the fundamental defect with the political theories of Dr. Moonje and Bhai Parmanda of the Hindu Sava. We need not, however, pursue it further as we are primarily concerned here with the questiin of the organization of the Indian Muslims.

Theory of the communal organization of the Muslims as a remedial measure of their minority grievances is, therefore, based on wrong basis both from theoretical and practical viewpoints. Any attempt towards this direction is, on the one hand, sure to fail to bring all the Muslims into one united camp, for no single communal political theory will ever attract the imagination of each and every one of the eight crores of Mussalmans or even of a great majority of them. The attempt, on the other hand, will make the non-Muslim Indians unnecessarily antipathetic towards the Muslims. As is only normal and natural with all attempts towards communal organizations, unnecessary emphasis will be given upon minor and unimportant details with a view to speedy realization of communal unity, which will surely result in widening the gulf of communal differences and increasing the sense of communal bitterness. The universally accepted political aphorism, that communal conciousness is always disadvantageous to the minority, will get an additional proof here. Beside the non-Muslim minorities like the Brahmos, Christians, Shiks, Jains, Buddhists who are culturally and religiously more akin to the Indian Muslims than to the orthodox Hindus, there are liberal elements in the orthodox Hindu community itself whose sympathies are with the socially revolutionary principles of Islam. This liberal elements would have come a great way to help the growth of more protestantism against Hindu conventionalism and thus served the cause of Islamic culture but for the recent communal cry of the Muslims. The communal organization of the Muslims has already alienated or is definitely going to alienate, the sympathies of these elements. The communal war-cry of the Muslim League is definitely driving them into the camp of the orthodox Hindus against their will.

There are a lot of deppressed and oppressed sects within the Hindu community itself who, having been under numerous disabilities, both social and economic, at the hand of the upper class Hindus, were ready to fall in line with the Muslims or any other community in a social and economic revolution which might ultimately result in the political salvation of the Indian nation as a whole. The communal war-cry of the Muslim League has definitely driven a great majority of them into the camp and under the leadership of the vested interests and consequently there has been a definite setback in the process of social and economic revolution.

It is very interesting to mention here that the arguments advanced by the Hindu Sabha and the Muslim League for organizing their respective communities in separate camps are amusingly identical. "The Muslims should unite because they are disorganized and weak. Taking advantage of their weakness, the Hindus who are educated, organized and strong are turning deaf ears to the just and reasonable demands of the Musalmans," says Mr. Jinnah. "Hindus, unite, you are thoroughly disorganized and extremely weak. Taking advantage of your weakness, the Muslims who are a thoroughly organized and homogeneous community are making all sorts of unjust and unreasonable demands", says Dr. Moonje. Both Mr. Jinnah and Dr. Moonje entirely agree that only the weaker of the two should get strong by organizing itself in order to fight the unreasonable attitude of the other, but they thoroughly disagree as to which is the weaker party. Both agree that there cannot be any talk of compromise between the weak and the strong, but they differ as poles asunder in so far as each regards his community to be the weaker one.

Evidently therefore, both of these two leaders cannot be either serious or correct. Either the Hindus are stronger and the Muslims weaker or vice versa. But how is it that both the Hindu Sabha and Muslim League, constituted by astute politicians like Dr. Moonje and Mr. Jinnah, are vying with each other to prove to the world that its community is the weaker of the two? Why do they not admit that both communities are weak which is really the truth? Who is there to deny that Indian Muslims, a community of 80 millions servants of Allah, 97 p.c. of whom are plunged in the darkness of illiteracy, 90 p.c. of whom are serving as superstitious serfs and slaves of the oppressive and extortious feudal lords and usurious money-lenders, 97 p.c. of whom are wading through the mire of their miserable existence of want and privation in dilapidated rural areas, ravaged by dangerous epidemics but still tilling the soil and producing crops which neither this nor that is his property require organization? Who, or the o

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hand, will deny that the Hindu community, a conglomeration of 270 millions of God's children divided into as many groups as you have got hairs on your head, 97 p.c. of whom are deeply sunk in illeteracy and superstition, 50 p.c. of whom are victims of inhuman social tyranny and treated as so many beasts or worse than that—as untouchables, also badly requires organization? But what can Mr. Jinnah and Dr. Moonje mean by saying that these downtrodden millions cannot be organized on the same platform as against the organized force of social, economic and political tyrants, except that they have presumed that it is the other community which is responsible for all the miseries of his community and that it is the other community alone which has got to be fought against if its community is to get its rights? This, as we have already shown, is a quack's prescription who does not know the disease and therefore its remedy.

Look at the subject from another point. Whom is, after all, this communal cry injuring the most? It is not a bit injuring the foreign imperialist oppression, neither is it shaking the foundation of foreign rule. It is doing absolutely no harm to the indigenous vested interest. It is not touching an hair of the age-worn class rule of the aristocracy. It is, on the contrary, either directly or indirectly strengthening all of them; it is, on the contrary, standing in the way of our intelligentsia meeting on political questions and our masses on economic issues.

What, then, is to be done? If communal organization will not help us, what will? It is here that the Muslim young man will have to tax his brain most and must find out a path hitherto unbeaten.

Now, if he is to come to a correct conclusion, he has got, at the outset, to disengage his brain from some confusion of ideas which is very common at the present atmosphere of communal suspicion and mud-throwing. He has got to dive below the superficial meaning of serveral common words like 'communalism' and 'nationalism,' very generally misused and misunderstood in our present day political parlance. Communalism has, by this time, assumed the character of an obnoxious disease of a very private nature. The unfortunate fellow, who is once afflicted with it, of course without his knowledge and against his will, is a sinner, condemned by God and his angels to eternal perdition. The fellow, therefore, must not confess the sin so long as he wishes to remain as a member of the civilized society.

But the young Muslim, who is to find out the correct political front for his community, must raise himself a bit above the ordinary run of young men. He must realize that it is no shame to be a communalist. Indeed, no body can be a good nationalist, not even a good man, without first being a good communalist. One who does not love his community, a group of human beings, cannot possibly love his nation, a bigger group of human beings. To be able to sacrifice one's personal pleasure at the altar of those of his family, is the first stage of the development of human mind. As soon after this first stage as the power of his self-effacement increases, his vision broadens over wider range, his love expands over bigger circle so as to cover all individuals belonging to his community irrespective of personal friendship and enmity, he becomes a communalist. In the course of his mental development the capacity of his soul enlarges itself and his outlook broadens and he becomes a nationalist. If the natural process is allowed to go, his mental capacity still enlarges and he becomes a lover of human beings as a whole. This is no metaphysics, but normal process of natural development of human mind hitherto unattained in a political sense, but clearly visualized in the future socialistic World State. The difference, therefore, between the breadth of vision of a communalist and a nationalist is only a difference of degree. No body is justified, therefore, to condemn either Mr. Jinnah or Dr. Moonje for the ardent love he has got for his own community. Communalism can only be condemned in so far as love for one's own community also connotes hatred for all other communities besides one's own. It will be at once clear on a little bit of examination that this kind of communalism which can be discarded as exclusive communalism leads us nowhere but to ourselves. It defeats its own object by emphasizing the differences only, and by the process of gradual and progressive exclusion it recedes further and further back ultimately into the dark corner of one's own narrow selfishness. An astute politician and a sincere lover of his community Mr. Jinnah cannot possibly advocate a suicidal political theory like this for his great community, normal working and logical conclusion of which will lead the Muslim community into civil strifes between its seventy-two different "Firqas".

Therefore Mr. Jinnah's mind must be dispassionately and sympathetically studied if one is to know the inner working of his motif. To be honestly frank one must admit that Mr.

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Jinnah represents the average mind of the Indian Muslim intelligentsia. That Mr. Jinnah's communal call, apparently based on wrong hypothesis, is appealing to the minds of the overwhelming majority of the Muslim intelligentsia, itself shows that the idea, though latently, was already there. It is no use absuing Mr. Jinnah for his communal leadership, for it is not his oratorical skill that has created communalism in the mind of the Mussalmans but the feeling was already there. Mr. Jinnah's fault or credit is that he has organized that feeling for whatever purpose he may have thought reasonable.

Now, it will be clear on an examination that Muslim "Communalism" as shown and explained in the resolutions and demands of the Muslim League, is based on a sense of grievance against the majority community. It is precisely here that the weakness of communalism lies. It will appear to the average intelligence that communalism is not a political theory but is only an organized expression of grievances of a genuinly aggrieved minority community. This only means another truism. That is: it means that the vested interest in India has not responded to the claims of, and is not sympathetic towards, the downtrodden. This is exactly what it should be and precisely what it is in the other parts of the world. But it is, after all, a question of horizontal division of Indian people and it cannot be remedied by a communal prescription which itself admits of horizontal division. For is not the Muslim community itself a combination of the oppressor and the oppressed? Mr. Jinnah, therefore, has made a wrong prescription. The average Muslim youth is under the impression that Mr. Jinnah may or may not be right in his prescription. but he is certainly right in his diagnosis. The fact, however, is that Mr. Jinnah is right neither in his diagnosis nor in his prescription. Unlike a good physician he has been misled by the shrieks of wailing and suffering patients rather than been led by his own judgment and experience.

But what will the Muslim young man do? What course will he take if he is not to follow the lead of Mr. Jinnah? The answer surely is: to take the wisest and surest course; but what is the wisest and surest course under the prevailing circumstances, is the question.

To find out a correct answer, an intelligent young Muslim will at once sit in the cool corner of his hamlet and simply enumerate and classify the gievances that his community is suffering from. Some of them are, no doubt, political, some economic, same social, some cultural and some religious. Now if he analyses them group by group and consider their bearings upon the Indian people as a whole, he will at once find that in each and every one of the grievances, the Muslims are in good company that is they have got co-sufferers in other communities who constitute definitely the majority of the Indian people. If he has thus successfully analysed the grievances and classified them, he will at once come to a correct basis of alignment for the purpose of righting the wrongs. If with the exercise of a little bit of tactics you can convert yourself into the position of a majority in any particular issue of grievance, is it not foolish to shout from the house-top that you are in a minority? That is exactly what Mr. Jinnah is asking you to do.

I have already pointed out that there are considerable liberal elements in the Hindu community itself and their sympathy are with the socially revolutionary principles of Islam. Besides, India is an historic place of legendary extremities and atrocities. On the one hand you have here got the finest monument of wealth and architecture in the world and on the other you have also the poorest and humblest of the cottage on the face of the globe. You have here one of the wealthiest men of the present world on the one hand, and the merest and poorest labourer of the world on the other. You have here on the one hand, the highest of philosophies and the noblest of ideals in the world and the lowliest illiteracy and maddest of superstitions on the other. It is here that you will find the loftiest of doctrinarianism on the one hand and the most atrocious tyranny on the other. The acid test of the special genius of the Muslim young man, enriched by the teaching of his monotheistic and socialistic religion, will be to marshal these atrocities and organize these grievances not from without but from within. If he can successfully do this, he will find that there is absolutely no difference between himself and the liberal elements of the majority community. He will discover to his unexpected satisfaction that he is not a member of any minority community, but that he is the leader of the largest concourse of innumerable suffering human beings. But every thing will depend upon the method and approach. If you make any attempt to superimpose your superiority from outside, you will meet with resistance, but if you approach things from within like a limb of the Indian nation, natural sympathies are with you and the field is yours.

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As regards the safeguards of the special minority rights of the Muslims they will naturally and automatically come through day-to-day struggle in the general process of political development. Even if there is no Muslim League, on any vital communal issue on the point of being endangered by the State or the majority community, the Indian Mussalmans will automatically unite and fight it to the successful finish. The Muslim community, or for the matter of that any religious community, being a living organism so far as its religious and cultural rights are concerned, no separate permanent organization is necessary to fight for those issues. Organizations will naturally grow from time to time on every issue at stake as occasions will arise. It is, therefore, wrong to suggest that the Indian Muslims should have a separate organization. For political purposes it is not feasible and for religious purposes it is not necessary. For, as we have already shown, as regards political issues all Muslims can never have the same political opinion, and as regards communal issues, the Muslim community is, by itself, an organization. The word Muslim, by itself, sufficiently means and implies a body of individuals with identical beliefs and opinions on certain matters, to be regarded as an organization with the Holy Quran and sacred Hadishes as its creed and constitution, rules and regulations. Any other organization within that orbit will mean only further narrowing down the circumference and dividing the Muslims on wrong issues into smaller circles. In this vew of the matter, the leaders of the Muslim League are well-meaningly and well-intentionedly only misleading the Indian Muslims to a very lugubrious political precipice.

Now, what the Muslim youth should do is to regard himself an Indian with as much right and responsiblity towards the country as any other Indian and also regard himself inseparably connected with the material and spiritual future of India, either good, bad or indifferent. He can once do this by getting rid of the inferiority complex which he is labouring under as a result of the misleading propaganda of his feeble-minded and inferiority-complexed leaders, he will gradually realize that he is not really helpless as he used to think he was. I am fully alive to the fact that he will, at the first instance, feel uncomfortable and even lonely in the spheres of activities: not only in the Congress, not only in the Kishan Sabhas, not only in literary clubs and reading rooms, but in all the non-communal meeting places like parks and squares, in trains and trams. But that is the normal lot of every new entrant. That should not scare him away, that should not make him lose heart, that should not disconcert him in the least. In the begining he may feel humiliated and miserable in the Congress or Kishan Shabha or any other national platform, but that should not unseat his judgment, that should not make him lose his balance of mind, just as he would not lose heart on his first entrance into a government office with preponderance of non-Muslim officials. If there is evident Hindu influence and supremacy in the Indian National Congress, in the Kishan Sabha, it is no less so in government or semi-government offices even in places where the Muslims are in a majority. Who is such a fool as to stop a Muslim employment-seeker from entering a government office, where there is dearth of Muslim employees, simply because there is Hindu supremacy there at present ? An intelligent Muslim father will far rather advise and assist his young son to seek and secure an employment in a Tata Company even at the risk of throwing his son absolutely at the mercy of the communal tyranny of its non-Muslim Barrah Babu. If this is so in the matter of services, why this will not be so in the matter of politics where services are made ?

In conclusion, my earnest appeal to the young friends of my community, therefore, is not only to join the Indian National Congress, the training ground of future administrators of India, in large numbers, but also to penetrate into all nerve centres of body-politic and partake in those fields of activities where men are made fit to enter life. If he fails to join any of those training grounds, his community will be the loser to that extent. He should not be afraid of losing his identity. In fact, it is the communal leaders of the Muslim league, who have got no identity of their own to lose. If his great revolutionay religion has taught him anything, if it had made a man of himself, he will find that, if, as a Muslim he has got any message to give to the world, it is here in India where he should try it. If he begin to serve the suffering humanity as a true Muslim should do, he will find that he is not the leader of eight crores of Indian Muslims alone, but four times that number of human beings who in their wail of painful bondage of slaveries of innumerable types are seeking his help and co-operation with folded hands and bended knees.

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THE THIRD ALTERNATIVE

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The world is shuddering at the prospect of another world war. The bewildered nations of the world find no alternative before them other than *victory* or *peace*. Every nation or group of nations is determined to have peace if possible, a victorious war if necessary; and because victory has to be achieved at all costs (if the latter contingency arises), each one of the nations must arm to its utmost capacity unmindful of (or perhaps indifferent to) the fact that the very act of rearming is eliminating one of the alternatives (*viz.*, possibility of peace) from the field of practical politics leaving the nations no other option but to be dragged into a large scale massacre. Now is the time for cool-headed deliberation.

How we wished that there was a way out, that there was a "*third alternative*"! And perhaps there *is* a third alternative which may suggest itself if we are courageous enough to face the facts and view the issues involved in their true perspective unswayed by state-idolatry, unperturbed by patriotic fanaticism and unaffected by race-prejudice. The third alternative is indeed there and it will emerge automatically the moment we are ready to seek dispassionately the causes of this world-unrest. In brief and in general they are these :

1. The unwillingness on the part of the more important Powers to accept it as their national ideology that robbery and greed are ignoble course of conduct and state of mind (respectively) as much for a nation as for the individual.

2. The insistence of the successful Colonial Powers to maintain the *status quo* irrespective of the method of acquiring and extent of their colonial possessions.

3. Their unwillingness to revise the scope and extent of their monopolistic rights over the materials and markets of their Colonies.

4. The existence of danger-spots in the State-system of Europe in the form of weak States (like Danzig, Poland, the Balkan and Baltic States) whose very weakness serves as the greatest temptation for adjacent big Powers to try to encroach upon their artificially created (and therefore shaky) sovereign rights.

5. The existence of vast Continents (like South America, Africa, India and China) w infinite possibilities for economic developm in an unorganised and defenceless condi evoking the lust and greed (specially) of unsuccessful Colonial Powers who are smar under a grievance, *viz.*, the fact of having do without Colonies in a world-order in wh they alone serve as emblems of a nation's gr ness and are considered essentially necess for major industries.

6. The inability of the nations trying form a Collective Security Bloc to take confidence the potentially powerful and tellectually and culturally advanced (but e nomically primitive) countries like China, In Egypt, etc., (due to the white prejudice agai coloured races, irrespective of their cult attainments) and to give them equal and in pendent status as units of any contempla system of Collective Security against unlaw aggression.

If this is a correct analysis of the cau of the present unrest it will be readily seen i in any future world-conflict there will be th major parties :

Group A.—The successful Colonial Pow

Group B.—The aspiring (and as yet successful) Colonial Powers;

Group C.—The unorganised coun which are the objects of the Big Powers' colo expansion and exploitation.

Any world-settlement to be lasting satisfy all the above-mentioned three classe nations. It will be a blunder of the first ma tude to ignore the importance of any one of above three groups. Not even the Group nations are to be considered so weak as t safely ignored. Their potentiality to create rest is undoubtedly great, even though they not achieve anything to their advantage thro such conflicts.

The "Third Alternative" which I wan suggest in this brief article lies in bring about an honest and honourable understan with regard to the world's capital, labour, material, trade, communication and strat points among all these three groups of nat through a Conference convened (before war breaks out) in a spirit of perfect equa

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and friendship. It is indeed a method which is just the reverse of that usually followed by nations to achieve peace and which was also followed at the Paris Peace Conference, *viz.*, trying to establish lasting peace after a terrible fight for years when passions are uncontrollable and vindictiveness becomes the guiding force behind every transaction. No wonder they almost always fail.

The new method of arriving at peace, if adopted, may altogether avert the much-feared next war by removing the root causes of international jealousy and friction. But supposing it failed to avert the war and the world is forced to be entangled in a major conflict in the near future (in spite of all attempts to avoid it through a conference as proposed above) owing to the unreasonable aggressiveness of any Power, even then this method of having a Peace Conference before the war (instead of after it) will have many advantages and serve many useful purposes.

In the first place, according to the Group C-nations an equal and honourable position in the Federation of Nations will mean winning their support permanently on the side of justice, liberty and collective security, a fact so important from the point of view of a prolonged world war (which cannot be continued without a continuous supply of foodstuffs and man-power) that no Power, however aggressive, can afford to ignore the danger of going to war without first enlisting the sympathy and support of the Group C-nations on its own side.

In the second place, a pre-War Peace Conference like this will either satisfy the just demands of the Group B-nations (in which case one of the greatest dangers to world peace will be eliminated) or it will reveal to the world that what they wanted was not just treatment but domination and thereby help to unite the liberty-loving forces under one banner.

And, finally, it will correctly indicate as to which are the really justice- and peace- loving nations. In a word, it will pave the way for the establishment of a real and effective League of Nations or (to avoid that now-contemptible phrase) World Federation for ensuring liberty, justice and peace. Wanted, therefore, a World Peace Conference of the true representatives of the three above-mentioned groups of Powers in a spirit of perfect equality and mutual understanding *before* the war actually breaks out. That is the need of the moment. That is the *third alternative.*

June, 1939.

COMMENT AND CRITICISM

Tendency of Indian Moslems

COMMUNAL tension between the two main communities in India, with day-to-day increasing hatred and ill-feeling between them, has become a cause of serious anxiety for all concerned with the benefit of the country. At this critical juncture when a political conciousness is hopelessly lacking among the masses, and when we need hard a united front against the alien power dominating over the whole of India and almost driving its people, without any respect of caste or creed, to utter poverty and semi-starvation, certainly it is very regrettable that our other grievances, real or apparent, may give rise to such faulty dissensions. In spite of all positive efforts on the part of the Congress to win over the Moslems by offering them and granting where possible undue favours, the entire Moslem mass has never paid any heed or attention to its call and the major section of Moslem leaders has had no hesitation to abuse the Congress every now and then. Nevertheless, the Congress has been denouncing the Hindu Mahasabha only in order to weaken its lead over the Hindu population.

The Hindu Mahasabha on the other hand claims the credit of protecting legitimate political rights of the Hindus; but it should have worked more on the constructive side for the Hindu solidarity which would have been a mighty foundation for a Hindu nation in future rather than attacking the Congress as if to counterbalance the League's abuses. But while criticising the Mahasabha for its plain defects it may be safely asserted that its antipathy for Hindu-Moslem unity has sufficient ground behind it.

In the issue of *The Modern Review* of June, 1939, Swami Shri Shankaracharya (Dr. Kurtkoti) criticised the trend of the Hindu Mahasabha dwelling upon the extracts from the speech of Sjt. Savarkar. So far as I could make out his chief objection against Sjt. Savarkar was that to the latter Moslem Community was like an intruder usurping the rights of the Hindus who owned Hindusthan as their fatherland for five thousand years. Swamiji says, "The latter (Moslems) would naturally retort and have retorted too that the Aryan Hindu is himself an intruder, the Dravida and the Kolarian being the early lords and masters; and even among them the Kolarians might turn the table upon Dravidas, until the Bhils and the Gonds and the Santhals will remain as the only rightful sons of Hindusthan." While making out his expression thus he slips one thing important that the majority of Indian Moslems does not care to acknowledge India as their fatherland unlike the Hindus, Dravidians, Gonds, Bhils,

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etc. Even those aborigines, although neglected by the Aryan Hindus, could not escape Aryan culture and civilization which once spread over the whole of the sub-continent. A small minority of Parsis has been residing here for centuries and notwithstanding our difference with them in religion, culture, language, tradition they have not been cmplained against as being unpatriotic. Then the reason for this adverse psychological tendency of Islamic India is a bit far to seek. The Mohammedans belong to a race which starting from its religious centre had crossed the Indian border for conquest with an enthusiastic spirit of proselytisation; and that was more and more encouraged in course of their rule for seven hundred years over the mighty Hindu population. The empire is gone, but the tendency survives. It is no matter of surprise if they feel that they can transform this land of Hindus to a Moslem-land like Persia or Egypt, just as they could bring their number to one-fourth from nil. A strange mild feeling of over-tolerance originating from a sense of so-called equality of all religions, impressed deeply into the Hindu mind by some of the Hindu-preachers themselves, has paved a broad way for non-Hindu proselytization. In these days of democracy, seeing that a particular community residing in the territory, demands and gets, not for services rendered for the common benefit but for its numerical strength, its share in the Government, it will naturally prefer the easier path; its political share being pre-assured, it tends to increase its number which will bring a proportionate increment in political right. This is one of the reasons why a Moslem generally does not want to render his services to the Congress for a joint sacrifice but strengthens the Muslim League.

The venerable Swamiji admittedly supports Sjt. Savarkar when he says that nationality does not consist only in territorial occupation but more largely consists in a sense of inheritance, tradition, language, literature, religion, culture; still he says that Mr. Savarkar is not quite right about his test of nationality and citizenship. To my mind of all these elements, culture counts most for the establishment of a true and sound nationality. Let the different races and castes differ in other things but they must unite in one culture comprising of all cultures of the land. But a Moslem here would not accept a common culture until and unless he gains majority. He further says, "All the Christians, if they really believe in Christ, whatever their nationality, look upon Jerusalem with reverence. The Catholic in Canada, France and England still looks upon Rome, and more than Rome upon Jerusalem, as his holy land and still is a nationalist and citizen of Canada, France and England. The Moslem in Egypt looks to Mecca and Medina as his holy land, still has every right to nationality in Egypt. Similarly, let the Moslems in Hindusthan look upon Mecca as their holy land and still make themselves more patriotic citizens and more patriotic nationalists." I beg to be excused that here too a blunder has been committed by mistaking Holy land for a Fatherland. A holy land concerns one's religious faith, while fatherland is one inhabited by his forefathers. The Japanese are a nation by themselves, still they have deep regard for their holy place Bodh Gaya. But do they ever intend to let the culture, civilization, language and historical tradition, etc. of their holy pace supersede those of their fatherland? To my knowledge and information the Moslems in China have submitted adequately to the culture of the country, their names even are forms of Chinese words in part. Even the Islamic empires of Persia and Turkey have separated politics from the influence of religion and thus made a distinction between the two. To foster their native language they have translated their Holy Quran into them. In spite of all these things within view, Indian Moslems would stir not an inch towards reformation. The reasons are obvious as explained above. Certainly, it is never desirable that the Moslems of Hindusthan should not look to Mecca and other places as their holy land, but it is desirable that they should acknowledge India as their fatherland.

"It is not at all necessary," says Swamiji Maharaj, "nor even likely, that under a democratic constitution political parties should be organized on religous basis. They are certainly to be formed on the basis of professional and economic interests which are not different for the Hindus and Mohammedans, as such. They need differ mainly in the matter of religious interests and so far as that is concerned, the Moslem minority can have no matter of anxiety from the Hindu majority, well-known for religious tolerance and hospitability. This is a very nice scheme, no doubt, brought forth in different ways by various thinkers on the point. But what I mean is that this sort of superimposition will little help to uproot the bigotry present in communities. The remedy lies in the change of heart and mind rather than in any external treatment. How would it be checked if prejudiced co-religionists of different professions based on economic basis as he (Swamiji) says, co-operate to meet their religious demands? Also, I do not believe that his advocacy for the tolerance and hospitability of the Hindus can appease the Islamic zeal for proselytisation.

NAGESHWAR PRASAD,
Bihar Vidyapith
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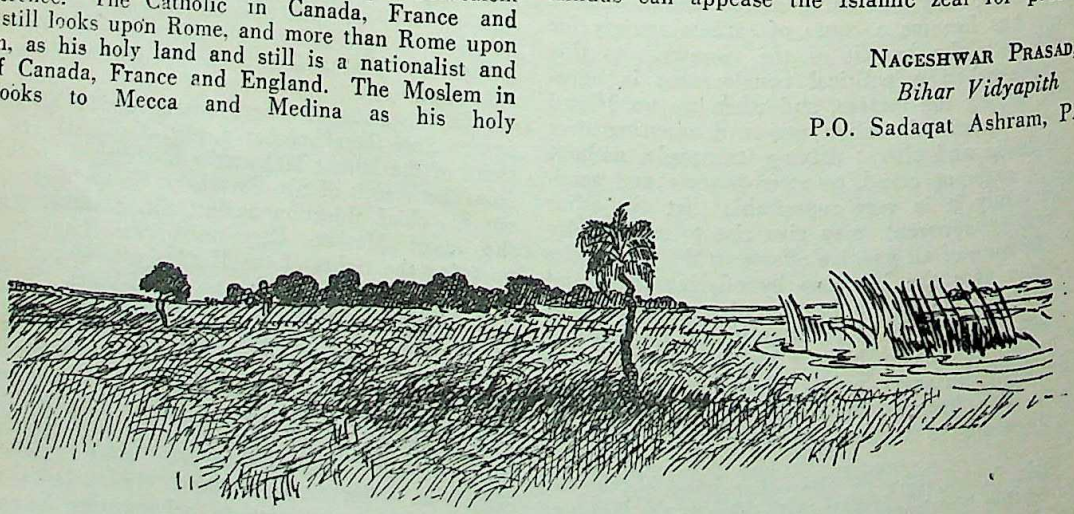

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VENDETTA

By M. A. MAZMUDAR

A shrill whistle, a sharp crunch of the wheels, and the train began to move. The solitary first-class traveller unshipped a sigh of relief. He was all impatience to reach his journey's end, and the halt had been exasperatingly long and tedious. But the train, instead of gathering speed, stopped stone-still as soon as it had started. The traveller scratched his brow with irritation, and applied a couple of strong adjectives to the railway authorities. His irritation was, however, transmuted into a mild shock of interested surprise when the door of his compartment flew open, and a young lady accompanied by her small effects was hustled in by a bunch of peaked caps outside. The door was slammed down, and soon the train was in gradually accelerated motion.

"I'm frightfully sorry to have intruded upon you like this. I was a bit late, and couldn't for worlds afford to miss this train," articulated the new-comer, her breast heaving and panting by reason of her recent hustle and exertion.

"Not at all, Madam. I feel extremely glad to have your company. I was dreadfully alone. And your company is an honour to me as well as a pleasure," said the traveller, who was too experienced a young man not to make a proper response to this kind of speech from this kind of person.

The lady remained bashfully silent.

"What place are you going to ?" inquired the young man.

"The Metropolis. Next station," replied the young lady in a soft and silvery voice.

"How grand ! I am going there too," burst out the young man.

A faint suspicion of a smile flickered momentarily on the cherry-like lips of the young lady. The young man, ever keenly observant of feminine graces, drank it in. She at once turned back, and started busying herself with her little impedimenta.

"Don't trouble yourself, Madam, please," exclaimed the young gallant, dexterously jumping off his seat, and confronting the lady's luggage. "Allow me to be of service to you, Madam."

"Oh, I hate myself quite for putting you to all this toil and trouble," ejaculated the young woman.

"You are doing a great injustice to yourself, Madam. You have the right to harness every living young man to your service," remarked the young man in the midst of arranging with meticulous care his fair co-traveller's delicate appurtenances on the top berth. The lady seemed to have been a shade embarrassed by this bold and subtle hint at her personal appearance.

"Thanks awfully. It's so very kind of you," cooed she when the young man had completed his self-imposed task, and returned to his seat opposite her.

"Not at all, Madam. It's nothing in comparison with what I would love to do for you always," responded he, devouring her by means of his frankly admiring, winkless eyes.

For a brief moment, the two pairs of bright eyes posed themselves against each other with an open, unashamed, meaningful stare. Modesty, however, made the young woman look down immediately. Her delicate neck and her creamy cheeks went crimson with a thrilling maiden blush. The young man grew ecstatic at the exciting effect he had been able to make on the lady. He continued to look at her with a fixed, admiring, adoring, wondering gaze. He compared her, mentally, to the innumerable young women he had met, and decided that she was the most beautiful woman he had ever cast eyes on. She was still wavering between the conclusion of girlhood and the commencement of womanhood. Hers was a tenderly plump and shapely little figure with a peculiarly wistful appeal. Some of her dark hair had been disengaged by the inflow of wind through the carriage-window, and were now playing a pretty game of hide-and-seek with her large, inverted eyes, and her smooth, round cheeks. Her perfect white breast showed itself furtively through her thin silken *sari*. On it reposed a pearl necklace with a big blue gem in the middle. Wealth ! Beauty and wealth !

The lady must have been aware of the young man's interested attention. But she kept on looking down, a picture of coyness, and seemed not to regard it. Her very passiveness encourag-

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ed him, and made his warm blood tingle in his veins. He was seized with a consuming desire to possess her.

The train thudded blindly, noisily over its endless track of steel. But the two young passengers felt that their compartment was pervaded by a haunting, palpable silence charged with the dumb yet surging and stormy passions of youth.

At last, the young woman lifted up her expansive eyes, and looked freely and fearlessly at her male companion.

"Why should you ever love to do anything for me at all?" she interrogaetd.

"Because—because you are so beautiful."

"Oh!"

"You are the loveliest, the most beautiful, the most captivating girl I have ever met."

"I don't half deserve the compliment."

"It's no compliment. It's the truth."

"You are such a flatterer!"

"May I know your name?"

"Lila."

"Lila? What a sweet little name! It's replete with honey."

"And yours?"

"Madhusudan."

Lila broke into a smile that went clean through the young man's heart.

"Why do you smile?" he asked.

"For, Madhusudan means the stealer of honey."

The suggestion was too clear and direct for the young man's alert intelligence to miss. It was almost an invitation. He rose from his seat, and sat beside Lila.

"I love you, I adore you so, Lila, he whispered eagerly, softly playing with her plump white hand.

"And I love you, dear," responded she.

"May I have a kiss, dearest?"

"Oh, no. Not now, dear. We must stop at this. We are nearing the station. Please go back to your seat."

"But won't you let me have your address, Lila?"

"It will be better to let me have yours, dear. I shall motor down to you to-morrow evening, and take you home with me. I am a rich yet terribly lonely woman, and you will be such a comfort! To-morrow evening will suit you, dear?"

"Admirably, dearest."

The address was promptly given. Madhusudan grabbed his seat as the train pulled up jerkily at the big bustling station. They alighted, and were lost into the vast throng of people that choked the platform.

The place where Madhusudan soon found himself was an aristocratic suit of apartments in the top storey of a large and luxurious hotel bristling with young and eager pleasure-hunters. Any ordinary young man in his place would have kept fluttering and fidgeting about, being continually haunted by the tender affair in the train. But he was not at all the man to sacrifice the present for the sake either of the past or the future. He always cared for the nearest pleasure, snatched at it, sucked it, and flung it aside. He shelved the romantic adventure of the train into a dim and distant corner of his brain, and lost himself in the riotous round of enjoyments and engagements that the house of fashion never failed to provide in plenty.

It was only when a powerful honk of a car struck his ears at exactly six in the evening of the next day that he remembered his appointment with the lovely Lila. He dashed to the window, and popped out his head. Far below him was an elegant automobile, and from it peered in his direction a tiny, pretty head of a woman. It was Lila. He clapped his hands to attract her attention. She directly spotted him, and beckoned to him with her toy-like hands. He just signed to her, and withdrew his head. Within the next seven minutes, he was a handsome young man clad in a rich and immaculate dress, slipping down the hotel in a lift. The lift stopped, he tipped the attendant, burst out, and was soon beside the opulent and commodious car empty save Lila at the wheel.

"Hop in," chirped Lila, after the endearing greetings on both sides were over.

The young man hopped in beside her with graceful agility. The two love birds were soon off pitching and swerving and tooting through the busy metropolitan traffic.

"Is it far, dearest?" asked Madhusudan.

"A good seven miles," replied she.

"It must be out of the city then."

"It is. I told you it's a lonely place. But I love peace and solitude, and hate the thick traffic and jostle of the crowded city. And with you, I won't after all be very lonely to-night.

The car turned away from the main arteries of the city, and threaded hissingly through a labyrinthine maze of sparsely filled streets. The swarming mass of humanity thinned and melted away into occasional stragglers. After having puzzled through the crooked confusion of narrow and tortuous passages, the car took a straight, empty road. At last, it slided over

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slight eminence, entered an enormous compound rampant with bushes and trees, and drew up in front of a large old house.

The pair sprang lightly out of the car. Madhusudan stared at the house in blank wonderment. For, it was an ancient, gaunt, straggling structure with mouldering walls, mocking windows, and a vast crazy roof. The plaster had come off at innumerable places in the walls, and so, the house appeared to be full of holes, grotesque holes. What particularly struck Madhusudan was the immense and elaborate facade that immediately glared at him. It affected him like the ghastly grin of some ghostly being. He had spent all his life among modern glittering hotels, and young enchanting beauties. He had met with youth and charm only in matter and life. Hence, as he stood before this huge and hulking embodiment of the grim ravages of time, an unfamiliar shudder crept through his frame. Strange that such a time-worn, surly heap of rotting brick and wood should house such a youthful and lovely creature as Lila! Strange and odd!

"Let us go inside," he said impatiently to Lila.

"Come on," invited she, tripping up the steps, and opening the massive entrance-door.

He crossed the door after her, and followed her through a dark winding passage into a spacious yet very ill-ventilated sitting-room.

"By God, this is really a museum!" he exclaimed, as he observed that the room was filled with old antiquated pieces of heavy and elaborately carved furniture with their paint worn out and shreds of cloth sticking out of them.

"Well, and so it is. But a museum is rather an interesting place, isn't it?"

"Perhaps it is, my pet. And more so when it contains an alluring bit of romance in the person of an entrancing Lila," he remarked, throwing himself on a ponderous couch.

"I am the least remarkable thing about this what you are pleased to call a museum. The most wonderful thing about it is its underground work, a unique specimen of archæological interest. I'll show it to you when you are refreshed."

"I'll be charmed to see it, dearest. But why don't you get this fossilized job repaired and modernized, my girl?"

"Why should I? I am alone, and have only my own cravings to satisfy. I love being entombed under an atmosphere of age and antiquity. It has a purging and wholesome effect upon my vagrant being."

"Well said, my bewitching philosopher. But you are literally lonely, my dear. Don't you keep servants?"

"I do. But I have given them all a holiday. They would be a hindrance to our little orgy of love, dear."

"Come Lila. You owe me a kiss."

"I'll give you a hundred, dear. But let me first light a lantern, dear. It's getting dark. And I must give you some tea and refreshment. There is plenty of time. The night is ours, dear."

Lila lit the lantern, put it on a small table beside Madhusudan, and went out of the room to prepare food and tea. Madhusudan sat in the large, creaking couch, running his eyes about the fitfully illuminated room and ruminating over the strange whirligig of romance and adventure into which his casual railway journey had plunged him headlong. The flickering lantern lent a sly and lurking look to the dismal and dusty articles of furniture, and projected uncannily exaggerated, distorted and quivering shadows on the wall beyond. He could smell the chill and choking atmosphere of age and decay that hung heavily in the room, and a cold shiver ran down his spine.

"Here you are," chimed in Lila, putting a large tray before him, and waking him out of his gloomy reverie.

"Thanks, dearest," muttered he.

A hearty refreshment and a hot instalment of tea dispelled from Madhusudan's heart the awful gloom that had invaded it. He waxed playful and chatty.

"That kiss, Lila," reminded he, his heart all afire with a burning, blazing passion that he was wont to experience whenever he was in close contact with a young beauty.

"Madhu, dearest, will you humour a little fancy of mine?" asked Lila with a soul-subduing tenderness.

"Oh, yes, my love, whatever it is. What is it, dearest?"

"That you should give me your first kiss in my underground cellar. Shall we go there, dear?"

"By God, yes. I would follow you anywhere to snatch a kiss from you, love."

"Would you? Oh, how lucky I am! Come, dear."

Lila took up the dimly burning lantern, and led the way. Madhusudan followed her. They were soon in a dark, damp chamber.

"Hold this lantern. I shall open the lid," said Lila, handing the lantern to Madhusudan, and manipulating some lever-arrangement. A

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large lid of solid blackstone came easily off, and disclosed a gaping yawn of blackness in the floor.

"Come. I'll lead the way," said Madhusudan, lowering the lantern into the circular mouth of the cavernous structure, and putting his foot carefully on the ladder that led down. He clambered down a dozen steps, and holding the lantern over his head, looked up. A round disc of leering blackness met his eyes.

"Come down, Lila," he said, his nostrils full of an ugly, damp smell.

No response came.

"Why don't you come, Lila?"

Silence.

"Lila!"

In reply came a horrid bang that nearly sent the young man off his hold on the rungs. The lid was closed. The first formidable doubt about Lila's integrity assailed his mind, and made his knees totter under him.

"Lila!" he shouted with hoarse vehemence. "Lila! Let me out. This is beyond joke."

The silence tortured him. A sudden flow of cold perspiration oozed up on his brow. He was a prisoner in the doorless depths of a desolate house. The grey horror of his hopeless position made his head reel.

And then the awful stillness was cut asunder by a bitter chuckle of laughter. Came a clear, continuous, resounding voice.

"Joke! Why should you be afraid of a joke, young man? Human life has been a cheap joke to you throughout your unspeakable career. The desolation, the ruination, the damnation of many a poor misguided girl h been a joke to you. You have used all yo life in turning maidenly innocence into pit for your inhuman passion to wallow in. It w always you who profited, always the girl w perished. You hunted out a prey, enjoyed and pursued another. If the old one aga crossed your path, you killed it. And you co sidered it all a mighty fine joke, didn't you The time has come for somebody else to pl the same kind of joke upon you. And it sh be played to its perfect end. Madhusuda Remember one early flower you sucked, a cast away as filth to rot in perdition. Reme ber Sita. I am her sister. I vowed reve upon the poor innocent's fiendish seducer. made the wreaking of this vengeance my lif sole business. I hunted after you, and at la tracked you down to your train. Your o beastly lust did the rest. My purpose in l is fulfilled. You await your terrible yet we deserved fate in a lonely place owned by m Remember your sins, and pray to God for me in your last moments."

The voice stopped.

"Lila, you witch! Let me out, let m out!" came a baffled and broken shout.

Grim silence.

A wild, scared, squawking cry of hor and hopelessness rose in the lightless womb the vast ruin, and soon subsided in it unhear by a human ear. A solitary car slipped out the wild garden, and was lost in the jostle the world. And in the subterranean infer was carried out to its terrible climax a sinis a black *Vendetta*.

Reverie
By Prabhat Neogy

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THE ARYA SAMAJISTS IN HYDERABAD AND THE PARAMOUNT POWER

By Professor SRI RAM SHARMA

With the presentation of a Memorial to the Crown Representative, signed by some of the most responsible Hindus in India, the Arya Samajist struggle at Hyderabad enters a new phase. It is no longer a movement in which some Arya Samajist 'fanatics' alone are interested, as used to be represented by a section of the press. The signatories belong to all political parties and hail from various parts of the country. Some of them at least have never been unfriendly to the Indian princes. Others occupy a very prominent position in the Indian National Congress and have usually abstained from participating in all movements of a communal nature. What has brought them together in their demand for the intervention of the paramount power in the affairs of the State is therefore neither communalism nor any hostility to the princes as such. In sober tones they have set down the undeniable fact that the Arya Samajists in the State are being needlessly denied their elementary right of performing their daily religious rites unhindered in the State and have called upon the paramount power to secure that minimum of good administration which it has been its endeavour to secure in all States, including Hyderabad.

Meanwhile, some 11,000 Arya Samajists have gone to jail to vindicate their right to share in that 'broadminded toleration and sympathetic understanding' which, as H.E.H. the Nizam has proclaimed to the World Congress of Faiths, is so sorely needed today. These more than seven thousand prisoners and undertrials include the President of the International Aryan League, several Presidents of the Provincial Representative Assemblies of the Arya Samajists, the Vice-Principal of a Degree College in the Punjab, editors of the two of the most influential dailies in the Punjab, distinguished lawyers, and successful judges, besides a large number of Arya Samajist missionaries from various parts of the country. Those who have courted arrest come from almost all parts of the country; the Punjab, the United Provinces, the North-Eastern Frontier Province, Bihar, the Central Provinces, Madras, Sind, Bombay—almost all the Indian provinces—are represented besides several Indian states. Among those participating in the agitation, in one form or other, can be found Arya Samajists of all types and descriptions. The strength of the Arya Samajist feeling in the matter can be easily gauged by the fact that not a single prisoner is known to have sought release by tendering apology for his conduct. If collections to support the movement are any index to the sacrifices a community is prepared to make in a cause, there is the significant fact that the fifth and the seventh 'Dictators' alone have been able to collect in cash more than Rs. 80,000 for the movement. Appraise it as one will, it will have to be admitted that by their struggle spreading over several months the Arya Samajists in Hyderabad and outside have proved that they have been intensely moved by the denial of their religious rights in Hyderabad. No such movement can be artificially 'inspired' by outside agitators.

The strength of the Arya Samajist feeling and the backing it has received prove eloquently that the movement was not launched lightheartedly. For six long years the Arya Samajists tried to get these grievances redressed and exhausted all the constitutional means at their disposal before trying to use 'direct action' in this passive form for asserting their elementary religious rights. The 'Satyagraha' form of protest that they are making today speaks volumes in favour of their restraint. Not a single case of rowdyism, not one instance of their departing from the strict path of 'non-violence' has either been noticed or brought home to them. It is true, some of the most eminent of the Arya Samajists now in jail have gone on hunger strike several times. But they resorted to this last weapon of a passive resister only when they discovered that their humbler followers were not being allowed the ordinary amenities normally allowed to prisoners in jail. They have done their allotted share of hard labour whatever obnoxious form it took. Filling the Hyderabad jails to overflowing they have been content to live in the tin sheds temporarily constructed to accommodate them in this burning heat. When 800 of them courted arrest towards the end of May last, despite the

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fact that their exact number had formed the topic of comment in British Indian newspapers for at least a week, it took the Hyderabad authorities 30 hours before they were able to make arrangements for their elementary human needs. And the only protest the prisoners made was that they insisted on all being supplied ordinary amenities together. Those who were being favoured with early supplies refused to use them till their less fortunate brothers were also cared for. The Arya Samajists seem to have demonstrated the heights to which a true 'Satyagrahi' can rise when protecting a just cause.

The problem has several times been on the verge of finding an acceptable solution. In April last, negotiations were started between the accredited leaders of the Arya Samaj and the representatives of the State. It seemed as if a peaceful solution was about to be found when the Nizam's government slammed the door in the face of the Arya Samajist representatives. Since then locally or by a general declaration the Nizam's government has tried to proclaim the relaxation of some of the restrictions the Arya Samajists are fighting against. A general order was issued proclaiming that there was no objection to the use of the Arya Samajist religious flag on the Arya Samajist temples. But when the Arya Samajists tried to take advantage of this order and hoisted the flags, they were arrested in several places. When the Arya Samajists offered themselves for passive resistance in a far-off corner of the State, the local officials assured them that they had no grievances so far as that locality was concerned, because, without let or hinderance, they would be allowed to exercise the rights they were claiming. When a group of 800 volunteers tried to enter the State they were told at first that they were free to enter the city and presumably exercise their religious rights as well. But as soon as their leader began addressing his companions, he was arrested and is now being prosecuted not only for holding a public meeting without permission but for several other acts as well. When the forthcoming constitutional reforms in the State were being eagerly waited for, it was expected at one time that the state announcement would try to meet the Arya Samajist case at least half way. But the announcement postponed for a few days on June 19 is still being waited for. It was being freely said then that the Government of Hyderabad was willing enough to appoint a commission of enquiry to go into the question of the religious rights and usuages of various classes of its citizens, though it was feared that an attempt would be made to make this enquiry as farcical as possible.

Thus it will have to be admitted that the Arya Samajists have been deeply moved by the indignities—real not fancied—to which they are subjected in Hyderabad. The State itself has accepted the existence of 'Causes of Complaint' by the several attempts made to redress some of them as also by the rumoured proposal to appoint a commission of enquiry into the matter. The April negotiations which were abruptly terminated also proved the same thing.

Under these circumstances, it passes one's comprehension how any sane person can try to defend the Government of Hyderabad for its failure to live up to the ideal of 'broadminded toleration and sympathetic understanding of different faiths' which the Nizam has emphasized so much in his recent message to the Congress of Faiths in Paris. The Arya Samajists in Hyderabad are demanding nothing more than the exercise of their elementry religious rights in peace. It passes one's understanding why the Muslim League should be upset over their demands. One can easily imagine the Muslim League being perturbed by the Arya Samajist *activities*, though passive resistance at least in a religious cause is no longer tabooed even by the Muslim League. Had the Muslim League, so anxious for the preservation of the cultural rights of minorities in British India, sympathized with the Arya Samajist demand and objected to the methods adopted by them one would have easily understood it. But either to deny the existence of grievances which the State itself has recognized in one form or another or to talk of the demand for their redress—which is not criminal even in Hyderabad at present—as a threat to Islam, is an attitude which smacks of rank communalism and nothing else. Because it is an Arya Samajist demand, forsooth it must be condemned as anti-Muslim.

The restrictions placed on this movement by certain governments are due to certain misunderstanding caused not by the action of the Arya Samajists but by those of their opponents. The inquiry into the Sholapur case proved beyond doubt that the conduct of the Arya Samajist volunteers was neither objectionable nor provocative. The cases that are pending in the Patiala State clearly indicate that neither the Arya Samajist volunteers nor their Hindu or Sikh sympathizers were to blame for the unfortunate happening there.

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Government of Madras has withdrawn the orders in spirit if not in form. The Governments of Bhopal and Gwalior seem to have been frightened into taking action for no cause whatever connected with anything that happened or was likely to happen within their own territories.

The case of the Punjab Government stands as a class by itself. Whereas Madras and Bombay took action under the ordinary law for the purpose of keeping the peace of their own territories, the Government of Sir Sikandar took resort to the Princes Protection Act for authorizing the District Magistrates to take action not in the interest of the peace of their own areas, but in the interest of the peace of Hyderabad which the Arya Samajists are supposed to threaten by their courting arrest peacefully! That the sections enforced in the Punjab were not intended to cover 'the attack' —presumably by courting arrest—of the Arya Samajists of the Punjab across hundreds of miles and crossing several other jurisdictions, is clear from the fact that the sections can be easily evaded. An Arya Samajist has simply to say that he was going to Delhi—or for the matter of that to any other place beyond the Punjab except Hyderabad—to avoid falling into the clutches of these sections. These sections were intended to cover cases of persons entering a neighbouring state from the frontiers of a British province. The District Magistrate of Sialkot could easily check the entry into Kashmir, from within the frontiers of the Punjab, of persons carrying on anti-Kashmir agitation. But it would have been impossible for the District Magistrate of Ambala to prevent persons leaving Ambala who might in the end try to enter Kashmir.

But the very fact that the Government of Sir Sikandar has taken action under the Princes Protection Act, proves that the Arya Samajist agitation is neither anti-Islamic nor a menace to peace. There are powers enough in the hands of the Government for suppressing any movement which tries to create by its own action feelings of hatred between two communities or otherwise disturbs the peace. That there has been no occasion to invoke them in the Punjab proves that those responsible for this movement cannot be convicted of attacking either Islam or the peace of the country.

It will have to be admitted, however, that interested quarters have tried to convince some Muslims that this movement is antagonistic to their interest. These efforts have been of some success to the extent of provoking threats from a section of the rather irresponsible Muslims in the Frontier that if the Arya Samajists do not desist from their peaceful activities the Hindu minorities in the Frontier Province will have to suffer. The very nature of these threats is a proof positive of their unreasonableness. Nothing that the Arya Samajists claim and nothing that they are trying to achieve show the least inclination to attack the religious rights, usuages, and susceptibilities of the followers of other religions, least of all the religion of the ruler of Hyderabad. Denied their own rights, they are not foolish enough to do anything that would place even similar restrictions on the religious rights of others.

Thus denied justice in Hyderabad, purified by the sufferings of their thousands of correligionists there, strong in their attachment to truth, non-violence and therefore toleration, the Arya Samajists have now knocked at the door of the supreme Government. That their grievances are genuine they have amply proved. That their continuous existence denies to the Arya Samajists that minimum of religious toleration which the British Government has always tried to secure for the religious minorities in all states cannot be gainsaid.

That the imprisonments of thousands of British Indian subjects in Hyderabad jails which are not obviously meant to hold such large numbers is a matter that concerns the British Resident in Hyderabad—the representative of the British Crown there—has been admitted by the Under-Secretary of State for India in the Commons. What the memorialists demand involves no threat either to the Nizam or to the ruling family. 'The whisper of the residency is the thunder to the palace' has often been justly said when describing the relations of the British Government with the State. Will the British Resident be asked to whisper a discreet inquiry into the ears of Sir Akbar Hydari so that the matter may be a little speeded up in the interest of all concerned?

July 12, 1939

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Book Reviews

Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in THE MODERN REVIEW. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.—Editor, THE MODERN REVIEW.

ENGLISH

UNITY THROUGH RELIGION: Being the Report of the Proceedings of the Fourth International Congress of the World Fellowship of Faiths, held at Madras, India, 1938. Compiled by Miss Sakuntala Sastri, M.A. (Cal.), B.Litt (Oxon.), Vedatirtha. 210-6, Cornwallis Street, Calcutta. Price not mentioned, Crown 8vo. pp. 150+xii. Frontispiece, a portrait of Sir P. C. Ray, D.Sc. Reproductions of two group photographs of the President (the Maharaja of Pithapuram), the Director (Mrs. Clarence Gasque), and the principal speakers and members of the committee. Cloth, gilt letters. With a dust cover.

This well got-up and interesting little volume contains the compiler's Preface, Foreword by Sir P. C. Ray (Chairman of the Committee), Proceedings of the three Sessions of the Fourth International Congress of the Fellowship of Faiths and of the Supplementary Session at Cocanada, Presidential Address of the Maharaja of Pithapuram, and speeches and papers by Sir K. V. Reddy, Dr. G. S. Arundale, Mrs. Georgena M. Gault, Mrs. Elizabeth Bedlington Hopt, Maulana Syed Abdul W. Bokhari, Sir P. S. Sivaswamy Iyer, Dr. F. W. Thomas, Dewan Bahadur S. R. Ranganathan, Her Highness the Maharani Saheba of Nabha, Sardar Sardul Singh Caveeshar, Prof. D. D. Kanga, Mr. Watanabe, the Hon'ble Mr. Yakub Hassan, Sri Ramananda Chatterjee, and others.

Some of the speeches and papers make very instructive reading. The compiler is entitled to the gratitude of the reader for the pains she has unselfishly taken for bringing out the book.

D.

TECHNICAL COMMITTEE ON NUTRITION: GUIDING PRINCIPLES FOR STUDIES ON THE NUTRITION OF POPULATIONS: *By Professor E. J. Bigwood, of Brussels University. Published by the Health Organisation of the League of Nations. Pp. 281. Price 6/-; $1.50.*

The author has endeavoured to work out methods of enquiry which can be generally applied as to the actual food consumption and the state of nutrition of given population groups. The Hand-book is divided into two parts: (1) DIETARY SURVEYS, and (2) ENQUIRIES INTO THE STATE OF NUTRITION OF POPULATIONS.

There are four types of dietary survey: investigations may extend over a whole country, or be limited to population groups, to families, or to individuals. The author describes the technique of these surveys-weighing methods; method of records in household books, questionnaire method, etc; he then deals with the analysis of the collected data from the standpoint of the physiology of nutrition and with the scales of family consumption c efficients which have to be used in comparing the res of enquiries concerned with groups of different age a sex composition. The last two chapters of Part I d with diets from the economic standpoint and the sta tical significance to be assigned to the results of surv

In Part II of his handbook the author discusses somatometric (biometric, clinical and physiologic methods that may be suitably employed in these inve gations. Special attention is given to the physiolog methods, especially those for detecting latent h vitaminoses and iron deficiency.

The handbook is completed by examples of surv of various types in a number of different countries; also comprises a terminological index and bibliorgra cal references.

S.

INDUSTRIAL LABOUR IN INDIA: *International Labour Office. Studies and Reports, Series A (Industrial Relations), No. 41. Geneva, 1938. Price 7s. $2.*

Although India is still essentially an agricult country, modern industries have been making ra progress, employing an increasingly large number workers. The working and living conditions of th workers form the subject-matter of the present treatis

This volume, which draws largely on the Whi Commission Report, is divided into ten chapters, first being explanatory of the geographical, social political setting of the problems of industrial labour India, while the others deal with the nature and ex of industrial employment, labour legislation, indus relation, employment and unemployment, health safety, hours of work, wages, standard of living, housing and welfare.

The report records the progress so far made regard to the improvement of labour conditions in In Much indeed has been done in recent years in this pect, and a considerable body of law has been enac but, as this report (quoted below) also points out, remains to be done. As regards trade unions, "from information available it would appear that the recogn [of trade unions] in India is still generally limited to vidual employers; of collective bargaining in the sens negotiations between organization of employers and nization of workers there is very little;" though importance of developing healthy trade unions is by practically none,' "on the question of the rec tion of trade unions by employers, which 'has be the acid test' the opinions of employing interests

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still very divided." . . . "The development of legal provision for conciliation and arbitration between employers and workers is still in an early phase." As regards social insurance, "there is as yet no social insurance legislation in India other than the Workmen's Compensation Act, which has been recently amended and extended, and the five provincial Maternity Benefit Acts; legislation relating to insurance aganst sickness, old age and unemployment has not yet been enacted." . . . . . "The information given above [in the volume under review] concerning wage levels, the indebtedness of the workers and their standard of living shows that the economic position of the Indian workers is a matter requiring the urgent attention of all authorities who realise the importance of raising their social and economic status as well as of industrial efficiency."

P.

A HISTORY OF THE QARAUNA TURKS IN INDIA: *By Dr. Iswari Prasad, M.A., D.Litt., Allahabad University. Vol. I.* Pages *379. Indian Press, Allahabad,* 1936.

Though Dr. Iswari Prasad is the author of more than one book on Medieval India it is this volume under review that won for him the highest distinction his university had in her gift, and also recognition outside as a historian of repute. The last chapter of the book on "Authorities" will bring home to the mind of every student of Indo-Muslim history the wide range of the author's acquaintance with original as well as the secondary sources of the history of the first two Tughlaq Sultans of Delhi which forms the subject-matter of this book. Dr. Iswari Prasad's task has been one of exceptional difficulty in dealing with "highly controversial problems" with which this volume abounds; and above all on account of the nature of his brief, namely, "to redeem a great historical personage from unmerited obloquy and the condemnation of misinformed or uncritical chroniclers and historians." This volume unlike other works of the author is written in a critical and argumentative, and therefore less readable style. It requires more than one perusal and much careful thought to discover the merits and defects of this learned dissertation. We are, however, constrained to remark that Dr. Iswari Prasad's work has not been eminently judicial; its spirit being mainly that of the bar and not of the bench. The author in dealing with the character of Muhammad Tughlaq seems to have derived his inspiration from Mr. G. Browne's superficially brilliant *Apologia* on Muhammad Tughlaq published many years ago. We shall only dwell on those parts of Dr. Iswari Prasad's book which are in our opinion unsound.

To begin with, Dr. Iswari Prasad has not perhaps succeeded in proving that the Quaraunas were Turks at all. All the earliest and best authorities quoted by him point to the Mongol or Tartar origin of the Quaraunas. But he would still maintain that Quaraunas were Turks, because two least reliable Indian authorities,, Ferishta and Chetan Rai Bhandari, record a legend in support of this view made current for the first time by Raverty. This shows that the author's mode of weighing the evidence of authorities leaves much to be desired. It is also interesting to note that Dr. Iswari Prasad attributes to Tughlaq Shah's Hindu blood through a Jat mother his "modesty and mildness"—characteristics which are yet to be discovered in a Punjabi Jat, male or female. The major portion of the book is pre-eminently a biography of Sultan Muhammad Tughlaq, which fills 330 out of 379 pages of this volume. The whole thesis in this portion of the book is that old controversy, started by Browne, whether the Sultan was a mad man or a political genius born far in advance of his time. Nobody ever suspected that the Sultan was a lunatic of such a violent sort as would have justified his confinement in an asylum if he had been a private individul. On the other hand, even in the pages of Dr. Iswari Prasad's book, there are proofs of the Sultan's eccentricities and unsound intellect verging on madness that brought untold misery on his people. Though Dr. Iswari Prasad has something to say in extenuation he has, in our opinion, failed to refute the charge in a convincing manner in spite of all his well-documented advocacy. Some of his arguments to prove that the transfer of capital, enhancement of revenue and peasant-hunting in the Doab, introduction of the token currency and the project of the conquest of Khorasan and Persia—were no mad freaks of a callous tyrant but brilliant flashes of statesmanship—are too weak to carry conviction. The author has not been fair to Ibn Batuta and Ziauddin Barani from whom he quotes only those facts that fit in with his theory, but omits others that go against Muhammad Tughlaq's character.

However, Dr. Iswari Prasad's book has great merits also. His reconstruction of the chronology of this period, and the purging of many persistent historical heresies are contributions of great value. The book under review is indispensable to every student of Medieval India, no matter whether he agrees with or differs from the viewpoint of the author.

K. R. QANUNGO

INDIA IN WORLD POLITICS: *By B. N. Khanna, M.A. Published by Amrit Books, New Delhi. Crown 8vo, Cloth bound. Price Rs. 2. Foreign 3s. 6d.*

This is a well-written book about nothing in particular. The author thus describes his work in the Preface: "I have tried to demolish the so-called democracy and parliamentary system of government and have criticised dictatorship supported as it inevitably is by military might. I have favoured neither socialism nor capitalism." One wonders what, then, the author would be really talking about.

The plan of the book serves to add to the confusion. After bringing under review the outstanding events of post-War Europe from the struggle for independence in Turkey, Arabia, Iran, Palestine, Syria and China down to the Italian, German and Japanese aggression, the author, by a wholly inscrutable process of reasoning, comes to the unexpected conclusion that there is coming a new 'golden age through modernization, free from unhealthy tendencies, political, economic, social, and religious.' What the author states as a conclusion is, indeed, no more than a matter of faith with him; for he does occasionally refer to it as a dream, although he still seeks to defend it on somewhat flimsy grounds. Thus, on page 104, he says:

"If we appear to be visionary, and too optimistic and unpractical, let us assume that our dream proves to be such and no more, that the good that we find coming to the world does not happen. Then the other alternative is the disaster that will overtake this machine civilization, which will end in a relapse to barbarism and the ultimate extinction of man. But we cannot believe in this alternative."

This kind of reasoning is hardly convincing.

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Honestly, the book is a deceptive and a disappointing one. It starts from a good rational analysis of political events, and exactly when the reader begins to expect a sociological explanation of these things, the argument rises to an ethereal and mystical plane, prophesying a golden age for the world and ending with an invocation of the Supreme Creator. The book has been rightly dedicated to a Princely Noble Soul.

BOOL CHAND

RUPAVALI: *By Nandalal Bose, Second Edition, Vol. 1, Parts 1 & 2, Chuckerverty, Chatterjee & Co., 15, College Square. Published by Biswarup Bose, Kalabhavan, Santineketan, Bolpur. Price 12 as. per part.*

Rupavali by Nandalal Bose is a sheer delight. Just as Flaxman's drawings were hailed with delight in England in an age which was fast sinking from the fascination of romance to blatant realism so these drawings are a revelation in this materialistic age of ours of the great past of India in creative art. The drawings are based on the finest achievements of the mural painters, chiefly of Ajanta, and the work of the Rajput artists but they are not mere slavish copies. We esteem those as fortunate who will take their lessons from these drawings of heads of men and women and beautiful poses of limbs. Nandalal Bose's outline drawings are powerful renderings—but withal beautiful—of form and mass instinct with life and expression. He is no less a master of line than his great progenitors of Ajanta. The book is a second edition in a more convenient format in two parts of a work which was first published several years ago. It is beautifully produced and the printing and paper are of a quality in keeping with the nobility and beauty of the drawings. At the price of 12 as. per part the book is practically a gift and every one interested in art should secure copies.

AJIT GHOSE

INDIA SPEAKS: *Edited with introduction by B. Koyal, M.A. S. K. Lahiri & Co., Calcutta.*

For over a Century and a half, from the age of Ram Mohun Roy to that of Jawahar Lal Nehru, great leaders have addressed the nation and the general public on diverse topics of national and international interest. In the short compass of 100 pages, the editor has succeeded in presenting a wide range of topics discussed by different types of leaders like Dadabhai Naoroji, Syad Ahmad Khan, Gopal Krishna Gokhale, Aurobindo Ghose, Tilak and Gandhi, Asutosh Mookerjee and C. R. Das, Rabindranath Tagore and Sarojini Naidu. In the selection of the specimens of speech we find that the editor is judicious and discreet, aiming to help the rising generation of students in appreciating the lofty thoughts of their national leaders. Such a volume, we hope, would help stimulating, in the mind of our students, real interest in the public affairs of our country. The introductory notes on Oratory and Principles of Public Speaking add to the interest of the book.

K. NAG.

TARIKHI BADSHAH BEGAM: *Translated by Muhammad Taqi Ahmad, M.A., L.T., with a Foreward by Sir Jadunath Sarkar. Published by the Indian Press, Ltd., Allahabad. 1938. Pp. 98+vii.*

The book under review is the English translation of a Persian manuscript, embodying an interesting account of the career of Badshah Begam, consort of Ghazi-ud-Haidar, Nawab of Oudh during 1814-27. The text was written by one Abdul Ahad, Sheristadar in the office of the British Residency at Lucknow at the instance of Lieut. J. D. Shakespear, Second Assistant to the British Resident Col. Low. Sir W. Sleeman, in his work *A Journey Through the Kingdom of Oudh* merely gave a description of the Begam's startling coup in favour of her alleged grandson Fardun Bakht *alias* Munna Jan whom she wanted to place on the throne of Oudh, but her full career had hitherto remained shrouded in obscurity. The present monograph has lifted the veil that hang over her romantic personality and disclosed for the first time an account of her ancestry, marriage, interference, and dominance in the state, and above all, her religious beliefs and practices. Rarely do we get glimpses into the seraglio of Indian Kings and potentates; thanks to Mr. Taqi Ahmad's efforts, these pages enable us not merely to watch the career of a power-loving and spirited woman but also to cast a peep into the world of royal feminity, seclusion where light and life did hardly exist.

One of the topics which has been discussed at length is the question of the origin of Faridun Bakht *alias* Munna Jan who was superseded by the British nominee Muhammad Ali Khan on the throne of Oudh. Sleeman declared that "Munna Jan was the son" of Nasiruddin Haidar.

The most interesting portion of the book is the account of religious innovations introduced by the Begam and Nasiruddin Haidar, *e.g.*, the Chhat ceremony, Imam Mahdi, the institution of a body of "Acchhotis" who were supposed to be the wives of the Imams, the occasional fits of religious ecstasy under which the Begam used to divine the past, present, and the future. These practices are so sharply at variance with the tenets of orthodox Islam that they would be read with the greatest interest by all; for, as Sir Jadunath remarks in the Foreword, "they illustrate a phase in the development of Shiaism known to few of us before."

Mr. Taqi Ahmad has not made the translation literal but he has made it very readable. We have noticed slips in composition here and there, *e.g.*, page 4, l 25, p. 26, l 12, p. 27, l 8, p. 59, l 7, but in spite of this defect we have no hesitation in offering our warm congratulations to the translator for his discovery of the Persian manuscript and publication of the translation.

N. B. RAY

LOCAL AUTONOMY VOL. I: *By G. F. F. Foulis (Salem). Published by G. A. Natesan & Co., Madras. Price Re. 1.*

In this handbook of about 150 pages a good deal of useful information is given in regard to the Madras Presidency and such subjects as education, primary and secondary; public health and nutrition of the individual; the co-operative movement; administraton of civil justice and village self-government and rural reconstruction. A number of suggestions pointing out the lines of future development is also made. But this mass of information and suggestions are not presented in an attractive form and one wonders whether the object of the writer—that of making the electorate think of these problems in a realistic and practical manner—can be achieved by such a publication. The title of the book too is misleading and not expressive of its contents.

GURMUKH NIHAL SINGH

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OUR DIFFERENCES: *By M. N. Roy. Saraswaty Library, College Square, Calcutta. Pp. 1-183. Rs. 2/-.*

ROYISM EXPLAINED: *By M. N. Roy and K. K. Sinha, Saraswaty Library, College Square, Calcutta. Pp. 65. Price annas -/8/-.*

The two small books are of interest and value to many intelligent men who fail to understand why Mr. M. N. Roy is disowned by the movement in India of which he was the pioneer from abroad. Mr. Roy in the first book explains his differences with the communists. These are, according to him, "no differences." For, the Sixth World Congress of the Communist International had rejected his theory; but the Seventh World Congress went back to the old position—*i.e.* of the united fronts in the fight against British Imperialism. "This being the case, as far as I am concerned, the controversy is closed; there are no differences any longer." The readers would naturally then conclude that his theory of "de-colonisation," his "revisionism," etc., are also the accepted theories of the communists;—and that would be absolutely a wrong idea to form. The differences are wide; they grow wider in tactics as Mr. Roy proves daily. He is himself the victim of ultra-leftism that he condemns in his critics of the past. Indeed, as his co-workers must have perceived, as Mr. Kernik now must have seen, Mr. Roy cannot be saved from himself. While Royism is explained, fairly in these two books; Royism is exposed daily by Roy himself. If Roy is the most brilliant intellectual of the Indian Left as he writes, Roy is the least dependable political leader of the Left as he acts.

BHARADWAJA

MOTHER INDIA: *By Anilbaran Ray. Published by the Gita Prachar Karyalaya, 108/11, Monoharpukur Road, Kalighat, Calcutta. Pp. 48. Price As. 8 only.*

The book reads well and is full of patriotic fervour. Sometimes it even verges on a rhapsody. "Mother India," we are told at the very outset, "is not a mere name or a figure of speech; she is a Soul and Personality, a goddess Power who has a mission to fulfill in the world" (p. 1). It is undoubtedly a fine sentiment for an Indian but is dreadfully indifferent to the realities of the situation. "The political freedom of India" the author proceeds to assure us, "is bound to come because it is a condition necessary for the manifestation of the Soul of India" (p. 24). This is like the Jews' hope in their Messiah; quite elevating, but without any indication of its necessary fulfilment. The fact that the freedom of India is "bound to come," does not, we hope, imply that there should be no striving for it.

The Napoleon LaPlace incident referred to on page 6, is somewhat wrongly stated.. LaPlace was not 'explaining' to Napoleon the relative positions and movements of the heavenly bodies; he went to the Emperor to present a copy of his book on the Celestial Mechanism. And Napoleon did not ask LaPlace "where is the place of God in your system": this would be a crude question to ask; but he only remarked that he was told that LaPlace had not mentioned the Creator of the Universe in his book. To this LaPlace's reply was not that 'there is no place for God in the Universe' but that he did not require such a hypothesis. We have a summary of such a conversation in Ball's "*History of Mathematics*," from which it is quoted by Ward in his "*Naturalism and Agnosticism*." We hope Mr. Ray will realise the difference between this version and his.

U. C. BHATTACHARJEE

MY IMPRESSIONS OF THE WEST: *By Kshitish Chandra Banerjee. To be had of all principal Bookstalls. Illustrated. Price Rs. 2-8 only.*

Two earlier volumes of the author's travel notes (*My Travels in the East* and *Across the Near East*) were noticed in these columns some time ago. This volume describes his tour in Greece, Italy, France, England, Switzerland, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria and Turkey, and will be read with interest.

P. B. S.

THE ALL-INDIA INDUSTRIAL AND COMMERCIAL DIRECTORY, 1938-39: *Edited by M. G. Desai, B.A., and G. R. S. Rao, B.A. Published by the All-India Industrial Federation, Medows House, Medows Street, Fort, Bombay. Price Rs. 2.*

This is a very useful compilation, furnishing detailed information about various industrial and commercial undertakings in British India and the Native States. Some instructive papers have been contributed to the volume by Sir M. Visesvarayya, Mr. J. C. Kumarappa, Prof. B. P. Adarkar, Hon'ble Mr. Govindlal Shivlal Motilal, Mr. J. P. Mehta and others.

SOUREN DE

SWAMI DAYANAND SARASWATI—HIS LIFE AND TEACHINGS AND OTHER PAPERS: *By Sivananda Prasad Kulyar, with a Foreword by Acharya Ram Deva. Published by Sharma and Kulyar, Patna City. Price Re. 1-4 only.*

This book contains a short biography of the Swamiji, founder of the Arya Samaj, together with a Chapter on the exposition of the tenets of the Samaj. Hence it will be found very useful by all who desire to know about the Arya movement within a short compass.

ISHAN CHANDRA RAY

LIFE'S SHADOWS: *By Kumara Guru. With a Foreword by Sir S. Radhakrishnan. Published by D. B. Taraporevala Sons & Co., Hornby Road, Bombay. Price Rs. 2 or 3s.*

The Author has sought in this book to "present, from a psychical standpoint and in various aspects, a realistic picture of the educated Tamil Brahmin of the last generation." The characters in the sketches of his book belong to a period of transition in India when the stream of western civilization had already begun to flow in and vitally affect the foundation of the Indian civilization. Many young men of the time succumbed to the dazzling brilliance and superficial glamour of the western modes of life but some also remodelled their outlook of life to a certain extent without losing their Indian soul.

The characters in 'Life's Shadows' fall under one or the other of the two categories, mentioned above. They are more types than individuals; still every sketch as a whole has a singular charm and interest. It appears the sketches have primarily been written for those who have no insight into the mysteries of Indian civilization. The author has attempted to point out the rationalistic and scientific basis of many of our customs and traditions, and has been successful to a considerable extent. He is not blind to the 'defects of Hinduism' but one wishes that he could have seen some good points of the western civilization.

J. C. BHATTACHARYYA

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THE GITA: A CRITIQUE: *By Prof. P. Narasimham, M.A., L.T. Published by the Huxley Press, Madras. Pages 270+v. Price Rs. 2-8 or 5s.*

This critique of the Gita contains English rendering of the important slokas of all the chapters except the first of which a summary is given. The original text is omitted but translations of slokas are critically annotated. The author who is a retired professor of Philosophy has made a very bold attempt in making what may be rightly called a historical or higher criticism of the Gita in the book under review. The only object of this study, according to the author, is to examine from a common sense viewpoint the highly developed views of the Hindu mind, contained in the Gita, on the great problems of human life as varieties of philosophic opinion.

As the Gita tries to reconcile the various currents of Indian thought, many scholars including Prof. Narasimham have been deluded into thinking that it is the work of more than one author but the language of the Gita throughout goes against such an assumption. Prof. Narasimham also raises the old question of interpolation. He remarks in the foreword that the Gita may not be taken either as a part of the original Mahabharat or even as a literal account of what was taught by Sri Krishna in the battlefield of Kurukshetra and that Gita may have been but a consequence and justification of deification of Sri Krishna at a later date. But Sir Radhakrishnan and Tilak who are accepted authorities on the subject contradict such a supposition and observe that the Gita is a genuine part of the Mahabharat because of stylistic resemblances and of internal references to the former in the latter.

It is to be regretted that a learned man like Prof. Narasimham has been led into a suspicion regarding the date of the composition of the Gita. He is of opinion that Buddhi Yoga that holds an important place in the Gita is so suspiciously similar in name and doctrine to that of Buddhism that both might have the same origin and Buddhi Yoga was intended both as an appreciation of and a counterblast to the influence of Buddhism. But Dr. Das-Gupta remarks that the Gita is assuredly pre-Buddhistic as it does not contain the slightest reference to anything Buddhistic and moreover, its language is archaic and un-Paninean. The learned Doctor further asserts that the Gita is the earliest available literature of the Bhagavat school—a sect which dates from a period long anterior to the rise of the Jains in the eighth century B.C.

However much we may differ from the learned author we cannot but commend the labours of his active retirement.

SWAMI JAGADISWARANANDA

A DESCRIPTIVE CATALOGUE OF SANSKRIT MANUSCRIPTS: *In H. H. The Maharajah's Palace Library, Trivandrum. Vols. 1 and 2.*

A DESCRIPTIVE CATALOGUE OF SANSKRIT MANUSCRIPTS: *In the Curator's Office Library, Trivandrum. Vol. 1. Edited by K. Sambasivasastri, Curator for the publication of Oriental Manuscripts, Trivandrum. Published under the authority of the Government of H. H. the Maharajah of Travancore.*

South India has the proud privilege of possessing manuscripts of many an important old Sanskrit text, the discovery of which has created nothing less than a welcome sensation in the world of Sanskrit scholars. Publication of Descriptive Catalogues of the various manuscript collections deposited in different parts of Southern India, especially those in the State Libra will be highly appreciated by all lovers of Sanskrit. therefore extend a hearty welcome to the latest, but the least commendable, venture of Travancore, which earned a well-deserved reputation by bringing to the dramas of Bhasa as well as a host of other valu Sanskrit works, in the direction of making known contents of its manuscript collections through the of a series of Descriptive Catalogues. The volumes un review are however not quite up to the mark. They not free from many of the defects, common to most the Descriptive Catalogues which are more or less su ficial and mechanical, replete with vagueness and re tion. This is partially due to the fact that the volu seem to have been produced in undue haste owing to anxiety of placing them before the last Trivandr session of the Oriental Conference. But all schol work—especially manuscript catalogues—requires and patience to make it thorough and useful and sh never be done in a hurry. A reference to some of th defects is made in the following lines in the hope they may be remedied in the subsequent volumes as as practicable.

The volumes give description of about 700 manusc containing about 900 works, arranged alphabetic under Veda, Srauta, Smriti, Purana and Vedanta. number of these works though belonging to other subje are also found to have unfortunately been included eit through inadvertence or owing to their accidental app ance in manuscripts containing works with which volumes primarily deal. We should draw the att tion of the learned editor to the desirability practical utility of placing the commentaries by the s of the texts rather than arranging them according to th names which are of very little importance. Details garding manuscripts and their contents have, as usu been arranged under several heads such as, substan size, leaves, script, subject, author, remarks, etc. The section on remarks, which is occasionally very usef gives a more detailed information about the contents manuscripts, refers to their condition and nature writing, gives accounts of local authors and makes b references to printed editions, if any, (though not nec sarily the latest and the most authoritative). It however be confessed that the indication of the subje matter or of the extent of the works contained in pa cular manuscripts is not always clear and intellig Thus the mutual relation between manuscripts Nos. 4 36 as well as 440-41 in the Palace Library Catalogue obscure. The same is the case with reference to subject-matter in 491. Little help can be derived in th cases from the mechanical quotations of extracts fr the beginnings and ends of the manuscripts, wh abound here as in many other catalogues of the type which ought to be discouraged in every scientific ca logue beyond the barest necessity. The learned ed has referred, in the Preface to Vol. II of the Pal Library Catalogue, to two old manuscripts, date—in ting post-colophon statements in which as well as other manuscripts have not curiously been quo Evidently there may be several more manuscri important from one standpoint or another, to wh pointed attention of scholars could very usefully directed in the prefaces or even in indices (the abs of which in these volumes is most regrettable) asterics prefixed to unique or otherwise important m scripts.

The exact implication of the mention of names owners in the Curator's Office Library Catalogue is apparent.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVATY

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BENGALI

(1) JALSAGHAR, (2) RASAKALI, (3) AGUN : *By Tarasankar Banerji. The Ranjan Publishing House, 25/2, Mohanbagan Row, Calcutta. Price Rs. 2, Re. 1-12 and Re. 1-12, respectively.*

The first two are books of short stories, while the last one is a work of fiction.

Short story is perhaps the youngest branch of literature. Though it entered late in the field, it immediately caught the imagination of the reading public, and powerful writers found in it a medium of expression with almost infinite possibilities. During the first part of the last century, short story flourished in France and Russia in all its variety, vigour and beauty, as it did nowhere else. About half a century ago Rabindranath Tagore introduced this artistic innovation into our literature. In India he is not only the pioneer but the greatest writer in the department, and his short stories will rank with the best in the world. Since its introduction, the Bengali short story like her sisters in other countries has undergone multifarious transformations and has assumed rich and strange shapes. As regards this particular branch of literature Bengal can hold her own against any literature of the world.

Tarasankar Banerji is one of those writers who can infuse life into their writings. Within a comparatively short period he has come to the forefront as a powerful writer of short stories. Tarasankar is realistic not in the narrow sense of the term. The writer who is unable to identify himself with his characters cannot bring out their salient features. Tarasankar has real experience of village life, his observation is acute, and although his realism is born of sympathy with his characters, he never flinches from facing the developments and implications arising naturally out of the different situations in which they are placed. He is never hesitating.

Of the twelve short stories in the *Jalsaghar* 'Raibari' and the complementry story 'Jalsaghar' (the hall of amusement), from which the book derives its title, are almost unique in their conception and treatment. Of the several generations of the mighty Roy Zemindars, Tarasankar selects two individuals, the one who builds the hall of amusement in his manor-house and carried by the flood-tide of prosperity is destined to be one of the founders of the great Roy tradition, and the other who, when the ebb-tide in the fortune of the family has set in, finds himself, though obsolete, still the bearer of the same great tradition. Tarasankar treats these two individual characters in their different aspects, in the two abovementioned stories respectively, in a masterly fashion.

Rasakali is a collection of nine short stories. Here also the author's forceful treatment has made some of the stories, e.g., 'Agradani' and 'Rasakali,' quite out of the common. Tarasankar Banerji never strives after effect and never tries to give a twist to the natural evolution of the character and the plot or the inevitable development of the situation.

Agun (or Fire) is a novel in which the author attempts at applying a new technique. Chandranath and Hiru are more of types than individual characters. Though not as successful as his short stories, the book is interesting throughout and shows in its pages that in spite of faults and failures, the author, Tarasanwar Banerji, is a powerful writer.

SAILENDRAKRISHNA LAW

JAGAT KON PATHE : *By Jogeshchandra Bagal. S. K. Mitra and Sons, 12, Narikel Bagan Lane, Calcutta. Pp. 190. Illustrated. Price Rupee one only.*

This is a competent and useful summary. intended for young readers, of the political situation in different lands, including in its scope India, Siam, Afghanistan, Arabia, Iran, Turkey, Italy, Germany and the Greater Reich, France, Great Britain, Russia, China, Japan and the United States of America; and a survey of recent events is also added in each case.

SAHASIR JAIYATRA : *By Jogeshchandra Bagal. Published by S. K. Mitra & Sons, 12, Narikel Bagan Lane, Calcutta. Pp. 140. Illustrated. Price Re. 1 only.*

This is a companion volume, and contains biographical sketches of contemporary personalities and leaders of men who guided, or guide today, the destiny of nations. These include Sun Yat Sen, Lenin, Masaryk, Kemal Ataturk, Mussolini, Hitler, Mahatma Gandhi, Jawaharlal Nehru and Subhas Bose.

PULINBIHARI SEN

MARATHI

HISTORICAL SELECTIONS FROM BARODA STATE RECORDS, VOLS. III & IV. *Published by Authority, State Records Department, Baroda.*

We are thankful to the State Records Department, Baroda, for releasing important and interesting documents in the State Archives in carefully annotated volumes. All the documents in Vol. III (1790-98) are, we understand, from the State Record Room. Letters on pages 295 to 333 throw interesting sidelight on the comet-like career of Ismail Beg Hamadani. Some of the letters reveal the unsettled state of government in greater part of the Kathiawad Peninsula and Cutch over which the Gaekwads sought to impose their sovereignty. The Gaekwads were treated unjustly by the Poona Government as it appears from some letters; Poona's eternal cry like that of a begging Brahman—a sturdy beggar though—was "*paika*" for which pressure was particularly severe on Baroda.

The Vol. IV of the Historical selections is also equally useful and more interesting than the previous volumes. Next volume may bring us important documents relating to Gangadhar Shastri affair. This volume reveals the inherent military weakness of the Baroda Government—a weakness indeed common to all Maratha and Rajput Governments of the early nineteenth century, namely, employment of brave but faithless Arab and Pathan mercenaries in preference to the Marathas. The temporary advantage of this policy was more than counterbalanced by the evils of military revolts and absolute decay of the fighting qualities of the Maratha people. Its moral effect was not unlike that of the policy of modern mill-owners of Bombay and Ahmadabad who employ frontier Pathans to maintain discipline among mill-hands. The Gaekwads were the guardians of religion and society within their territory. They issued orders for the abolition of cow-slaughter in the tributary state of Cambay and Palanpur asnd forbade untouchables to carry quilts of the touchables to demonstrate their zeal for orthodoxy. But in caste disputes and with regard to widow marriage, they followed a liberal policy.

The editor has appended to each volume a glossary of corrupt Persian words current in Old Marathi and an index both in Marathi and English. These are improvements that enable the average student to use the

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documents with ease and accuracy. The publication of these Selections is surely a great service to our country's past.

K. R. QANUNGO

ORIYA

MUKTI-SATAKA : *By Sri Surendranath Sarangi. Published by the Author, Mahanga, Cuttack. Pp. 21.*

The author has chosen some of the teachings of Swami Vivekananda and others and converted them into the hundred verses embodied in the present pamphlet. Although the spirit of true poetry is lacking in these verses, yet, we hope, they will help to disseminate the teachings of true Hinduism into the heart of Orissan villages.

NIRMAL KUMAR BOSE

HINDI

PRALAYA-SE-PEHLE (A PLAY) : *By Jwala Prasad Singh, M.A., LL.B., F.R.I.S. Published by Sad-Gyan Sadan, Aligarh and Indore. Price annas eight.*

In all probability this is another of those "idea-plays" which the present-day Hindi writers specialize in. Viewed from this angle the prologue is provocative, the body of the play is grey fish in a grey pond. I am afraid, the untrimmed plumage of its dialogues if the "play" be staged, would prove none too invigorating to the spectator.

SHRI JAMBU SWAMI CHARITRA : *By Pandit Rajmal. Translated and edited by Brahmachari Sitalprasad. Published by Mool Chand Kisan Das Kapariya, proprietor Digambar Jain Pustakalaya, Surat. Price Re 1-4.*

This translated biography of Shri Jambuswami would have proved more instructive to the layman if an introductory chapter about Jambuswami, on modern lines, had been attached. However, it is a substantial contribution to Jain literature. Some pages throw interesting light on the person of Akbar the Great, seen by his contemporaries.

BALRAJ SAHNI

URDU

TAMSILI MUSHAIRA : *By Pandit Braj Mohan Dattatrya Kaifi. Published by Anjaman-e-Arab-e-zauk, Lyallpur (Punjab). Price Re. 1.*

The author imagines a meeting of twelve most famous Urdu poets of the pre-Mutiny period, at a rendezvous. Ghalib, Taqui, Zanq, and Insha are among them. Each poet brings a Ghazal, which is appreciated and commented on by the rest. It is a cleverly managed symposium.

BALRAJ SAHNI

GUJARATI

MALLIKA : *By Dhumketu. Printed at the Vasant Printing Press, Ahmedabad. Cloth cover. Pp. 332. Price Rs. 2-8 (1938).*

Mallika consists of one long story and eleven short stories. It is an attempt to present the result of the author's study of the present-day activities of India, and to illustrate the principle, quoted on the fly-leaf, *viz.*, "The soul of faith, though poor in body, finds joy in facing the difficulties of life and overcoming them. The mystery of life is creative sacrifice." The long story paints several pen pictures of persons of various grades of our society. Tani, the woman of the town, reclaimed by one who was flying from justice, Mallika, the daughter of a rich man, mad after Avinash, who wanted to work for social reform. Bhavan and Rupi, the Harijan couple, loving each other in their own rough way still sincere in their attachment, are some of such pictures. The stories are entertaining. On the whole, we find that work bears the stamp of the writer's ability. The language will help to make the work popular.

JANGIZ KHAN : *By Ramanik J. Dalal, B.A., LL.B. Published by Jivanlal Amarshi Mehta, Ahmedabad and Bombay. Cloth cover. Pages 224. Price Rs. (1938) with a portrait of Jangiz Khan and other pictures.*

Though there are many books in European languages bearing on the life and conquests of Jangiz Khan, there was none such in Gujarati. The present book has therefore supplied a long-felt want. The background against which his adventures and conquests have to be viewed was the state of society existing in his time politically and otherwise. Justice could be done to him only if the correct perspective is preserved. Mr. Dalal has tried to present his subject in that correct perspective and although it is based on an English work, that of Harold Lamb, so well has he rendered the translation that it reads like an original work. It is sure to attract notice.

NAJUK SAWARI : *By Vinod Kant : Vijayrai I. Vaidya, B.A. Professor of Gujarati, M. T. B. College, Surat. Printed at the Anand Press, Bhavnagar, Cloth bound. Pp. 307. Price Re. 1-8-0 (1938).*

"Najuk Sawari" procession of a delicate person, a title borrowed from the work of a well known deceased Gujarati poet. Mr. Vijayrai's name is usually associated with heavy technical, ultra critical, and "highbrow" writing. Very few suspected that he had a "lighter" side and had cultivated it. This collection of about twenty-three essays brings out that lighter side and portrays his quiet humour. It is not "lend" or lying on the surface. In some places there is biting sarcasm (*e.g.* in Maya Sundari) in other light pleasantry (*e.g.*, the commencement of Sukhavati). We are so pleased to welcome this agreeable departure on the part of Mr. Vaidya and hope he would follow this work up with others couched in the same vein.

DASHMI : *By Prakasham. Printed at the Vijaya Printing Press, Ahmedabad. Paper cover. Pp. 128. Price Re. 0 8-0 (1938).*

Dashmi is bread made from flour mixed with milk in place of water and can be eaten by Puritanical Brahmins as part of their evening meal, without undergoing the trouble of bathing and putting on silk, before eating. "Dashmi" consists of ten short stories which the writer of the short Introduction, Mr. Ramanlal V. Desai, says, contains in it the germ of very good future work.

K. M. J.

BOOKS RECEIVED :

SOUTH INDIAN CELEBRITIES, VOL. II : *By K. M. Balasubramaniam. With a Foreword by Dewan Bahadur K. S. Ramaswami Sastri, Retired District Judge. Pp. 120. 1939.*

LIFE INSURANCE PROFESSION—WHAT IT IS AND HOW TO SUCCEED IN IT : *By Hargopal Singh Gaind, A.C.I.I. (Lond.), Insurance Consultant, Arya Nagar, Lucknow. Pp. 64. Price Annas Eight.*

AN INTRODUCTORY SALES COURSE FOR LIFE INSURANCE AGENTS : *By Hargopal Singh Gaind, A.C.I.I. (Lond.), Insurance Consultant, Arya Nagar, Lucknow. First edition. Pp. 156. 1939. Price Annas Fourteen.*

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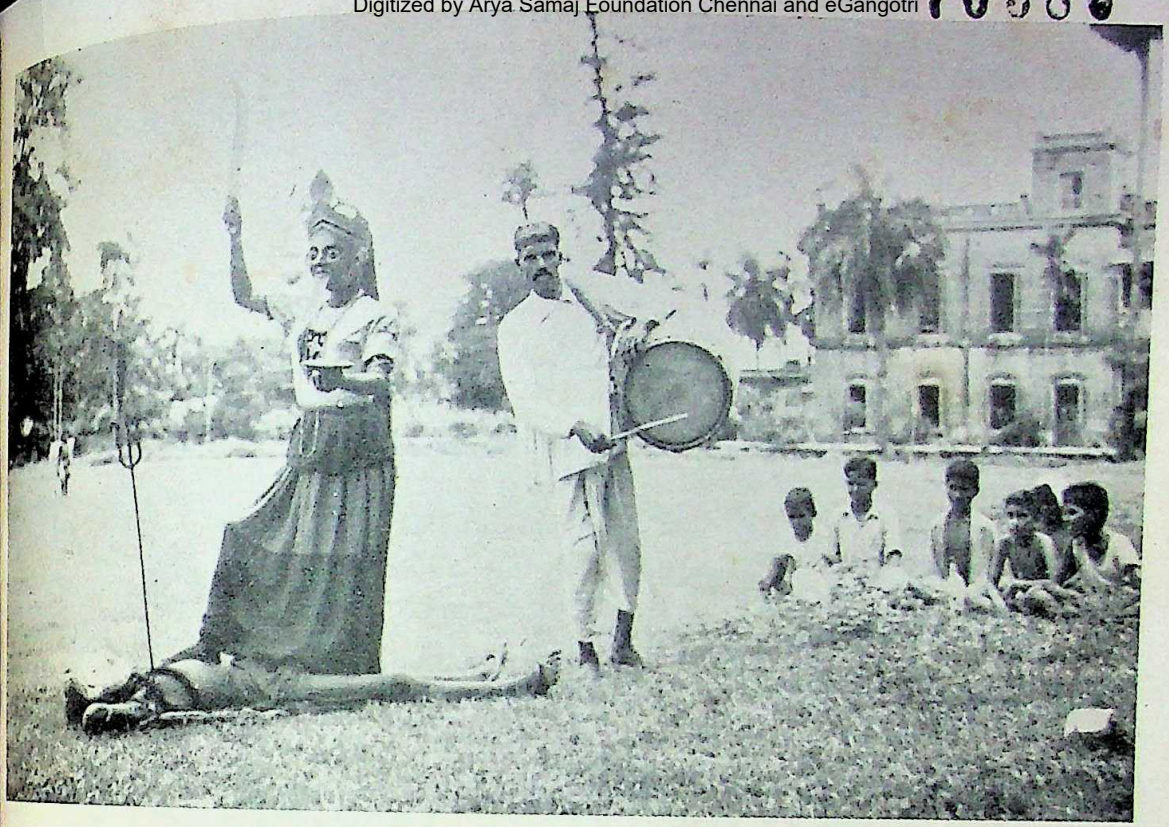

Dance of Shakti, the Shiva-Shakti union prior to the dance

The three-snake-crowned Mahadeva in the Dance of Harmony

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Dance of Shakti, the attack

Dance of Shakti, the aggressive advance

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MASK DANCES OF MYMENSINGH

By G. S. DUTT, I.C.S.

There has hitherto been a general tendency in this country to place rural art generally and rural dances in particular in a lower category of value, both culturally and artistically, than the more sophisticated types of art and dances which have hitherto passed under the names of classic art and classic dances respectively. Whatever may be the relative position of folk art and folk dances in Europe to the classic or to the sophisticated art and dances of the bourgeois in that continent, it is not perhaps generally recognized that the position is entirely different in India. Here a more intimate acquaintance and correct appreciation of the rural arts and dances will reveal the fact that in their own way they display a degree of profundity of philosophical conception and intensity of feeling and a standard of virile and vivid artistic expression which are in no way inferior to the more sophisticated types of art and dances which have received appreciation in the art world. In certain directions they are of even greater significance *viz.*, in their virile, direct and unsophisticated expression of the innermost spirit of India.

The view which I have expressed above is singularly confirmed by the evidence supplied by some living traditions of ancient Bengali mask dances which I have had the opportunity of discovering very recently in the district of Mymensingh, an exhibition of which was arranged by me a few days ago in Calcutta in the presence of a few distinguished art connoisseurs, who were all deeply impressed by the artistic and the cultural value of these ancient Bengali dances and of the face masks which formed an integral part of them. They expressed surprise at the fact that Bengali tribal dances of such surpassing artistic and cultural excellence, should have survived to the present day, unnoticed by the educated and cultured classes in our country.

The entire art of these Bengalee mask dances is purely rural in character. The wooden masks of simple and effective design are made usually by the rural carpenters and are painted by the local potters with pictorial designs, usually remarkable for their forceful simplicity and their expressiveness. Everything about this art is inexpensive in the extreme and is permeated throughout by the simplicity, sincerity and spontaneity of expression of the spirit of rural Bengal in its deep-seated philosophical aspect.

The make up of the dances is simple and effective. The costumes are also of the simplest possible character and are made locally by the village artists themselves. The dances represent an ancient folk art of great value and significance. These folk artists of

The five-snake-crowned Mahadeva in the Dance of Detachment

Bengal have preserved in its original simplicity the art of representing the play of the cosmic forces and in these Bengali mask dances are to be found surviving in an unsophisticated and living tradition the orginal prototype out of which were elaborated the various dances which were performed on the classic Indian

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stage in ancient times and which are recorded in ancient Indian treatises. We have in these dances, which are free from any form of pedantry, a wonderful blending of classic and Puranic motives with unsophisticated forms of folk expression.

These mask dances are essentially democratic in character and form an integral part of the religious and social life of the rural Hindu population of Bengal, irrespective of caste or rank. They are not practised as a thing apart from life as a so-called performance of art on a theatrical stage. They form as much a part of the natural life and scenery of the village as the trees, rivers and the people themselves and are performed entirely in the open air on the occasion of the annual religious festival of *Chaitra Sankranti*. The artistes are drawn from all ranks of all the castes and they participate in the dances in a spirit of devotion, as an act of personal *sādhana*.

The masks are the property of the village Hindu community and are subscribed for by one and all as such. There are several parties of these folk artistes who present mask dances depicting a spiritual ideology in the Pergana Kagmari in the Tangail Subdivision in the district of Mymensingh. The particular party which was brought by me to Calcutta for the purpose of demonstration hailed from the village of Binnafair in that locality. The leader of this party and the drum instructor is Arjun Behārā, ordinarily known as the *Bāyen* or the drummer. At the time of the performances at the religious festival, he is given the special appellation of *Sādhuli* which has the profound meaning of "attuner," or "inspirer" of the rhythmic *sādhana* or spiritual exercise and in that capacity he is accorded special veneration and respect by all castes. The party consists of five other artistes from the same village. One of these belongs to the same caste (Behārā) as the *Bāyen* and performs the part of an assistant drummer and the others belong respectively to the caste of Sutradhar (carpenter), Malakar (Mali), Kaibarta (boatman and trader) and Goswami (Brahmin), thus representing a cross section of almost the entire Hindu caste hierarchy of the village.

It is difficult to say which is the most important element in this composite art of the mask dances of Mymensingh: whether it is the sculptural excellence of the wooden masks made by the village carpenter or the remarkable expressiveness of the paintings made on them by the village potters, or the plastic vigour of movement of the human limbs which support the masks, or the stirring notes of the rhythmic beats of the drum. All these varied elements are wonderfully fused into one integral whole and cast an irresistible spell over the rural audience, a spell which could be unmistakably felt even by the distinguished art connoisseurs who witnessed the performance in Calcutta in a corner of the city, in an urban setting which constituted a positive disadvantage to its proper expression and appreciation.

The first item in the performance was the Mahādeva dance. The *Sādhuli*, Arjun Behārā, and his assistant, Kesava Behārā, first take their stand on the open arena without any artificial stage scenery or screens of any description. Nor do they themselves have any make up at all in the way of dress but stand as ordinary villagers in their ordinary daily garb and proceed to give a series of vigorous beats on their Dhāks invoking the spirit of the dance. On the part of the actual performers of the divine art, there is also no attempt whatever at producing any illusion of stage effect. No disguise is made of the fact that they are ordinary villagers well-known to the audience, who have dressed themselves in a special garb for the purpose of participating in the *sādhana* of the dance. The part of Mahādeva in this particular party is performed alternately by Brajabāshi Kaibarta and Promothanath Goswami. The artiste wears a simple red loin-cloth; the front of the body, waist upwards, as well as the legs and arms is completely bare except for a smearing of white ashes and chalk. A double string of *rudraksha* seeds is worn round the neck and a simple red cloak reaching slightly below the knees is worn on the back. He also wears a wig of black hair with two long matted locks reaching down to the knees dangling in front on either side of his neck. With both hands he holds reverentially the mask of Mahādeva which he is about to wear. In this posture he advances from a corner from amongst the audience and holding up the mask high with both hands, he bends down and touches the ground with his head as an act of devotional preparation to the sacrament of wearing the mask of the Divine Spirit. As soon as he puts the mask on his face, two attendants tie it up with strings. They then place a simple iron *trisul* (trident) in his right hand, which he holds upraised high in the air, and a small *sankha* (conch-shell) on his extended left hand. Round both the ankles are tied strings of simple brass ankle belts thus completing the dressing.

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The dignity of the mask of Mahādeva is greatly heightened by the crown of snakes with which it is surmounted, the snakes forming the crown being three or five in number.

The mask including the crown of snakes surmounting it is hollowed and carved out of a single piece of mango or *kend* wood. To give the necessary fleshy tone and sheen to the surface of the wooden skeleton of the mask, it is plastered and covered over with a cloth soaked and smeared in clay which, when dried up, is painted over with a thick application of paint in the requisite colours. The only colours employed in the Shiva mask are simple white and black. A red cloth is bandaged tightly round the head, ears and front of the neck, so that the mask may fit tightly round it. A third eye is painted on the forehead of the mask in accordance with tradition.

Perhaps the most fundamental element in the whole art is the conception of the mask and the painted design on it as it supplies the particular mood and feeling of the cosmic spirit which is sought to be delineated through the music of the drum and the dance movements of the human figure wearing the mask. The most prominent mood portrayed in the Mahādeva mask, sculpturally as well as pictorially, is the supreme spirit of lofty detachment, the spirit of unconquerable freedom and naturalness permeated by an effortless power which tames and holds in easy and effortless check the most turbulent and unruly elements in the universe as depicted by the hooded snakes surmounting the mask.

The notable feature of the Mahādeva *motif* in this dance is that it represents the Bengali conception of Shiva—not a remote philosophical and supernatural abstraction of the revolving and whirling universe which forms the Shiva *motif* of South-Indian art but a distinctive Bengali creation in the form of a combination on the one hand of the completely detached and unworldly Yogi with the *trishul* in hand, and on the other, of the married man who has a wife at home and who acknowledges a husband's duty towards her to supply the conch-shell out of which are made the bangles which she loves to wear. In this conception the hooded snakes on the head represent the tamed passions of humanity. This personal and human conception of Mahādeva is a distinct feature of rural Bengal being part of the deep-seated ideology of the rural Hindu population of the province and is really symbolical of the dilemma of human life and of the spirit of Man trying to reconcile the inner call of renunciation with the external daily duties of the wordly life. This Shiva *motif* is delineated throughout rural Bengal not only in songs and dances but also in the ballads and paintings of the *Patuas* and in the earthen doll representations of this deity. The deities of the rural Bengalee Hindus, and their culture and art are really the symbolical representations of the apotheosis of Man and are based on the Bengalee *Sahajiya*

A leaping movement in the Dance of Shakti

ideology *viz.*, that Man at his best is the highest embodiment of all Being.

This corresponds to the Sufi doctrine embodied in the Persian couplet :

"Aj Khoda Khudi talab
Aj khudi Khoda talab."
(From Self seek self and in self seek Self).

The basic features of the dance of Mahādeva are its balance and restraint and the dignified rhythmic progress from slow measured steps to the gradually developed finale. The body from the waist upwards as well as the arms are held in a rigid attitude. The movements are of the legs only, except that the upper part of the body is swayed with a dignified movement from side to side according to the degree of vigour reached by the dance. The movements of the legs are characterised

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by an effortless yet restrained Tāndava abandon, there being none of the spectacular movements that are generally associated with the more sophisticated forms of the dance of Shiva. There is also a total absence of any attempt at stage effect or of any *Mudrās* or other conventional poses or iconographic attitudes. All the movements proceed out of the free and natural inner urge of creative self-expression of the artiste. In fact, the actual movements vary considerably from artiste to artiste impersonating the same character within the same party. The leading motive of this Mahādeva dance, as already explained, is the portrayal of a spirit of lofty detachment, combined with the calm harmony of inward joy that marks the spirit of the high-souled recluse. In popular Bengali art and philosophy, wildness of movements and activity are set apart entirely for the Shakti to whom Shiva imparts energy for activity, himself remaining in the lofty sphere of calm detachment expressed by measured and highly restrained rhythmic movements. The dance of Mahādeva is designed to produce in the audience a spirit of synthesis and harmony between a lofty and placid non-attachment on the one hand and the duties of domestic life on the other,—between the mundane life and the life of the inner spirit, between wordly work and spiritual joy, between Heaven (symbolised by the Trishul) and the earth (symbolised by the Sankha), the activities of the mundane life, although dutifully performed, assuming a comparatively insignificant value in relation to the higher spiritual value of existence.

After the Mahādeva dance has come to its natural climax to the accompaniment of the Dhāk, there follows a brief interval during which a short melodious chant is sung by two or three of the artistes with a view to preparing the audience for the next scene.

The next item is the *piece-de-resistance* of the programme, namely, the dance of Kāli, the personification of the supreme cosmic energy. A profound philosophical significance attaches to the dance, as will be presently explained.

The artistes who perform the dance in this party alternately are Muchiram Sutradhar and Tarani Kanto Das (*alias* Keru Māli). The artiste dresses up as a female wearing a simple sleeveless blouse with a red diamond-shaped design in the middle of the breast. Below this is worn a skirt made with two bands of red cloth separated by an intervening band of blue cloth. Sounding bells are worn on both legs and simple inexpensive bangles both at the wrists and at the elbows. There is also a simple garland hanging from the neck on the breast and a rough wig of matted hair reaching below the waist. The mask is worn in the same fashion as in the case of Mahādeva. The Kāli mask is also made from a single hollowed out piece of wood except that a detached piece of wood is used for the protruding red tongue and there is a simple design of painted paste boss surmounting the wooden structure of the mask. Except the white of the eyes and the black of the eye-balls the rest of the face is painted blue with red lines representing the two blood streams trickling from the two ends of the mouth. Red lines also mark the eye-brows and ornaments. After the mask is worn by the artiste, the attendant places a *khānrā* (a Bengali type of sword) in her upraised right hand and a round earthen *sarā* or lamp-holder with a burning wick in it in the extended left hand. Sometimes the sword is held in the left hand and the lamp in the right. The symbolism employed is simple, direct and yet profound. The lamp held rigidly without any movement whatsoever, represents the steadily burning flame of life. The active sword-arm represents the active struggle for existence and for self-preservation and self-defence, as well as an aggressive battle with the enemies of life. The prominent bright eyes represent clarity of and fixity of purpose and determination. The protruding tongue represents the ever-unsatiated urge of life and the purpose of being and the desire for self-realisation and self-fulfilment. Thus accoutred with the steadily burning life-flame on one hand and the irresistible weapons of defence and aggression on the other and the ever-unsatiated urge for self-realisation resistless driving her onward, the cosmic Shakti or personification of the cosmic energy begins her Dance of Joy to the rhythm of the drum. It is the rhythmic joy of dance that alone can sustain the spirit of Life in its struggle for existence and self-realisation and in its great battle against the enemies of progress.

Before the dance of Kāli takes place, the Mahādeva appears again dressed exactly in his garb described above and lies prostrate on his back in the middle of the arena in a perfectly motionless state. The Shakti on her part thereupon performs a quick running movement round the prostrate figure of her divine consort and when after a complete round she reaches his feet, she deliberately approaches him between his extended legs and lifting her right leg places her right foot on his chest and in that position performs a few simple and quick

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dance movements to the accompaniment of the drum, after which she withdraws her foot from the body of Mahādeva and proceeds to perform her joy dance of the self-preservation of life and destruction of life's enemies, while the artiste who represents Mahādeva gets up from his prostrate position and leaves the arena having performed his initial part in setting Shakti on her course. This momentary act of Shakti placing herself above the prostrate figure of her male spouse, which is a familiar subject of the representation of Kāli and Shiva, is variously interpreted. According to one school of thought, including the popular artists themselves, Shakti is about to begin her dance of destruction of the entire world, when Mahādeva, in order to save the righteous elements of the world against her destructive activity prostrates himself in her path so as to check her indiscriminate, and unrestrained progress. Kāli, without noticing her husband lying in her path, unwittingly treads on him, but finding out her mistake, she immediately checks her unrestrained career and as a result of her intense surprise and bewilderment, she involuntarily protrudes and bites her tongue with her teeth. This sudden interlude serves to discipline her activity so as to keep it from destroying the world as a whole. The influence of Shiva thereafter dissuades her from destroying the righteous aspects of the world and she confines her work of destruction to the unrighteous in the shape of the Asuras with whom she has a long and relentless fight until they are finally exterminated. It is the joy of this fight against the evil forces of the world that is delineated in the dance of Kāli. According to another school of thought, while the main purpose of the dance is the destruction of evil, the momentary physical contact with the prostrate body of Mahādeva is interpreted as a *Tantric* sexual act or *Shiva-Shakti* union whereby she is charged by her male consort with the righteous energy with which she is enabled to proceed with her joyous task of the destruction of evil.

As the dance proceeds, the rhythms which are slow to begin with become more and more accelerated and the movements of the legs become more and more of a Tāndava character. Shakti now crouches low, and now leaps in the air, while her gaze all the time remains fixed straight ahead, whereas the arm wielding the sword of destruction is brandished and whirled furiously. Under the wizardry of the drum-beat and the dance, the human being performing the dance appears to become transformed into an expression of the divine energy overcoming all the forces of evil in a protracted but victorious combat. With all the wildness of the movements there is a strong abiding sense of an underlying spiritual and beneficent purpose, so that the dance actually operates not to terrify the audience but to generate in them an exalted spirit of righteous energy and undaunted courage. The genius of the folk artistes succeeds in entirely divesting the Kāli dance of the character of a mere academic delineation and imparts to it an intensely personal and human interest.

There is no element of idol or image worship present in the spirit of these dances or in the feeling produced among the audience. The spirit of the dances, on the other hand, is distinctly non-denominational and broadly

The *Bura-Buri* or the old couple's dance

cosmopolitan and the effect produced is also correspondingly undenominational, cosmopolitan and elemental. As the dance proceeds, the audience only see before them the symbol of the flame of life fighting joyously its eternal battle of struggle for existence and for self-realisation through the destruction of the enemies that block its progress. The dancer does not lose himself in an unrestrained ecstatic

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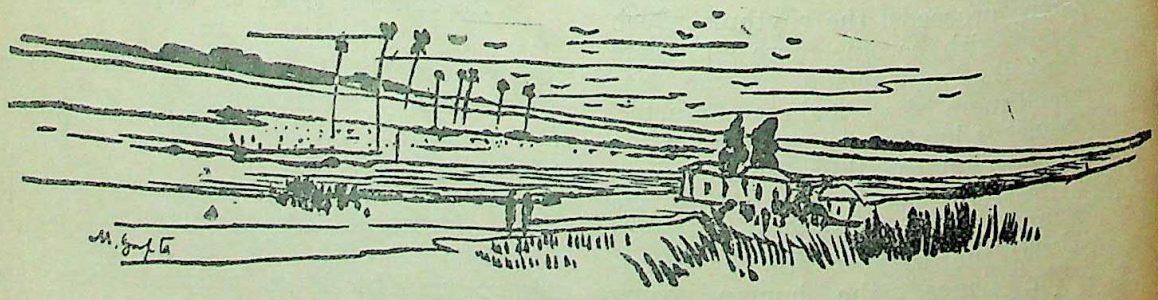
fit. On the other hand, the entire performance is a deliberate and rational symbolic respresentation of the spirit of joyous battle against the forces of evil and the obstructing hindrances of life. As such the Kāli dance may be described as the joy dance of the soul of humanity in its grim battle of life. It is pre-eminently the dance of Power and Vitality. The social and educational value of this dance lies in the fact that it serves not only to transform and exalt the spirit of the actual dances and to promote their physical fitness, but also to generate in the audience a spirit of active courage and vigour of thought and activity. The complete absence of any conventional *mudrās* or inconographic poses and the sincerity, freedom, directness and spontaneous character of the movements makes this inner meaning of this dance easily intelligible to one and all, including even little children, without the need for referring for its interpretation to dictionaries of dance poses.

That the inner life urge and the genius for plastic expression of these folk artistes is not confined to Puranic themes only, that they are capable of appreciating and delineating the joy of life, animating every section of the creation and every plane of existence, is effectively illustrated by the equal skill, effectiveness and appropriateness with which they enter into the indwelling joy-urge of such animals, as the tiger, crocodile and the monkey in dances with appropriate masks representing these animals, accompanied by movements distinctive of each of these animals which are similarly performed to the accompaniment of the drum. The same skill is illustrated in the exquisite artistry of the *Bura-Buri* dance representing a duet wherein two artistes wearing masks of a middle-aged woman and an old man respectively move in rhythmic unison in accompaniment of the notes of the drum repre ing the joyous harmony of conjugal exist and the indwelling spirit of work and joy among the aged male and the aged fem There is a masterful blending of humour profundity in these dances which place the the level of high art and beyond that of casual amusement. The artistes have am their repertoire other interesting dances as the Radha-Krishna dance, the Hara-Par dance, the Ganga dance and the like.

Mask dances of considerable value importance are also practised on the occa of religious festivals of the *Chaitra Sankr* by large sections of the rural population other districts of Bengal and particularly Vikrampur in the district of Dacca. masks in the Vikrampur dances are made sola pith instead of wood and the da themselves in that area also exhibit cer local variations of considerable interest. certain other districts the masks are made the dried hard rind of the gourd and I been able to secure a highly interesting of this type for my folk art collection.

By virtue of the unique character of elemental directness, spontaneity and sinc and their high cultural and artistic signific as well as their social and recreational va all these mask dances of rural Bengal, common with other folk dances practised the various sections of the people of Hindu and Moslem communities, deserve greater attention than they have hith received and they deserve to be conserved practised not on the urban stage as item curiosity and amusement but in their surroundings as a vital social and educati force helping in the furtherance of the nat spontaneous and unsophisticated develop of the rural life and culture of Bengal.



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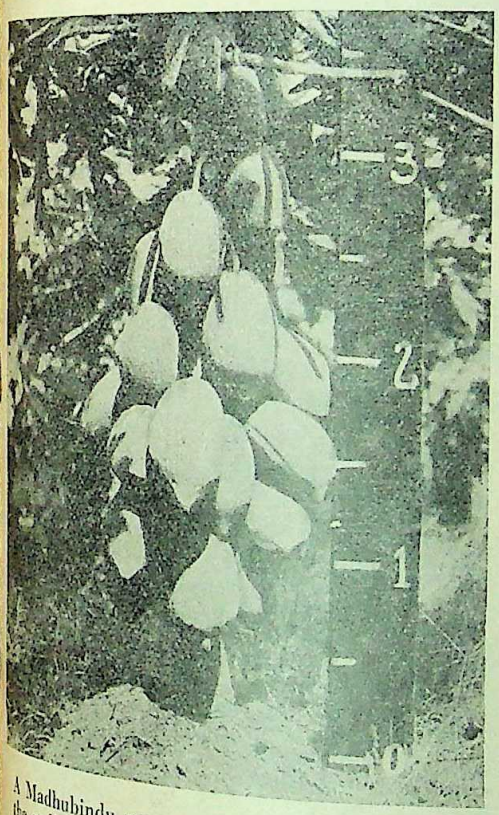
MADHUBINDU PAPAYA PLANTATION
My Experiment

By RAMJI HANSRAJ,
Chairman, Kathiawar Village Reconstruction Committee

ITIES in the direction of Village Uplift re been going on in Kathiawar for the last years. Considerating the circumstances obtain at present in Kathiawar, four programmes have been launched :

First Programme : Revival of Village Industries. emphasis is laid upon the principle that people



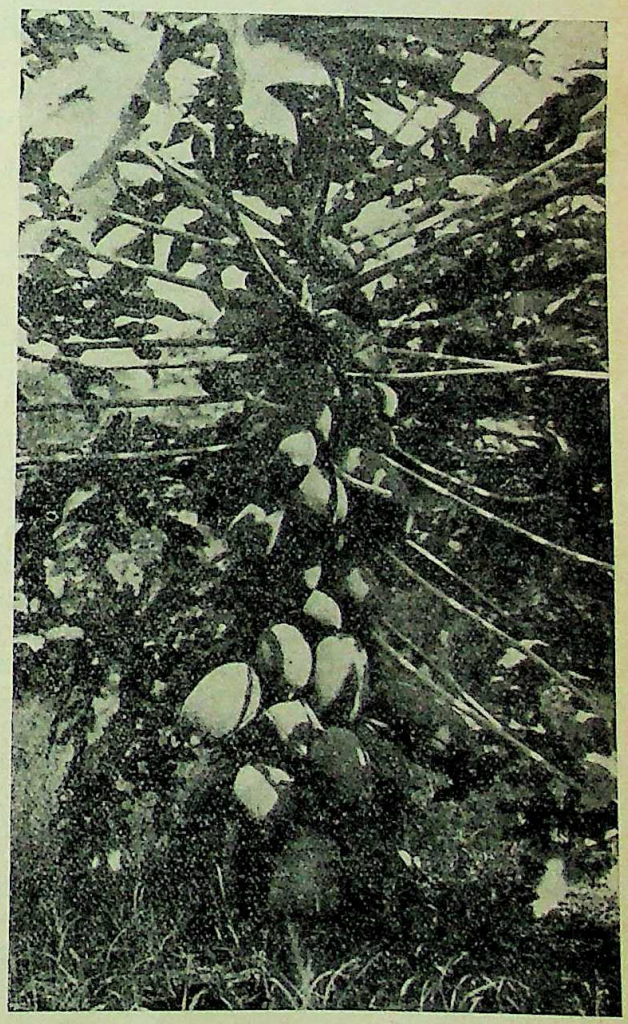
A Madhubindu papaya tree bearing fruits on the stalk within a foot from above the gruond

store as much cotton as is necessary for their the cotton should be ginned, carded, spun, and woven by hand.

Second Programme : Cattle-breeding. The cow and of the "Gir" type are considered to be the best. found that this type of "Gir" has very much deteriorated due to indifference of the people. Some attention is being given to the problem of breeding the type of "Gir" cow and ox.

Third Programme : Improvement of Agriculture. It aimed to increase the agricultural produce by showing advantage of proper application of skill and labour. necessary vegitables for the village are to be produced village. Experiments are to be made to sow the seeds of ground-nuts and wheat which are proved to be of superior quality by research and experience. The benefits of Sahkari Mandli Credit Co-operative Society are to be explained to the people, so that it would be availed of in getting credit for the farmers to increase the produce. The Society is to arrange the sale of these products on a wholesale basis.

Fourth Programme : Education. The aim is to make people literate so that they can be equipped with necessary knowledge to put the above programme in action and make even some research. Of course, this education must be made suitable for rural reconstruction programme.



Another Rambag Madhubindu papaya tree bearing fruits on the stern just above the ground

Photo : P. R. Kamani

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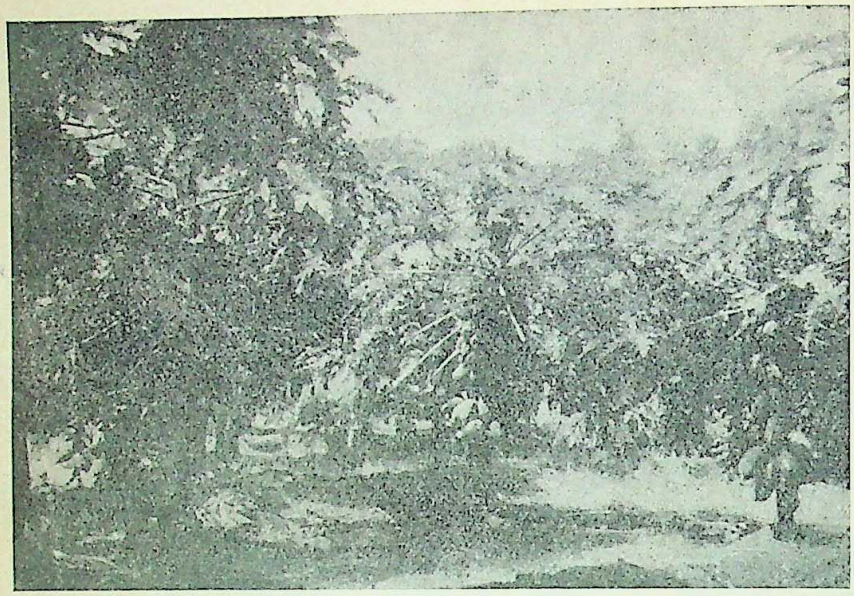

A view of Madhubindu papaya plantation at Rambag, Dhari
Photo : P. R. Kamani

With this preface, I come to the subject, written at the head of this article.

As a practical experiment in agriculture, or rather horticulture, in so far as some fruit trees are concerned, I started the Rambag Plantation three years ago. After ascertaining what fruit trees would be suitable to the climate and soil of this particular place, we began to grow fruit plants and trees, such as the mango, grape, orange, the Allahabad and Benares jamfalli and pears and cocoanuts, etc. In order that these fruit plants and trees might be properly reared and the expense thereof be met with, the side-plantation of Basrai Banana, Lotan Banana, Elaichi Banana, Country Banana, Golden Banana, Madhubindu Papaya, etc., was taken in hand.

Up till then, the Washington Papaya was very famous and everybody advised us to plant this type. I started my experiment with many types of Papaya seeds, and within a year, I found one other variety, the best, which we now call "Madhubindu". Its sweetness, bulk and yield are extraordinarily satisfactory. I have found its plantation economic and paying; so, I beg to place my experiment of the same before the public.

Only three months after planting this type, we found that flowers appeared on the plants and within six months the plants were full of flowers, right from the stalk just above the ground. The growth of these plants was more rapid than that of other kinds of Papaya, and the abundance and the length of the leaves were greater than those of other kinds. The flowers were also more abundant than can be found on other types and what drew our particular attention was the that the number of male papaya trees was comparatively few while in the case of other kinds of papaya it is found that the number of male trees are 50 per cent of the total.

We were very much pleased to see this result and we decided that the plantation of this type should be made on a larger scale so that seeds of this type can be made available to people in large quantities.

Only nine months had elapsed when the fruits of these 100 plants began to ripen. The fruits were allowed to ripen on the trees. When we

Madhubindu papayas contain more eatable stuff and practically no seed in it.
Photo: P. R. Kamani

tasted them, we were simply charmed with their sweetness and superb smell. T

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fact that the fruits were extremely sweet, having pleasant smell, beautiful purple colour, very few seeds and of big size, was sufficient to make one wonder with pleasure.

We stored the seeds thus obtained from fruits which had been allowed to get ripe on the trees and prepared the soil for sowing 1,000 seeds. When the plants were ready, we planted them on the prepared soil.

The growth of these 1,000 plants as we watched them, particularly at the end of 3 months, 6 months, and 9 months, was amazing. These plants were superior to those which were grown from seeds bought from outside. A view of the plants bearing fruits on the stalk about a foot above the ground in very great abundance fascinated everyone.

In the first year we supplied these seeds at 200 different places in India, Burma and Ceylon. The demand was so great that we had to postpone the execution of further orders to the next season.*

In the current season, we have stored the seeds of the "Madhubindu" type, prepared scientifically. The method of sowing the seeds, planting and the rearing of the Papaya is described below :

How to plant the "Madhubindu" Papaya

Soil : Gorat, loose and fertile soil is best for papaya cultivation. The trees will not thrive on black and clayey soil.

Raising of Seedlings : A good seed-bed is to be prepared and the seeds are to be cast after putting well-decomposed farmyard manure. The bed is to be watered everyday for a week, then on alternate days. The seedlings will be sprouting in a fortnight's time. When they are 6" tall, they should be transplanted to the permanent beds at 8′×8′.

Planting : The best time for raising seedlings is from May to September, while that for transplanting is from July to October. One pound of seed is required to raise enough seedlings to be transplanted on an acre of land, half pound is required for a bigha.

Before transplanting, pits 8′ square are to be dug. This should be filled in with half to one basket of farmyard manure well-decomposed, a few handfuls of ash, half a pound of castor cake and half a pound of bone meal. All these manures are to be thoroughly mixed with the soil and then put in the pit.

Watering : The seedlings should be watered immediately after transplanting, and also on alternate days. The interval between two waterings may be 6 days in summer and 8 days in winter.

Another tree overladen with fruits

Photo : P. R. Kamani

Manuring : Since there is a very heavy bearing, papya plantation requires manuring every three months. A mixture of one basketful of farmyard manure, 1 lb. of castor cake, 1 lb. of bone meal and about an oz. of Ammonium Sulphate should be prepared, and that is to be well mixed in the bed in a ring about one foot and a half from the trunk of the tree. Two waterings to be given immediately. Then at regular intervals.

Note : Male plants are to be removed as soon as they are detected. One male plant per 100 female plants is just what is required. The plantation can last profitably for three years.

* In order that the "Madhubindu" might be planted by people on a large scale, we fixed the rate of the superior seeds at eight annas per oz., and at seven rupees per lb., while the original rate at which we bought from outside was Rs. 2 per oz.

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The following are the salient features of the superior quality of the "Madhubindu" as compared with other types of papayas of the world :

1. There is no record in any country of the world that a papaya tree can bear fruits on the stem within two feet from the ground. It is given only to Rambag Plantation to declare that the famous "Madhubindu" bears fruits on the stem right from one or one and a quarter-foot above the ground.

2. The number of fruits borne by the "Madhubindu" papaya trees is always double that of any other type of papaya.

3. There is more eatable stuff and less seeds in the "Madhubindu" fruit than in any other type of papaya.

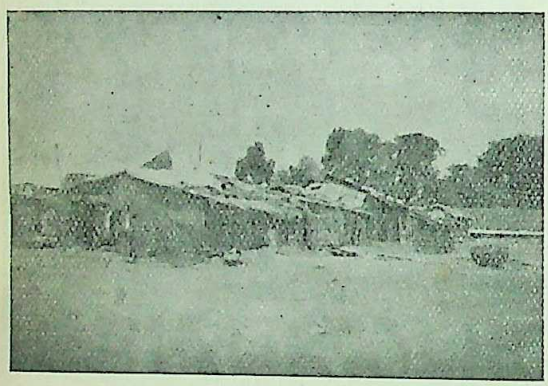
4. There is more sweetness, more taste, and more pleasant smell in Rambag's Madhubindu Papaya than in any other kind.

Rambag Plantation,
Dhari, Kathiawar

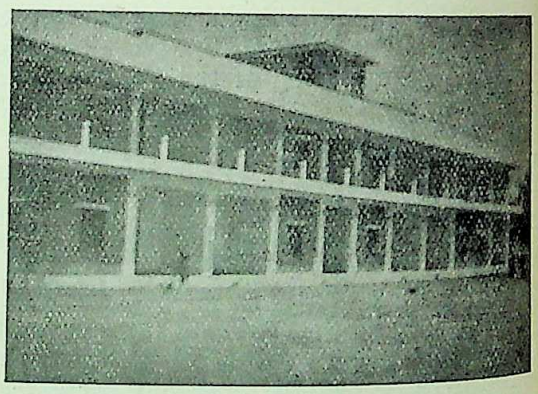
THE SWEEPERS' PARADISE

By A HARIJAN WORKER, *Delhi*

A visit to the new colonies and quarters of the sweepers of Ahmedabad Municipality at Gomatipur and Shahpur is a delightful experience. The dreams of many a well-wisher of this much-neglected class of employees have been here translated into reality. Comprehensive schemes for their general welfare and healthy living conditions have been planned and worked out to the very detail.



Old quarters of ten sweepers at Shahpur



The newly built block for the sweepers at Shahpur

Since 1935, the Municipality has taken up a housing scheme for its employees, costing Rs. 4 lakhs in all. By April 1940, five hundred decent tenements will have been completed. Each tenement has a main room measuring about 12 ft.×10 ft.×12 ft. On one side, it opens to a well-designed kitchen about 10 ft.×8 ft. ×12 ft. and in front is a spacious verandah. The rooms are well-ventilated with big windows and doors. The floor is cemented and the masonry walls plastered and white-washed. The rent for each tenement is only Rs. 2 per month. Blocks of such tenements with two floors in some cases are erected in planned rows with wide streets in between. The streets are well lighted. Latrines with ample rooms are provided in one corner. Taps and bathing places are neatly arranged between the blocks. A Municipal watch-man sees that the whole Colony is kept neat, the buildings and other amenities are not damaged or otherwise badly used.

Every Colony has got its own primary school. The buildings are commodious and substantial structures and are adequately equipped. The schools are conducted by teachers trained by the Harijan Sevak Sangh. The school at Gomatipur has a neat Creche attached, so that students who have to look after little children at home may bring them together and keep them at hand.

There are about 2,000 sweepers in the employ of the Municipality. A male gets Rs. 1[illegible] per month, a female Rs. 15 and a boy Rs. 8 as salary. Benefits of Provident Fund, Maternity leave with pay are provided. Two pairs of Khadi uniforms—shirt, shorts and cap—are supplied per year for the male workers. Shoes

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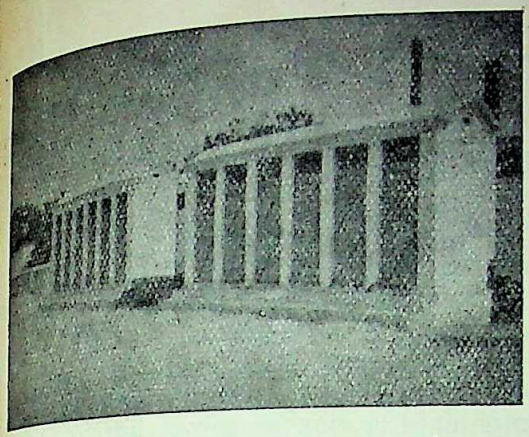
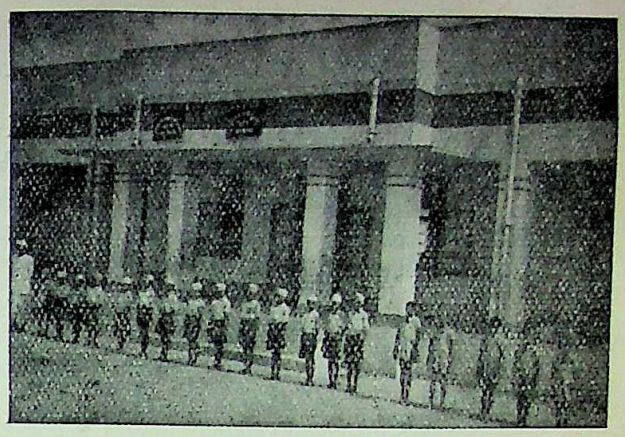


The neatly kept rows of latrines at the Gomatipur Colony



Some students of the Primary school at Gomatipur. A creche is attached to this school. The uniforms of the students are supplied by the Harijan Sevak Sangh

run under the supervision of the local Harijan Sevak Sangh supply foodstuffs and other necessities at fair rates and on guaranteed credit system. Harijan Sevaks of the Sabarmati Ashram and the Municipal authorities closely co-operate in all the schemes of welfare of the sweepers and the result has been in every way magnificent.

Even big cities like Madras and Bombay cannot stand any comparison with Ahmedabad in regard to their treatment of their sweeper employees. Calcutta is unique in its indifference to the housing of its army of sweepers. Ahmedabad is a city whose distinct watch-word is 'necessities first and beautifying last.' Its sweepers' colonies and quarters are truly a paradise.

Mother
By Prabhat Neogy

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PARTING OF THE WAYS IN THE INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

By SUDHIR KUMAR LAHIRI, SACHIN SEN, BENOYENDRA NATH BANERJEA, NEPAL CHANDRA ROY, NIRMAL CHANDRA BHATTACHARYYA

[The following are notes of the discussion at meetings of the Politics Club, Calcutta, on the talk by Professor Nripendra Chandra Banerji, a resume of which was published in the July issue of *The Modern Review*.—Ed. *M. R.*].

Mr. S. K. Lahiri :

In his address before the Politics Club, Calcutta, at the meeting held on the 11th June, 1939, Professor Nripendra Chandra Banerji gave a short and interesting history of the evolution of the Indian National Congress since its inception. He made a rapid survey of events leading to the session at Tripuri followed by the resignation by Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose of the office of President of the Congress at the subsequent meeting of the A.-I. C. C. in Calcutta and the formation of the "Forward Bloc." Prof. Banerji describes the election of Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose in spite of the opposition of Mr. Gandhi and the Congress High Command as a challenge to Gandhian dictatorial leadership. In Nripen Babu's view a new orientation was the need of the hour, a new leadership backed up by mass resistance and he thinks that the old leadership should now be replaced by the Forward Bloc as led by Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose. The immediate need of the Congress was to weld all the forces inside it on a 'forward' programme, such as that indicated by him and to reorganize the entire machinery on a fighting basis.

It will certainly be extremely difficult to find a leader in place of Mr. Gandhi. But a continuation of Mr. Gandhi's leadership with the perpetuation of the present Congress High Command cannot certainly be in the best interests of the country, a considerable section of the general public having already expressed its dissatisfaction with their policy and programme in an unequivocal way. The situation clearly demands an alternative leadership, whether of one person or a group of persons. What the country needs is a leader who understands and represents the thought of the whole people in place of a group who have arrogated to themselves the position of guardians of the people and of their welfare. The question is, with Pandit Jawaharlal sitting on the fence, who is to take the place of Gandhiji ? Notwithstanding the feverish energy with which he is working, it does not appear that Subhas Babu's activities and utterances with reference to the Forward Bloc have so far been able to inspire the needed confidence in the public mind. The leading exponents of the Forward Bloc appear somewhat like the contents of a box of mixed biscuits. So long as the leader and his party do not become a compact and united body of people, there is very little hope of the emergence of new leadership in place of Mr. Gandhi and the Congress High Command. Whatever might be their shortcomings they know what they really mean, have no vagueness about their intentions and are united by very strong ties, besides material interests of a very substantial nature. Any leadership to be able to displace Mr. Gandhi and his followers must above all be able to convince the country that they are, on the one hand, inspired by the highest ideals of service and sacrifice and have, on the other, clear-cut and definite views about a number of thorny problems that have come to the fore since the new Constitution came into force.

The Congress has placed on the forefront of its programme the ideal of independence. All the parties, of course, so far as outward appearances go, are of one mind in the matter. But from the way in which Mr. Gandhi and the Congress High Command have so far proceeded with their work, it is difficult to understand whether they are working for a popular form of Government or for a group dictatorship in which their position will remain entrenched and intact. This is a matter of fundamental importance and in view of the growing tendency shown by them in favour of anti-democratic methods and dictatorial devices, a clear and unequivocal declaration on the subject is needed. It is to be regretted that Subhas Babu has not so far been able to show that there is any difference between him and the Congress High Command including, of course, Mr. Gandhi, in this regard. To condemn dictatorship on the one hand, and on the other to practise dictatorial technique and methods, is a policy that is being persistently followed by those who are entrusted with the affairs of the Congress. The time has come when a clearly defined policy in favour of a

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democratic form of government should be laid down and scrupulously followed. Any deviation from this should be put down with the strongest hand. The wide and enthusiastic support that the Congress has received from the general public from the beginning has been because of the declaration made by the Congress and its leaders from time to time in favour of the democratic ideal. It was never expected that a group of people would, taking advantage of their position, concentrate all power in their hands and make every possible effort, with the help of the official ministerial etc., to retain this monopoly in their hands to the exclusion of others.

Non-violence is the key-note of Mr. Gandhi's political creed and it has been incorporated as the corner-stone of the Congress policy. This, however, of late, has been used more for purposes of embellishment and decoration in the propaganda of Congressmen than for anything else. Even in many of their ordinary activities this policy is often observed more in the breach than otherwise. As a result this has encourged cant and dissimulation and has given an appearance of sanctimoniousness to some of their activities and utterances. Further, it is not possible for ordinary mortals to understand how it is possible to foster the revolutionary urge along with a non-violent strategy. This is a matter which, in the first instance, an unequivocal declaration is needed so as to avoid further confusion and confusion. In this connection it may reasonably be asked, is it a wise and practical policy to entrust the same set of people with revolutionary activities and constructive work, such as liquidation of poverty, removal of unemployment, development of industries (both cottage and big industries)—the anomaly to which reference has been made by Sriyen Babu? The problem of universal education may also be mentioned in this connection. For so long as the people are steeped in ignorance and illiteracy no substantial progress in any direction is possible. If both revolutionary and constructive activities are entrusted in the same bodies and are carried out by the same set of people any such scheme of action is foredoomed to utter failure.

Moreover, it is not out of place to ask, how far is it possible to reconcile the theory of non-violence with such policies as have been urged in respect of possible development arising out of war, foreign complications, the attitude towards the British Government in the event of a world-conflict, activities of Fascist and Nazi powers, etc. Any attempt to avoid the shouldering of responsibility in the matter at a time when the cult of force has assumed threatening dimensions cannot but bring about utter chaos and ruin. In order that the country may be able to avoid such a contingency, India should be prepared to take the most vigorous measures of defence against foreign aggression as also against the forces of disruption in the country itself. Non-violence like free trade is a counsel of perfection. As in the case of free trade, the adoption of its principles by a country cannot generally be of advantage to it when other countries are not prepared to accept them. Similarly, non-violence in the political sphere can be effective only when other countries or opposing parties accept it as a part of their policy. The fate of the League of Nations and the way in which the nations of the world are increasing their military expenditure by leaps and bounds demonstrate how unprepared the world is at the present moment, for this high and noble ideal.

The dictatorial methods of Mr. Gandhi and his followers, the advent of the Forward Bloc, the aggressive and anti-national pose of the Muslim League, the unprogressive attitude of the Ruling Princes of India, the rising tide of Communalism as a result of the infamous Communal 'award,' the emergence of a spirit of inter-provincial rivalry, the secret manœuvring of the capitalist class with a view to fortifying their position at all costs, the ominously uncertain international situation have all combined to bring into prominence a number of crucial questions. If the future progress of the country is to be safeguarded along popular lines, that is to say, along lines in which the democratic forces of the country will have the controlling influence against all forces of reaction and group influences, then it is essential that proper decisions be made with reference to these and prompt action taken to give effect to such decisions.

Take for instance the problem of communal differences. Democracy is not certainly an easy form of government, and if it is to succeed in this country, it is essential to have, as far as possible, a united people to support it. By the introduction of communal electorates, the progress that the country had begun to make in the direction of homogeneity has been completely lost and all sorts of differences and disruptive tendencies are being accentuated and encouraged. The Congress has, of late, assumed a timid and spiritless attitude in the

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matter. If we are to have real democracy the Congress should be able to take a bold stand in respect of the 'Communal Award' which has hampered rather than assisted the unity which was the most essential condition of any progress on popular lines. If this cannot be done the result will be the advent of a sort of anarchy in the land and the emergence of all the forces of reaction of which we have already begun to have a foretaste.

With reference to the problem of Federation, the anxiety shown by a group of Congressmen, who wield a dominant influence over the counsels of the Congress, to hasten its inauguration, notwithstanding the opposition of the Princes and of the general body of the Congress, has naturally aroused no little suspicion in the public mind as to the real intention of Mr. Gandhi and his followers with reference to this matter. No amount of sophistry is likely to convince any progressive Indian of the wisdom of giving effect to the present scheme of federation so long as its reactionary features have not been shed. With the Communal 'award' in force and the States receiving a share of representation out of proportion to their population, etc., along with other undesirable provisions which have been incorporated in the present scheme of federation, there is very little hope of progressive India making much headway against the forces of reaction which have been attempted to be stabilised by the new Constitution.

It is to be deploerd that the Congress, instead of encouraging a policy of decentralization and helping the development of a sense of provincial responsibility and initiative, should be so unwise as to pursue a consistent policy of all-round centralization. The autonomy that has been granted under the new Constitution to the Provinces leaves much to be desired. But the Congress High Command, by bringing the Congress Ministry under their heel, have rendered Provincial Autonomy, such as it is, entirely meaningless and ineffective. This practice, to which the Congress is a party, militates against all accepted principles of democracy and responsible government and should, therefore, be abandoned. The methods that they have been following seem to show that they have completely failed to comprehend the real purpose of democratic government. It is, as Woodrow Wilson puts it,

"that we may hold counsel with one another, so as not to depend upon the understanding of one man, but to depend upon the counsel of all. For only as men are brought into counsel, and state their own needs and interests, can the general interest of a great people be compounded into a policy that will be suitable to all."

Mr. Sachin Sen :

It is claimed that the Forward Bloc is revolutionary in outlook and action; that it is a definite move against the dictatorship of the Congress Executive; that it is a platform for the consolidation of the various Left Wings of the Congress; that it has grown out of historical necessity.

First, the programme outlined by Prof. N. C. Banerji for the Forward Bloc is really revolutionary, as the objective set out can not be achieved without direct action and complete change of the existing order of society. The programme emphasises the difference not only in the method of approach but in the objective itself, and as such it involves a clear departure from the accepted policy of the Congress. But in fact, the Forward Bloc, as it is, has accepted the official policy of the Congress and its emphasis on direct action is the pivotal point of difference. The Right Wing group believes in two things, *viz.*, that the possibilities of the technique of constitutionalism are not exhausted, and that the country is ill-equipped for immediate direct action. The advocates of the Forward Bloc feel otherwise. But it must not be forgotten that if direct action is favoured and resorted to, parliamentary programme is frankly abondoned; if parliamentary programme is pursued, direct action recedes in the background. Frankness requires it to be told that the revolutionary urge in the execution of the parliamentary programme is, in the ultimate analysis, nothing but an emphasis on the speed; it does not involve an assault on the fundamentals of the adopted programme.

Secondly, to appraise the charge of dictatorial methods of the Congress Executive, it is necessary to enquire if their authority is based on the free assent of the people and if the primary members of the Congress are shut out, constitutionally or otherwise, from exercising influence in the formation of the Congress High Command. A party can not be said to assume the role of dictatorship merely on the ground that it does not function to the liking of the minority party If democracy is understood aright, it may be said that the mistakes, the whims, even the impatience of the ruling party do not clothe it with dictatorship if the people are left to elect or eject them annually. If the vast masses obey blindfold, they deserve dictatorship.

Thirdly, the Forward Bloc by accepting

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the economic programme of the Congress, which is based on the acquisitive order of society. can not call itself a socialistic Bloc. The Bloc is frankly critical of the Right Group; it is out to consolidate the Left groups for carrying on the struggle of independence but not for executing any planned socialistic programme.

Fourthly, the historical necessity was this that the Right Group was stagnating. Power has a corrupting influence and the Forward Bloc by its critical attitude will seek to stem the tide of stagnation and corruption. The Bloc is perhaps governed by the belief that in the task of wresting political power from the third party, there is little wisdom, and less justification, in generating class conflict, class hatred and class consciousness. It may, therefore, be taken as a "hyphen" between the two fundamentally competing and conflicting groups in the Congress. But if the Bloc veers round to the socialistic programme aiming at classless society, should it not be open to the charge that the Party is intensifying class-conflict to the detriment of the united struggle for political independence?

Professor B. N. Banerjea :

Has there been really anything like a real parting of the ways in the Indian National Congress? If the cleavage is between (1) a party of conservation, a party or group which seeks to carry to its logical end the erstwhile traditional Congress demand for a transfer of governmental power to the sons of the soil, and (2) groups of congressmen who want to constitute themselves as the vanguard of a real social, economic and also political transformation,—the parting of the ways should take place in a more logical fashion. The Congress not only in its first phase but even in its Gandhian phase, had demanded a real control over the administration and readjustment of the economic forces in favour of the indigenous manufacturer and the masses of India." Today when, whatever might be the slogan, the Congress is working the new Constitution and is inclined to feel that its programme is receiving a partial fulfilment through the Congress governments, it is not unlikely that many are feeling that the phase of direct struggle should cease. One might go further and urge that the logical fruition and culmination of the pre-Lahore-and-Karachi Congress ideology is being discovered through the recent Gandhian policy of constitutionalism, consolidation, conciliation and compromise: one need not be surprised at the determined opposition by those who do not accept the thesis of class-struggle to allow the Congress to fall into the hands of those who seek to use it as an engine of further radical changes.

The Congress started with the aspiration to become the "Opposition" to the constituted authorities, ready to take up the reins of government when the opportunity was offered. Circumstances have, on occasions, driven the Congress to the ways of direct conflict and the forces of "Forward" ideology and action have naturally found a prolific breeding-ground under its aegis. The parting of the ways should therefore come now, as the "parliamentary" and "revolutionary" forces should no longer pass under a single flag. The position, however, is that neither of these camps want to cut adrift from the moorings, both want the backing of the Congress for their programme and the "forward" groups in particular seek the protection which the use of the name of the Congress gives them.

My submission is that those who hope to capture the Congress from the "rightists" are under a delusion. The Congress is dominated by Indian capitalists and worked in terms of ideologies favoured by the middle-classes. "Democratic methods"—the latest slogan, is unsuitable to a revolutionary struggle. By democratic methods the *Kisans* or *masses* can hardly expect to capture the Congress machinery : election tactics and changes of constitution would defeat such attempts by leftists. Why, therefore, spoil time in the parliamentary game of playing the opposition withn the Congress? Those who believe in 'forward' action should better consolidate their position among the masses rather than seek to change the Congress creed and constitution, and the executive.

There is as yet no parting of the ways. The various dissatisfied groups are only throwing feelers and few of their members possibly are prepared to go the whole hog even to the extent of fighting the Congress and face the 'facist terror' to be initiated by Congress governments. Whether the Congress is abandoned by 'right' groups or by 'left' groups, direct action can only result under determined, homogeneous leadership. By gradual elimanation, when such radical leadership emerges, whether in the name of the Congress or in the name of such a group, a struggle will result—a struggle far-flung, bitter and with international repercussions. Till then we can hardly talk of any real parting of the ways.

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Mr. Nepal Chandra Ray :

Since Mr. Gandhi's advent, the Congress movement has captured the imagination of the people. But though it has become widely popular, it can not be said that it has permeated the masses to any considerable extent. Mr. Gandhi's manner of living, some of his doctrines, bearing on the face of it some outward resemblance with the ancient doctrines of *Ahimsa* as preached by Goutama Buddha, Mahabir and the Vaisnava sadhus, so deeply implanted in the Hindu mind, and above all, his pose reminiscent of a medieval saint greatly stirred the popular imagination. But it is a mistake to suppose that the large masses of people crowding to have his *darshan* wherever he goes, have any acquaintance with his ideas and principles, much less any deep-rooted faith in them. In fact he has always been an enigma to many of us. At times, he appears to be an idealist refusing to budge an inch from his principles, come what may; on other occasions it appears that the idealist is merged in the astute diplomatist and his principles drowned in the icy current of opportunism. This dualism has not a little hampered the uninterrupted progress of the movement, and, on more occasions than one, greatly affected the true interests of the country. When he first came out with the triple boycott as the sovereign remedy for all the political ills of the country, there were many people who doubted the wisdom of boycotting the legislature. I remember at Santiniketan we had many discussions with him on the subject, but Mr. Gandhi simply laughed us down. But later on we were not a little amused when we found him dilating on the newly discovered virtues of the legislature and advancing the very arguments he had treated with supreme contempt. He had come back to the point whence he had flown away. But much loss of time ensued and the country inevitably suffered badly. Next, he sternly put down his foot on the proposal of leading evidence before the Hunter Commission after the Punjab atrocities in spite of the best advice and earnest appeals of veteran politicians like Pandit Madanmohan Malviya and the late C. R. Das to the contrary. Had he not taken up such an uncompromising attitude at the time the vaunted and so called civilized methods of administration of the British bureaucracy would have been fully exposed to the glare of the civilised world by startling revelations of the shocking barbarities perpetrated during the martial law regime. The opportunity was lost. The third loss of another great opportunity was, when Gandhi's interference torpedoed the almost successful termination of negotiations conducted by Indian leaders headed by that statesman and practical statesman Pandit Madanmohan Malviya with Lord Reading's Government on the occasion of the Prince of Wales' visit. It is no mere idle speculation to say that but for Mr. Gandhi's obstinacy the history of India's political progress would have told a different tale. To make a long story short, Mr. Gandhi's presentation of India's cause as the sole accredited representative of the Indian National Congress and his mishandling spelt disaster to the country, for, but for his obstinacy there would perhaps have been no minority pact, no the communal 'award' with all the evil consequences in its train. His tall talk and threatened repudiation of old debts, drove the saner section of the British statesmen into the arms of reactionaries and the minority pact and communal decision were the result. To crown all instead of boldly challenging this manifestly unjust and positively anti-national decision he worked out the mischievous conondrum "neither accept nor reject."

Here again the obstinate idealist unbelchingly sticking to his "inner light" gave place to the opportunist diplomatist anxiously eating at the imaginary shadow. His famous fast completed the tale of woes and the world today is witnessing the deplorable and disgraceful sight of India split into warring communities and castes struggling for sordid gains and greedily grasping the bait cast for them.

It is a lesson of history that only idealists with an absolutely pure object are often privileged to look through long vistas of time with that full vision of the ultimate consequences of any policy and action which is denied to the opportunist. Gandhiji has been so much obsessed with the ambition of immediate result that his vision has been greatly blurred and his judgement warped and he coud not foresee the pernicious effects of communal representation which even some of the English members of the bureaucracy could clearly anticipate.

It is not out of place to refer in this connection to the observations made by some members * of the Indian Civil Service, serving in the Central Provinces, at the time of the introduction of the Mantagu reforms. They said :

"It is generally admitted that communal representation is the negation of responsible Government. It is

* Whose views are published in a pamphlet under the editorship of Sir E. Barker.

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responsible Government is our goal, it seems to us to be neither wise nor honest to set out on a road which admittedly leads in the opposite direction. The argument that there is a strong and steadily growing popular sentiment for communal representation merely emphasises the necessity of making a clean cut at once." * * "A temporary concession will rapidly become a permanent right, which will be demanded with irresistible force by an ever increasing number of communities."

Again,

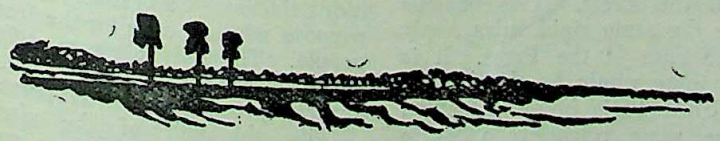
"It is idle to talk of reconsideration at a later date, submission to a referendum and so on. Whenever the question came up for reconsideration, bitter religious antagonism would be aroused; and the intervening period would be devoted, not to educating the Muhammaden to territorial electorates, but to stirring up agitation against the suspension of privileges which would, of course, be represented as religious rather than political. From discussion with prominent Moslem leaders we believe that so long as the question is open, the Muhammadans will protest and agitate; but if the time-limit is absolute, they will acquiesce."

Subsequent events have proved the accuracy of these observations.

With regard to the programme of the Forward Bloc, my opinion is that Subhas Babu's emphasis on certain points of difference with the orthodox Congress programme was a difference without distinction, the rest was trap-trap and mischievous twaddle. Take for instance, Mr. Bose's attitude towards war. From all indications, neither is the British Empire about to collapse as Mr. Bose seems to infer nor would it be a proper occasion to haggle and bargain. The world is divided into two warring camps with different ideals. It is absolutely necessary for Indians, whether they like it or not, to take sides. It will be the clear duty of Indians to fight, without any bargaining for democracy with which the sympathies undoubtedly are. However great might have been the lapses of Great Britain in the past, however outrageous her conduct and policies might have been, Great Britain stands for democracy and the triumph of democracy lies the salvation of India. In fighting for principles irrespective of self interest, India will grow in moral stature and will earn her moral right to independence as her birth right. Besides, in a war Indians will gain experience which will immeasurably strengthen their cause. Their demand will then be irresistible which no amount of sophistry or Machiavellism will be able to withstand.

Professor N. C. Bhattacharyya:

The history of the Congress may be divided into different phases. It began as an organisation obedient to the British Government. Political disappointment converted it into the deeply discontented body in the first decade of the present century. Accumulating political disappointments converted this discontented Congress into the rebellious Congress of 1921. Since the inauguration of the new reforms in 1937 Congress is beginning to settle down to an acceptance of Constitutionalism as an instrument of national policy towards the realisation of the goal of independence. Until recent times the Congress has been an organisation of lower and upper middle classes with a sprinkling of feudal elements. These classes have sought to promote their interests through the Indian National Congress by working for the establishment of a democratic regime in India. Today the masses have began to awake. But the official policy of the Indian National Congress is unrelated to the vital economic needs of the Indian masses. It practically ignores the economic basis of the problem of Indian freedom. The presence wthin the Congress of a group that will work for the economic freedom of India is a historical necessity. The Congress socialists and the Communists have been weighed in the balance and found wanting. At Tripuri before the superior strategy of the Right they proved to be a rabble, thoroughly unconscious of their historical role. Hence the need for a new forward policy under new leadership. The programme of the Forward Bloc of Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose falls far short of what is demanded by the Indian situation. Indeed there is little to choose between his programme and the official Congress programme. A party of advanced socialism conscious of its historical role can alone fulfil the function of raising the Congress today to a higher level from which it may be able to fight successfully the forces of oppression represented, by Capitalism and Imperialism.That is the forward policy that we need today.



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INDIAN PERIODICALS

Propaganda as Literature

For centuries there has been a sharp distinction between propaganda and all sorts of literature. Every time that a perfect work of Art has been achieved, it is certain that an alteration has followed in men's outlook, not only in the time and place where the work was produced, but down the ages in all times and places. Since the war, however, we have discovered in three or four domains, political, economic and now artistic, that our settled opinions have to be reconsidered if not abandoned. Writes Humbert Wolfe in *The Aryan Path* :

It is to be observed in this connection that in Russia in the early days of the revolution there emerged what was described as mass-poetry and mass-literature. It was suggested that individuality even in creation was contrary to the proletarian theory. One distinguished post-revolution poet in Russia published poems in a volume with some such title as "A Million," or "A Thousand." He meant by this that he was the instrument through which a large number of otherwise inarticulate persons were expressing themselves.

At the time the theory, like some others evolved in those days in Russia, was exciting but appeared to be no more than a sixth-form ecstasy. Those who took that view were profoundly wrong. The theory contained the seeds of the whole propaganda movement, which in Germany and Italy has become one of the most potent influences over men's minds. What has happened is that the Russian theory has been carried many degrees further. The State itself, as representing the total mind of the country, is using individuals as part of a titanic form of literary expression. It is no longer a question of one man or one newspaper stating a point of view and thus beginning to change men's opinions. From end to end of the country a huge continuous symphony is being composed and, what is more, being played by an enormous orchestra under single continuous direction.

The writer points out the deeper significance of the attitude of some of the States in Europe towards the Press and the people as regards their freedom of expression.

This is not merely a startling political phenomenon. It goes deeper and suggests as change in the fundamentals of art; because the complete regimentation of all artistic expression does not end with the Press. It is obvious that in fiction and the theatre the same rigid rules apply to native production as in the case of the Press. It is unthinkable, for example, that there would be the faintest hope of any play on a democratic basis being presented in Germany. Here again, the same relentless pressure produces a series of writers who, without losing their literary powers, become subordinated to an impulse outside themselves. In other words, in their case for the Muse is substituted the figure of the State. According the Arts range themselves automatically side by side with the Press as forming a part of the same instrumental attack on the human mind.

If we can assume a growing community both of action and thought and an increasing elimination of individuality then surely we may be driven to expect a literary expression less and less representative of individual ideas and more and more reflecting a nation's attitude as unreservedly as a lake reflects the clouds that float above it. If this be so, then, from the first crude idea expressed in Russia, we might expect to see art on the scale of the mountain sculpture in the United States which occupies a substantial part of a range. It will be conceivable that the great artists of the future will be the lineal successors of Herr Goebbels and whoever may be the Directors of Propaganda in Russia and Italy. This man, in his Government office with a large and competent staff, will in fact be writing books, plays and music on a vast scale, using the whole national mind and will as his material.

It will not be a question whether pure beauty has been attained. The question will be whether human happiness, as understood in the new world, is advanced by this or that artistic development. In a word, art will step down from its pedestal and become as much a part of life as eating and drinking. Nobody would be able to escape from it and no individual would be able to alter its direction.

The Reconstruction of Democracy

Orthodox democracy has proved itself miserably unequal to the exigencies of modern government. The problem is to modify the traditional institutions of democracy to suit existing conditions and then demonstrate their intrinsic worth. Remarks Dharamvir Bhorat in *The Calcutta Review* :

The inefficiency of democracy first became noticeable in its economic aspect. One of the fundamental dogmas of the liberal school was that individuals should be free to handle their property according to their private wishes. This principle was productive of undeniable good results during the greater part of last century when industry was in its early stages of development. The population in all countries was then largely settled upon the land and was little affected by the rising tide of industrialism. Capitalists could turn their wealth to any purpose without causing the least hardship to the community of people. The only class to suffer were the labourers, whose their misery was more than counterbalanced by the general prosperity which pervaded the industrial world.

By the end of the nineteenth century, however, capitalism had developed to such an extent as to vitiate

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influence large masses of people. At the same time, the popularization of democracy enabled these masses to become articulate and to demand that industry shall not override their interests. Thus, the capitalists were bound, sooner or later, to govern their actions not solely by the motive of private profit but by a consideration of the common good. In other words, democracy was coming into conflict with one of its own children—the principle of *laissez-faire*.

Laissez-faire, in fact, was a fallacious theory ever since it was propounded; but it required a good deal of industrial advancement to make the fallacy sufficiently obvious to the common man.

An uneducated and ignorant electorate continually comes in the way of a correct solution of urgent questions and prevents decisions being taken at the opportune moment.

Political democracy also renders the taking of rapid decisions impossible. Every new situation in national or international affairs has to be submitted to the judgment of Parliament, and by the time a decision is reached, circumstances may have changed so much as to make it inapplicable. The quality of the decision is, of course, a separate matter. On occasions calling for rapid action, therefore, dilatory Parliamentary procedure has invariably been abandoned. The latest example is furnished by the present French Government, which, in view of a critical foreign situation, has vested extraordinary powers in the Premier, M. Daladier. The British Government, also, has often had to act lately without consulting Parliament, despite the persistent protests of Mr. Attlee and his group.

In the political field orthodox democracy has manifested its unsuitability for modern conditions; it has failed utterly to deal with the problems and exigencies of a world which is becoming increasingly complex.

There has arisen, therefore, a widespread apathy and even hostility towards democratic institutions. The man in the street is distrustful of democracy because it cannot give him economic security; the intellectual person has lost faith in democracy because of its general inefficiency, both in the economic and in the political fields. Thus all classes are turning to the newer and more vital doctrines which have acquired a challenging importance during the course of a mere generation. Everywhere, men are transferring their allegiance from Parliamentary democracy to Fascism or Communism. Democracy has ceased to command any respect, even from the peoples among whom it still exists.

If this situation continues for any considerable period, democracy is bound to be exterminated by the newer ideals. The ideals of liberty which inspired men a century ago will find no support and authoritarianism will become the rule. Small cliques will acquire power in countries and, by ruthless regimentation and propaganda, keep entire millions in abject subjugation. Irresponsible autocrats will, through systematic indoctrination, subordinate to their purposes countless multitudes made submissive by bio-chemical manipulation. In the face of such a terrible prospect, it clearly becomes the duty of those who believe in liberty to revive the faith of 'democratic' peoples in liberal institutions and to keep them from joining the ranks of the reactionaries.

Democracy is essentially a philosophy of liberty, and the preservation of liberty should be our guiding motive in any reconstruction of democracy. But we must be careful to distinguish between genuine liberty and merely superficial liberty; allowing ourselves to be bound by the former but ruthlessly discarding the latter.

Modern democracies have failed tragically in the sphere of economic administration also.

Till lately, it was not considered desirable even to attempt an interference with commercial and financial conditions; but, as we have already seen, circumetances have forced them to abandon this policy of indifference. Still, however, a lingering faith in *laissez-faire* prevents effective action and industry continues to function contrary to the interests of large masses of people. The working class has no security of employment and the disharmonies of private capitalism continue to involve millions in periodical misery. A system of regulated private enterprise is clealy indicated under the circumstances and has long been advocated by the most distinguished economists. But before such regulation can be achieved, democratic administrators must recognize that *laissez-faire*, in conferring economic liberty upon one section of the people, withholds it from a much larger section. Since true democracy aims above all at an equitable distribution of liberty, *laissez-faire* as now practised should be rigorously eschewed. We should not hesitate to limit the freedom of the magnates of industry so that the masses may be provided with economic security; for economic security is the foundation stone on which all liberty rests.

The dictatorial states have, indeed, succeeded in tremendously enhancing the economic security of the working classes, without disseminating a proportionate degree of liberty. And this forcibly brings home to us the perversity of their methods. For although economic security is undoubtedly preferable to civil liberty, it has little value if entirely divorced from the latter. In fact, bare economic security cannot for any length of time satisfy any but the lowest type of human being. The problem for democracies, therefore, is to manage the economic system in such a way as to ensure for everybody a reasonable amount of security coupled with a reasonable amount of liberty. Obviously, this cannot be done by the rigid planning practised in dictatorial countries. Some sort of planning, however, is necessary if the multiplicity of capricious and unregulated decision of private capitalists is to be prevented from reacting disastrously on the nation as a whole.

The essential virtue of the scheme, however, is that industry is directed to the public interest without depriving the industrialists of their liberty of action; for although they are not left entirely to their own devices, they unquestionably retain the essence of liberty, as truly conceived.

The Aspiration of Young India

India has the highest record in death rate and unemployment and the lowest record in income, literacy and efficiency. Writes *Prabuddha Bharat* editorially :

If we take the trouble of examining the statistics of the average annual income of the different countries of the world, the lurid picture of India's present destitution and economic prostration becomes revealed in all its nakedness unto our eyes. India has not at the present

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day more than Rs. 27 to her credit as the average income per head per annum, whereas the big imperialistic powers of the West such as America, England, France and Japan, have Rs. 1,000, Rs. 750, Rs. 450 and Rs. 345 as the average annual income per head respectively. The condition of education in this country is none the less appalling. A comparative study of the world figures of the progress of literacy discloses startling disparity in this regard between India and the rest of the countries. Literacy in Holland, Norway, Denmark and Germany is 100 per cent., in America 95.4, in England 93.5 and in Japan 97.8, whereas in British India it is only 8 per cent! In short 92 per cent of her people are still without the elementary knowledge of the three R's. The figures given above, though disconcerting, are revelatory of our actual position in the educational world today. In British India alone every year four hundred and fifty lakhs of people suffer from various kinds of diseases, and out of them 866 people die every hour. The average length of life in America is 55.5, in England 52.5, in France 48.5 and in Japan 44.3, whereas in India it is only 22.7. And so far as the question of unemployment in different countries is concerned, the statistics collected by the League of Nations show that 40 million people are unemployed elsewhere in the whole world, but more than that number are without any employment in India alone. Even when the comparative efficiency of an average individual is taken into consideration, India cannot produce more than 1.5 on her record, though America, England, France and Germany have 30, 18, 18¼, and 12 to their credit respectively.

But we need not despair. The future of India depends upon the rising generation of the country.

There is no movement in the world today, which does not count upon the creative genius and activities of young men for its success. What is wanted at this psychological hour in India is the heroic self-sacrifice of the youths of the land to build her future destiny. In an eloquent and inspiring address to the students of Santiniketan, Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose, the late President of the Indian National Congress, emphasized this very fact. "Your task," said Mr. Bose, "lies there amidst the lowliest and the lost. Are you preparing yourselves for that gigantic work of national re-organisation? Are you ready to dedicate your life to the mission of serving the people in fulness of time each in his or her own sphere? If you are so armed, then and only then are you doing your soldiers' duty to your country and your people." A lofty sense of pride for India"s cultural heritage, a burning passion for the uplift of the snuken masses, a spirit of selflessness, and, above all, an indomitable courage to actualise in lilfe the sublime idealism as set forth in the universal gospel of Vedanta must be the guiding principle in the lives of the sturdy youths of the land. And that is why Swami Vivekananda also said, "What cur country now wants are muscles of iron and nerves of steel, gigantic wills which nothing can resist, which can penetrate into the mysteries and secrets of the universe, and will accomplish their purpose in any fashion, even if it meant going down to the bottom of the ocean and meeting death face to face." A hundred thousand men and women, fired with the zeal of holiness, fortified with eternal faith in the Lord, and nerved to lion's courage by their sympathy for the poor and the fallen, must go over the length and breadth of the land preaching the gospel of salvation, the gospel of help, the gospel of social rising-up—the gospel of equality, liberty and fraternity.

Jainism

According to Prof. Pritam Singh, the Jain sect was founded in the same period as Buddhism and resembles in many ways that great religion. He writes in *The Trivini*:

The word Jain is derived from Sanskrit *Jina*, meaning the "Conqueror of the World." The community is to be found in every important Indian town among the merchant class. In Gujerat, Rajputana and the Punjab they are fairly numerous, while in South India they reside in the Kanara district. There are two kinds of Jains—Digambara and Svetambara, each of which is split up into several sub-divisions. The Digambara or "Sky-robed" regards nudity as the indispensable sign of holiness, though they wear a large *Chadar* these days, which they take off when taking meals. The "Svetambara" or 'White-robed' belongs to the other school. No intermarriage can take place among these two branches, nor can they eat at the same table; otherwise the doctrine, the discipline and the loyalty are the same.

Jainism like Buddhism is regarded as a universal faith and both are opposed to Brahminism.

Its object is to lead men to salvation; so it admits low-born Sudras as well as aliens within its fold. But in practice this is very rarely done if ever. Like Buddhism Jainism is a philosophical ethical system intended for disciples, who are divided into monks and the laity. Like Hinduism, Jainism seeks salvation in setting the human soul free from the revolution of birth and death. The means of reaching this are the Right Faith, the Right Knowledge and the Right Way. By Right Faith is meant the full surrender to the *Jina* or Teacher, in other words the firm conviction that he alone has found the way to salvation. If you ask a Jain who *Jina* is, he will give you exactly the same answer as a Buddhist would give you with regard to Buddha. The Jains prefer to use the name *Jina* and *Arhat*, while the Buddhists prefer to speak of Buddha as *Tathagata* or the "perfect one." The Jains call such perfected souls as *Tirthankaras* or the founders of religion. There were twenty-four such Jinas, like the 25 Buddhas and the 14 Manus, and the last one, who appeared in the last half of the sixth century according to some or the first half of the fifth century according to others, was known as Vardhamana or Mahavira who was a historical personage and the present day Jains believe in him. Jainism is, however, an independent sect and not a branch of Buddhism, since the Buddhists confirm the statements of the Jains about their prophet.

The following facts seem to be incontrovertible. Vardhamana was the younger son of Siddhartha, a noble man of the Kshatriya race. They were the residents of Kundapura, a suburb of Vaisali in the Tirhut district of Bihar Province. At the age of thirty Vardhamana now known as Mahavira or "Great Hero" left his home. He had married and had a daughter. He became a homeless ascetic and wandered for more than twelve years and led a very hard life imposing on himself the severest mortifications. He discarded the clothes and devoted himself to meditation and attained to the stage of Nirvana. He taught what is known as the *nirgrantha* (no ties) doctrine and organised an ascetic order and took the name "Mahavira." He travelled as a teacher for thirty years

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during which time he went all over the country and he won many followers. The scene of his activities corresponds to that of Buddha and he was not only a contemporary of Buddha but his fellow countryman also. He passed away in the town named Pavapuri, at the ripe old age of 72.

The writer summarises the Jain doctrine briefly as follows :

(1) The world is uncreated. It exists without a maker, only by the power of its elements, and is everlasting. The elements of which this world is constituted are five in number, *viz.*, soul, righteousness, sin, space, time and matter. Souls are separate independent existences and possess an impulse to action. In the world they are chained to bodies. Merit and sin drives them from one existence to another. Virtue leads to birth in noble races, sin consigns the souls to lower regions, in the bodies of animals, vegetables and minerals.

(2) According to the Jain doctrine, soul exists in inorganic matter, such as stones, earth, water, fire and wind.

(3) The bondage of souls can be broken by the suppression of all activity or, in other words, by the control of senses. New Karmas should not be created and hence asceticism becomes necessary. The final stage is the attainment of *Moksha* or *Nirvana*, full deliverance from all bonds. The soul is immortal and after death wanders into the heaven of the Jinas or the delivered souls and continues eternally to live there.

(4) In placing virtue and vice as substances, Jainism stands alone, and it is atheistic in so far that it holds that the world is self-existing.

A Jain ascetic has like other ascetics to take five vows : not to hurt, not to speak untruth, not to appropriate to himself anything without permission, to be chaste and to be self-sacrificing.

This asceticism is both outward and inward, and the self-discipline is of the sternest type. Self-mortification and fasting are carried to an extreme. A disciple of Jina, when he enters the Order, has to give up his possessions, wander homeless with a begging bowl in hand and never stay longer than one night in a place. He must carry three articles with him, a straining cloth, a broom and a veil for the mouth. Sins must be confessed to, among the Catholics and the Buddhists. For the laity, the discipline is relaxed considerably.

The Indus Valley 5000 Years Ago

The discovery of Mahenjo-daro has established beyond doubt that highly civilised communities lived in the Indus Valley nearly 5000 years ago. Before this discovery, the credit of which goes to the great archaeologist, late Mr. Rakhaldas Banerji, it was assumed by scholars that Egypt and Mesopotamia were the cradles of the most ancient civilisations of the world. The following is an excerpt from an article in *Science and Culture* :

European scholars up to 1923 always used to belittle the claims of India as the home of any ancient civilisation. Until about twenty years ago, very few pre-Mauryan antiquities were known or recognised in India. At the suggestion of Sir John Marshall, the late Rai Bahadur Dayaram Sahni, in 1920, started excavations at the site of Harappa near Montgomery in the Punjab where peculiar seals had been found; but it remained for the late Mr. Rakhaldas Banerji to recognise the importance of this find. It was a great surprise when in 1923, Mr. R. D. Banerji dug out a city in the Indus valley, which showed that even 5000 years ago, when formerly only Egypt and Babylon were known to be civilised, in the Indus vallew communities lived in well-built and well laid out cities, consisting of houses made of burnt bricks and containing an elaborate system of drainage. Accounts of this great discovery were published in many popular journals. Between 1928 and 1931 this place has been further re-excavated by Mr. E. Mackay under the guidance of the Archaeological Survey of India, and as a result, we have two sumptuous volumes dealing with the civilisation in the Indus valley 5000 years ago. They are in continuation of the three volumes edited earlier by Sir John Marshall which gave a first account of the relics of Indus valley civilisation. These two volumes have been prepared under the general editorship of Dr. E. Mackay assisted by the late lamented Mr. N. G. Majumdar and several other scholars, namely H. L. Srivastava, C. C. Ray, C. S. Hemmy, besides officers of Archaeological Survey of India. Sir L. L. Fermor assisted in the identification of rocks, Col. Seymour-Sewell and Dr. B. Prashad in the identification of zoological objects and Dr. B. S. Guha the skeletal materials.

Mr. Mackay thinks, as was also surmised by Mr. R. D. Banerji, the first discover of this civilization, that the ancient city was situated either on the banks of the Indus river or on a branch of riparian connection in the shape of *ghats* or wharves.

The city appears to have suffered from disastrous floods several times during its lifetime, which is estimated to have come to an end about 2500 B.C. This date is arrived at from certain recent discoveries by Dr. Frankfort at Tel Asmar, a mound to the east of the ancient city of Kish in Mesopotamia, which show that the upper level of Mahenjo-daro were contemporaneous with certain buildings which he had excavated at Tel Asmar. The latter have, on very good grounds, been attributed to the Dynasty of Sargon of Agade. The principal object of interest found in these excavations, which seems to serve as a link between the two places, is a cylinder seal, obviously of Indian workmanship, bearing the figures of elephant, rhinoceros and fish-eating crocodile, animals that are peculiar to India and are not found in Mesopotamia. This seal must have been made for his own use by an Indian trader staying at Tel Asmar about 2500 B. C. The lowest level of Mahenjo-daro has been assigned about 3000 B. C. on the strength of the find of a vessel of a greenish grey stone having an intricate matting pattern carved upon it. A duplicate of this pattern was found at Susa, layer No. 2, whose date is supposed to be 3000 B. C. It is thus seen that Mahenjo-daro like many other Indian cities situated on the banks of rivers had rather a short life. Further, the discovery of the Indus valley seals at many old sites of Mesopotamia shows that there was extensive trade between the two countries five thousand years ago. An echo of these commercial intercourse is preserved in the—*Jataka* stories (*Baveru* or Babylon *Jataka*) written about the first or second century B. C.

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The Lament of an Exile

The Old Testament is a rich mine storing up some of the deep and abiding things of the human soul. The Lament of an Exile is both pathetic and exquisite. A. J. Saunders considers this Psalm in an article in the *National Christian Review* :

One of the most pathetic outcries of an Exile in the whole field of literature is that of the 137th Psalm :

By the rivers of Babylon, there we sat down, yea, we wept, when we remembered Zion.

We hanged our harps upon the willows in the midst thereof.

For there they that carried us away captive required of us a song; and they that wasted us required of us mirth, saying, Sing, Sing us one of the songs of Zion.

How shall we sing the Lord's song in a strange land?

This little fragmentt of a song of sadness has been called a Jewish Elegy. It is the lament of an exile from home, carried by force into a strange land. Delightful memories of the old days in the dear home country rise before him, and are contrasted with the loneliness and harshness and strangeness of the land of captivity.

If I forget thee, O Jerusalem, let my right hand forget her cunning.

If I do not remember thee, let my tongue cleave to the roof of my mouth; if I prefer not Jerusalem above my chief joy.

In the conflict which raged between Egypt and Babylon towards the end of the 6th century B.C., Judha took the side of Egypt, but Babylon conquered Egypt and punished Judah for her faithlessness.

In fact there were two periods of terrible punishment. Jerusalem was taken by the Babylonians, the golden vessels of the Temple were made a spoil, the King of Judha—Jehoiachin—was carried into capacity to Babylon with his officers, his mighty men, and all his skilled workmen—10,000 captives in all. After eleven years of troubled rule the King of Judah—Zedekiah—again sought an alliance with Egypt which brought down the wrath of Babylon once more. The Babylonians took Jerusalem by blockade, blinded poor, misguided and unstable Zedekiah, slew his officers, burned the Temple, broke down the city walls, and carried away another large numbe of captives. A poor and miserable remnant of the people was left in Judah to prevent the land from relapsing into a desert. This ancient account of the catastrophe of Jerusalem is only one of many similar experiences through which the Hebrews have passed in their long and checkered history. At different periods countries like England, Russia, Germany, and Palestine have all indulged in ill-treatment and savage baiting of the Jews. The thing that I marvel at as a student of history is the power that seems to be inherent in the Jewish character to rise above national destruction and community persecution, and to go on again without resentment and without bitterness. They have a power of resilience which is a national characteristic.

The writer observes a deeper note in the Psalm :

Let us spend a moment in looking more carefully into that little Psalm. One is impressed immediately with the note of sadness—the sadness of an exile longing for home. That has been the experienc of Israelites through the greater part of their national life. Ri[illegible] G. Moulton sees in it two parts : the plaintive me[illegible] of Zion in Babylon, and the passionate recollection [illegible] Babylon in restored Jerusalem. Then again in the [illegible] of the distress there is the light of patriotism like a [illegible] shining lantern in a dark place.

If I forget thee, O Jerusalem—
If I do not remember thee—

If I prefer not Jerusalem above my chief joy.

But greater than all was his sure trust in G[illegible] nothing could shake his faith in the triumph of r[illegible] and justice.

We are exiles far from home; nationalism is draw[illegible] the cords of restriction and opposition tighter a[illegible] us; we become despondent at times, and are inclined [illegible] say : 'How shall we sing the Lord's song in a str[illegible] land ?'

In the last place he wants us to see t[illegible] or three of the larger issues in the pres[illegible] situation.

How many people today are slaves in their o[illegible] lands or exiles in a friendly country. Think of the [illegible] in initiative and co-operative effort in a condition [illegible] this; the Supreme Command reducing the man-pow[illegible] and woman-power to mere mechanical toys; pull [illegible] string and the figure works.

That leads to a second question : What is the [illegible] meaning and purpose of Life ? Surely man who [illegible] made in the image of God is for higher ends than [illegible] mere sport of political forces and the tool of econ[illegible] policies. Man was not created to be the fodder [illegible] machine warfare, or to be the target of bombing pla[illegible] The answer to Aryanism and racial hatreds is [illegible] Christian doctrine of brotherhood : God hath made o[illegible] race all nations of men to dwell in harmony and co-operation on the face of the earth. The meaning of life is fellowship in progress and achievement towards th[illegible] highest ideals of human attainment.

Poets and Inspiration

The words of an inspired poet, howe[illegible] lacking in significance they may seem to s[illegible] other, must be the exact representation of [illegible] mood at the moment. If his fire does not f[illegible] while he is writing, he will produce somethi[illegible] which, read in its entirety, will be capab[illegible] under favouring conditions, of arousing t[illegible] same emotion in others. In the course of [illegible] article on emendations in poetry in *T[illegible] Twentieth Century* S. N. Misra observes :

Blake's principal care was for impulse, spontan[illegible] primal force; he declared it was his aim "to cast a[illegible] from poetry all that is not Inspiration." As in all gr[illegible] poets, so in Blake, genius and spontaneity are one a[illegible] assert the divine right of the soul to have power over [illegible] dead unthinking chaos which it shall quicken into [illegible] He commits every conceivable fault against pro[illegible] grammar, taste: he takes no care for the metre and s[illegible] to tunes that do not depend for their beauty either on [illegible] disposal of accents or the counting of syllables; questi[illegible] of form and expression, such as have been known [illegible] trouble poets in all ages, hardly ever came into his m[illegible] If the depth and intensity of his emotional experie[illegible] brought him a vision of reality and the truth was [illegible]

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Hammered forth from the elemental forces of the Universe that it would not be denied, he gave it utterance in a language which, except to those in sympathy with his vision, reads like an elaborate cipher devised from common words to embody the forms of things uncommon. Inspiration in poetry such as his means intense clear insight that has the warrant of ultimate certainty; poetic expression is it means the crimson glow of the furnance in which our solid-seeming globe and all the structures of heaven are melted to run through a mould of the poet's own making.

About Shelley he says :

The poet who fulfilled the requirement of intelligibility even in the heated and impetuous moment of creative passion was Shelley. Like Blake, he trusted his vision completely and gave it utterance in the language of vision; but unlike Blake, he used words in their usual connotations. Shelley is typical of the kind of poet by whose work it is possible to feel the original emotion in its pure form. If his fire lost heat in the moment of final creation, he left his poem unfinished, rather than try and eke out by intellectual effort an overblown state and lose himself in the craftsman. Hence the numerous fragments of poems that he left. He compared the mind in the moment of poetic composition to a fading coal; every time the poet labours to revive his passion and its counterpart of vision, his breath blows away with the filmy ashes a portion of what was once his inspiration.

The poet who philosophised on the nature of poetic creation and diction with some valid cogence and popularised the notion of poetry taking "its origin from emotion recollected in tranquillity" was Wordsworth.

In his Preface to the *Lyrical Ballads* he wrote: "The emotion is contemplated till by a species of reaction the tranquillity gradually disappears, and an emotion, kindred to that which was before the subject of contemplation, is gradually produced, and does itself actually exist in the mind. In this mood successful composition generally begins, and in a mood similar to this it is carried on." The ambiguity in the use of the word "tranquillity" is directly traceable to the confusion in the mind of Wordsworth between emotion and sensation. Sensation is the first impression received from the senses while emotion is the feeling that follows the sensation or impression. It is self-evident that good poetry is never an immediate reaction to sensation which makes the first provocation to the mind. The sensation described could give nothing better than a coloured photograph by way of a poem. It goes without saying that all sensations must be assimilated into the sum of our experience before their proper level and proportion can be assigned to them. What Wordsworth calls the stage of "contemplation" is nothing more mysterious than what takes place in the mind of every man. The sensation can certainly be revived by contemplation, but no "unique mode of expression we call poetry" arises "out of the union of contemplating mind and the reviving sensibility." What artists and poets always look for is the peculiar feeling which follows the sensation and gives to the object behind it a character or a face. Through this character or face, they gain insight into the soul of things. They are able to do so by suffusing the objects of sense perception with light of their glowing passion, by clasping, as it were, the universe so close to the bosom as to become one with it. So long as the poet remains absorbed in the contemplation of sensations, his soul lies inactive; but the moment he succeeds in putting his whole being in the centre of the object contemplated, he becomes a "living soul" and his passion brings him a vision of reality. These moments of exalted emotion are moments of intuitive apprehension and admit of no recollections in tranquillity. Thus it was that Sri Krishna, when asked to repeat the *Gita* after the battle, was unable to do so—he had forgotten it.

Thought Relic

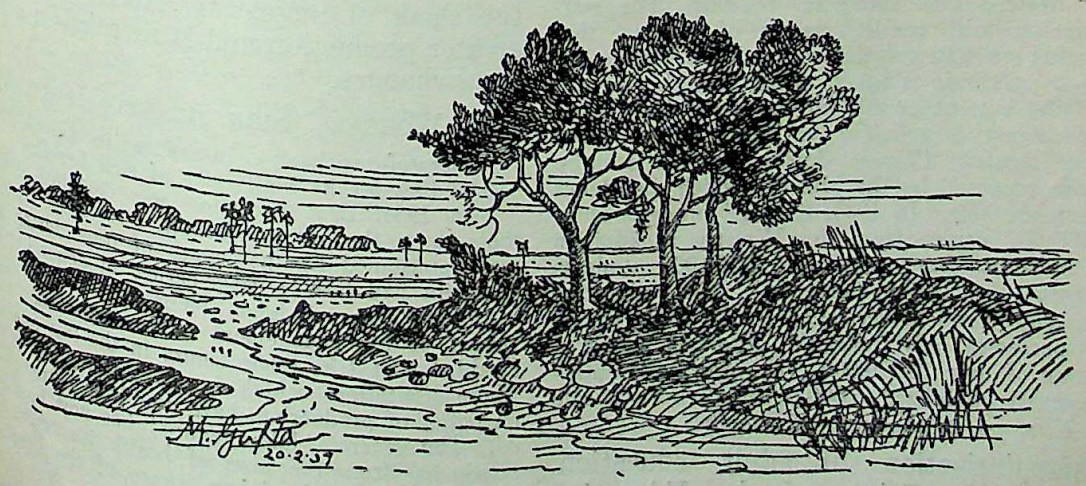
To day on the sin-laden dust of the earth pours tainted rain from the sky. Our long wait for the cleansing bath in pure water from on high has been repeatedly doomed to disappointment; the mud is soiling our minds, and marks of blood are also showing. How long can we keep on wiping this away? Even the pure silence of the empyrean is powerless to clarify the discordant notes of the prayer for peace which is rising from a blood-stained world.

Peace? Who can truly pray for Peace? Only they who are ready to renounce.

Atha dhira amritatvam- viditva
Dhruvam adhruvesviha na Prarthayante.

Men of tranquil mind, being sure of Immortal Truth, never seek the eternal in things of the moment.

RABINDRANATH TAGORE
in the *Visva-Bharati News*



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FOREIGN PERIODICALS

The World's Biggest School

Adult illiteracy will be banished for ever from China after 1941. This is the latest decision of the Ministry of Education, which aims at eradicating all adult illiteracy in China within two years. Prior to the war, China was carrying out a universal educational programme which aimed at teaching the nation's 192,000,000 illiterates aged below 45 years to read and write before 1942. The war has caused this decision to end China's illiteracy still earlier.

According to the statistics of the Ministry of Education in 1936 when the original six-year mass education programme was launched, China's adult illiterates then numbered 200,000,000, or nearly half of the entire population. Since then, it is estimated that about 10,000,000 persons have been educated. The present task of the Ministry, therefore, is to teach the remaining 190,000,000 adults how to write and to read. Throughout China today free education is given to 45,000,000 school children.

Officials of the Ministry are optimistic that the vast programme can be completed within two years. Their scheme is to switch the peace-time four-month anti-illiteracy classes into two-month courses which mean more intensified work in a shorter period. Every year four such classes will be held in quick succession as compared with only two before the war. No holidays will be given to the students who must study for two hours each day. Every district government from the remote inland to the nearest war-zones has been instructed by the Ministry to place the enforcement of mass education above all other wartime duties. The Ministry will appoint a director to each province to direct and supervise the universal educational activities within his domain.

Lessons in the adult education classes differ widely from their peace-time contents which included Chinese, arithmetic, music, history, geography, hygiene and vocational training. The war-time curriculum will consist mainly of courses that have a bearing on national defence and anti-aggression. Instruction in patriotic singing, public health, air-raid precautions and current events will be particularly stressed. Each student is required to learn at least 1,200 words in rudimentary Chinese during the two months. Textbooks are prepared by the Ministry which distributes them to every province. In 1938, Kwangsi province alone received 3,000,000 copies from the Ministry in addition to a cash subsidy. Last year over 1,500,000 students graduated from the various universal adult education classes in Kwangsi, which, according to the latest official report, now possesses only 1,800,000 illiterates out of a total population of over 12,000,000. The provincial authorities have alrealy mobilized 6,000 teachers to eradicate illiteracy in Kwangsi in the next 12 months.

The popularisation of adult education, according to the officials of the Education Ministry, will not in any way conflict with the nation's conscription law.

The Ministry will not interfere with the recruiting officers while drafting men for service, but it requires them to set aside two hours a day in the training camps for teaching the youths how to read and write.

Before the fall of Hankow, a big anti-illiteracy movement affecting 500,000 persons in that Central China city had most remarkable results. For the six months following its inauguration, two classes of 100,000 adults received the benefits of education and the third class was just about to start when the critical war situation compelled the authorities to end the campaign.

In Chungking today, more than 4,000 adults have already graduated from the first mass education class jointly sponsored by the Ministry of Education, the Generalissimo's Headquarters and the Municipal Government. The Chungking women police-cadets have already completed a house-to-house canvass which showed that there are still 150,000 illiterates among the city's 500,000 people. It is expected that within a year Chungking will have set an example to other Szechwan cities in having completely banished illiteracy.

Adverse Social Legislation in the Soviet Union

Not very long ago, the Communist dictatorship of Russia sought to inspire public opinion with the supremacy of the working class. According to Salomon Schwartz, who contributes a paper on the subject to *Jewish Frontier*, there occurred a change of outlook in the course of the past year; it is becoming more and more evident that the latest development of Soviet Russia is going in the direction of the social retrenchment of the working class. This recent social political reaction appears under the cloak of increasing labour discipline and greater production and is revealed in a series of legal changes.

Workers' Sick Benefit Insurance

Heretofore, health insurance in the U.S.S.R. was outstanding for its high rates of sick benefits.

In 1931, this regulation was curtailed inasmuch as the right to the full sick benefit (*i.e.*, 100% of the wages) was determined by the length of time during which the recipient had been a wage-earner in general (this is the so-called "general labor tenure"), as well as by the period of his engagement as a wage-earner in a given establishment (the labor tenure in the last establishment). These limitations which in 1931 were specifically based on policy of production, have now been extremely elaborated. The general "labor tenure" has now been completely eliminated from the laws of health insurance. That law pertains only to the labor tenure of the latest establish-

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ment. The idea of binding the worker to the establishment is thus very poignantly emphasized. The right to full sick benefit is accorded only to workers and employees who have been with a given establishment for six years. Those who have worked in the same establishment three to six years are entitled to 80% of their sick benefit, those who worked from two to three years, receive 60%, and those who stayed less than two years, obtain only 30% of their total sick benefit. Furthermore, the worker forfeits his right to sick benefit during the first six months in a new establishment, if he has himself severed the ties with his former establishment, even after giving necessary notice (and the period of serving notice has now been greatly extended), or has been discharged "on account of violations of the labor discipline."

The regulations mentioned above apply only to members of the Trade Unions. For non-members, they are even more stringent.

Maternity Insurance Laws

No less drastic is the reform in maternity insurance:

Heretofore, the benefits paid in the Soviet Union to expectant mothers and to those in child-bed, was for eight weeks preceding and that many weeks following childbirth (at the rate of sick benefit). Until very recently, this regulation was regarded as the pride of Russian social legislation. Suddenly it changed. After December 11, 1938, numerous communications and articles in the Soviet press began to attack the then existing maternity insurance laws, and there was no one who raised his voice in their defense. It was contended that the period of public support was too long. The argument was that expectant mothers worked in their household almost until the day prior to confinement. Similarly, they maintained that with the present development of nurseries, mothers need not be released from work for so many weeks after childbirth. But these correspondents forget that the nurseries are not sufficiently developed to take care of all the children. The problem was then solved by the decision of December 28. Maternity support is now given for a period of five weeks before and four weeks after childbirth. The right to this support is accorded only to those women who have worked at least seven months in a given establishment prior to the beginning of the benefit period.

Workers' Vacation Laws

The "Reform" of vacation rights moves in the same direction. Heretofore the regulation was that a worker was entitled to two weeks vacation a year, except that he had to be employed in the given establishment for five and half months prior to his vacation period. It was furthermore carefully so provided that the worker could not take advantage of the regulation and get two vacation periods in the same year (in two establishments).

The decision of December 28th lays down a strict and universal law that the right to vacation is accorded only after eleven months of employment in a given establishment. The same policy of "increasing the labor discipline" by means of pressure against the workers is also manifest in a series of modifications of the law of labor contracts.

Absentees from work without excuse are to be discharged without notice. According to an interpreting paragraph of January 8, 1939, it was strictly ruled that tardiness of 20 minutes without excuse should be considered as inexcusable absence from work, which is punishable by immediate discharge. Accordng to the "decision" of the 28th of December, those who have been discharged from work are to be dispossessed from their workers' home within ten days, regardless of whether or not the Housing Bureau has given them another dwelling. The same regulation pertains to those employees who terminated their working engagements of their own accord.

In case the employee proves—through legal proceedings—that he was discharged unjustly, he is entitled to a monetary consideration of a maximum of 20 days work, and not as heretofore to the full equivalent of the period of employment lost because of the discharge.

The Burmese Stage

Writing in the year 1902, a Burman observed that the Burmese dramatic performance was neither opera, nor tragedy, nor comedy, nor farce, nor melodrama, but a heroic blend of all five. The following notes on the Burmese stage as it is today appear in a paper by Dr. J. A. Stewart, Reader in Burmese at the University of London School of Oriental and African Studies, read before the India and Burma section of the Royal Society of Arts, London, and published in the *Journal* of the Society.

A performance lasts about eight hours, from nine in the evening till five in the morning. The audience includes people who are prepared to make a night of it, and others whose limit is about 2 a.m. The show, therefore, is made to consist of two crescendo movements, one culminating about two and the other at dawn, From nine till midnight the time is occupied by a ballet, a short scene, usually involving the appearance of a King and ministers, in which the foundation of the plot is laid, and a scene of singing and dancing between a subsidiary pair of lovers—usually a Prince and Princess—who have probably nothing to do with the plot. The real hero and heroine—again a Prince and Princess—then come on, and with the aid of clowns in attendance on them, go through a stock scene which is known as "the plighting of troth." In this a few words may be said about the plot, but it is soon forgotten and the scene consists of alternate or simultaneous singing and dancing, the Prince ardent, the Princess coy or perhaps provoking a quarrel, with frequent interjections by the clowns designed to vary the entertainment and to give the Prince and Princess time to recover their wind. During this scene all the performers have been addressing each other by their real names, stimulating the orchestra to greater efforts, and occasionally making speeches to the audience. About two o'clock, after two hours of really hard work, somebody remembers that they had started with the intention of acting a play, and, with a few more words as to the plot, the scene closes.

Those of the audience who have a day's work waiting them now depart, and those who are left get better places nearer the stage. The scenes which next follow are between subsidiary characters necessary to the plot. But after about an hour's rest the Prince and Princess must reappear for more singing, this time relevant to their parts, and must take part with all the other characters in the riotous scene of mingled pathos and farce, which usually concludes the play. In these latter scenes—subsequent to the plighting of troth—the plot is developed intelligently, and one may see some real acting, both tragic and comic.

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The secrets of success of an entertainment of this kind are—competence in the members of the company and good companionship.

There are any number of plots of sorts ready to hand in the Buddha lives or in local folk-lore, and all that has to be done in this regard is to decide on the characters, select the players, and inform them of the scenes in which they will have to appear. The company has probably a specialist who will provide the necessary songs, set to new, or partially new, airs of his own, or to traditional airs. The orchestra produces its own incidental music, on a basis of tradition, with liberal borrowings from foreign music of the moment. The rest is improvisation. A play may vary from performance to performance as the actors happen to think of new business or dialogue. The amount of dancing and singing may be more or less according to the degree of appreciation shown by the audience. Each member of the company must be ready to respond to the inspiration of another. They must therefore be all friends together, and, in particular, must be zealous friends and servants of the actor-manager. This essential good-companionship is secured by a practically communal life during the touring season, when the whole company forms a family of which the actor-manager is the strict but kindly head. He is commonly addressed as *Saya*, "teacher, patron."

Zakat : the Economic Basis of Islamic Tithes

Jatindramohon Datta writes in the *Economic Journal* :

The religion of Islam may for all practical purposes be divided into two parts : faith and practice. The articles of religious practice are fourfold : Prayer including Ablution, Alms, Fasting and Pilgrimage. We are here concerned with the second article of Practice, *viz.*, the giving of alms. There are in Islam two kinds of alms : (1) those prescribed by the Law, called ZAKAT, like tithes in the Christian Church, to be made in specified proportions, whether in money, wares, cattle, corn or fruit; and voluntary gifts, called SADAKAT, made at the discretion of the giver. Every Muhammadan is enjoined, in one way or another, to dispense a *tenth* of his revenue in relief of the indigent and distressed. It is his religious duty to spend or to give ZAKAT.

The question is whether this almost compulsory charity of one-tenth of the individual income was fixed empirically and arbitrarily; or it had some basis of justification in the economic structure (perhaps imperfectly observed) of the early Islamic communities.

In every normal community, which is not in the grip of actual famine, or in the midst of a big war, the number of persons who earn sufficiently to make the two ends meet (which we shall call subsistence-mark) must exceed those who do not so earn. Let us as a first approximation and as an extreme case suppose the two numbers to be equal to each other. Among those who earn sufficiently the Pareto Law of distribution of Incomes will hold good. But the Pareto Law cannot be expected to apply to those whose earning is below the subsistence-mark. Let us suppose that among this class the distribution of incomes is linear, and that it varies from subsistence-mark to half of it; for to suppose that a given large portion of the community is permanently below the semi-starvation limit is to suppose permanent famine conditions.

He then shows that the ZAKAT collected is sufficient to meet the wants of the poorer portion of the community.

Allowing for the cost of collection of ZAKAT, and some thing for evasion—both wilful and unconscious, there sufficiently close correspondence between the two sides the equation to warrant us to think that the amount ZAKAT was not fixed *arbitrarily* but was based on a vance of the economic structure of the then Islamic So and its wants.

The Child as an Individual

C. F. Whitcomb observes in *America* :

Progressive education in its absorption with the tr ing of the child as a member of the group seems obscure the development of the child as an individ The training of a child to take his place in no mat what current political or economic society is a ri business. It shares the weakness of all systems wh see man from a temporary rather than from permanent status. The man educated to be good democrat (or a good Nazi or a good Com nist, for that matter) falls into two dangers : first, individuality is minimized to the glory of the commun the State, and the eventual deification of its leade secondly, instead of learning to be a man, an individu he becomes simply another democrat, another Nazi, other Communist, existing solely for the glory of t party or State. So, education based on a philosophy social values alone, disregards the first, the primal r of man, his consideration as an individual, as a child God, who is superior to any temporal order or system.

Germany's Uncertain Economic Future

John C. deWilde concludes his monogra on Germany's controlled economy (in *Fore Policy Reports*) with the following observation on Germany's uncertain economic future :

The growing difficulties with which the Reich had to contend recently cast doubt on the freque heard boast of the Nazis that they have devised "depression-proof" economy. While collapse is unlik there are short-term dangers which menace the regim ted economic stability in Germany. The most immed of these is the highly unfavourable development of trade balance, which strikes at the vitals of Ger economic life—the supply of raw materials. It certa suggests that Germany could not withstand concer economic pressure applied by other countries over a p longed period. A more remote danger, perhaps, is strained condition of German finances. Continuation the present rate of spending may ultimately lead to o inflation despite the tight control which the governm exercises over wages and prices. Yet it is well remember that the government can obtain more fund reducing consumption and, in case of emergency, s down its armament and public works program.

From the long-range point of view one may question the stability of Nazi economy. Owing to nature of government spending, a serious disproport has developed between the capital goods and the co mers' goods industry. Should Germany return some to more normal peace-time activity, this may prove a serious problem. The government's economic exp often talk of the necssity of ultimately returning regime of private enterprise, yet the measures they meanwhile devised for the regimentation of business gone far toward destroying that managerial talent

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initiative which are a prerequisite for this change. Already government control of economic life has produced a welter of regulations involving the conduct of business in all sorts of bureaucratic restrictions which may ultimately produce stagnation. Up to the present, German business has been kept going largely by lavish government spending. When a reduction in such expenditures becomes imperative, Germany will face the serious problems involved in a transition from public to private enterprise. While the large, stored-up demand for housing, plant and equipment, and consumers' goods can provide Germany with plenty of work in such an eventuality, the change from one type of activity to another will entail difficult readjustment. It is then that the ingenuity of authoritarian economic methods will be put to real test. Meanwhile, the Nazis have kept the Germans hard at work, but only at the expense of regimented consumption and the loss of individual freedom and enterprise.

Hitler Goes to the Arabs

German Propaganda has been extremely busy for some time past in the Near East, where the Germans have spent large sums of money to create unrest and to further their own influence. Writing in *Asia*, Albrt Viton discusses the German aims in the Near East.

I do not think that Berlin's primary aim is to prepare the ground for a Germanic invasion. Not at the moment. To be sure, conversations with German diplomatic representatives in the Near East have convinced me that the old dream of a Berlin-Baghdad-Basra railroad running through German-controlled territory is by no means dead. No Nazi imperialist will agree to stop the *Drang nach Osten* at the gates of Istanbul. But these are dreams, not factors in practical politics at the immediate present. For one thing, the Germans realize that tremendous amounts of capital and labor will be required to develop the Near East, neither of which they will be able to afford for a long time to come. Other areas closer to the Reich offer better prospects for immediate returns. Another thing, the Nazis have assigned the Near East to Mussolini in payment for holding the other end of the Axis. They are perfectly willing to allow Mussolini to take over the territory first and do there the dirty spade work. They can afford to wait.

Of greater immediate importance are other considerations. As the writer points out, the Germans realise that the Near East offers an ideal field from which to harass the British and French empires and bleed them of troops.

This is not synonymous with the much-advertised nuisance value. The latter, invented by Il Duce, implied a more or less passive role and became a country like Italy, which is and bids fair to remain a second-rate power. Germany, however, is a first-rate power which can afford to play an active role. While Italian propaganda, even during its most active period in 1936-1937, was aimed to create among the Arabs so nebulous a thing as cultural good will, the German brand is designed for the sole purpose of making trouble for France and England—especially England—by creating bloody disturbances which require the concentration of troops.

For, two facts are clear to the German general staff. First, more British troops were concentrated between the Mediterranean and the Indian Ocean during the World War than on the Western Front. Second, native guerrilla warfare in Libya and French Morocco since the World War has resulted in the death of at least a couple of hundred thousand soldiers. Exactly how many men the French are losing every year in their African possessions will not be known for many a decade, if ever; nor have reliable figures been published of Italian losses in Libya. The Germans are, however, convinced that the French and Italian losses have been colossal. A German military officer I met in the Balkans pointed out to me that no type of warfare has such bad effects upon the morale of modern armies as guerrilla. Five or six thousand active guerrillas can easily neutralize fifty to seventy-five thousand trained and well-armed soldiers, and keep them busy too.

They do not, as the Italians did, distribute petty sums to village nonentities who promise to pray for the Leader. They place not the slightest value on Arab sympathy with their cause, and do not much care what the Arabs think of them so long as they can get the Arabs to riot. Their method is to operate through leaders with large followings, at whose disposal they place considerable resources and, what is even more important, plenty of ammunition.

BAIDYANATH DURING THE BHADRA PURNIMA.

Baidyanath Dham, which is considered as an important "tirth," is visited every year by a large number of pilgrims. It is said that the most auspicious time to make offerings to Sree Baidyanath for blessings is during the Bhadra Purnima (26th September to 3rd October). The famous "Bhadra Purnima" Mela is also held during this festival.

Before the advent of the Railways this "tirtha" encircled by dense forests could only be visited by an adventurous few. The Railways now bring it within the reach of all. Those who propose to visit Baidyanath cannot do better than to take advantage of the extended week-end return tickets that will be issued by the East Indian Railways.

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INDIAN WOMANHOOD

MISS LEELA GHOSE has earned the distinction of being the first Indian lady to be appointed to Ministerial service of the Government of India in the Defence Department, after having passed the examination of the Federal Public Service Commission. Miss Ghosh hails from Dacca.

MISS PRATIBHA GHOSE DASTIDAR is the only Bengalee girl who has come out successful in the final M.B. Examination of the Calcutta University this year. She took the M.B. Course in the Calcutta Medical College where she was awarded a scholarship. She hails from Gava, Barisal.

Rani Pritam Kumari

RANI PRITAM KUMARI of Sahaspur presided over the fifth Agra Province Zemindars' Conference which met at Beneras in July 1939.

Mrs. Pratibha Rastogi

MRS. PRATIBHA RASTOGI stood first in the M.A. Degree examination of the Benares Hindu University.

The lady students who received the degree of the Indian Women's University.
The Indian Women's University Convocation was held this year at Sir Cowasji Jehangir Hall under the Presidentship of the Hon'ble Mr. B. G. Kher

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THE PAUSE BEFORE DANZIG

By GOPAL HALDAR

Frederic II, who once annexed the city of Danzig and the present Corridor stated in his "Political Testament": "He who holds the mouth of the Vistula and Danzig will dominate Poland more than he who rules over her." The Free City of Danzig and the Polish Corridor, therefore, acquire peculiar importance in the politics of Eastern Europe, and, the Nazi game around it, as is easily understood, is not limited to the City or the Corridor as its objective, but extends to the country beyond and around, the country that expired once and came to life again in the Versailles Palace. Versailles has been written off, and the new born nations and states of Versailles are going down. Poland, the largest of them, has been facing the hour of her trial ever since March last. Danzig and the Corridor are now on the Nazi programme of German expansionism.

Danzig and the Corridor in the Past

The Free City of Danzig is ethnologically German. There are 408,000 inhabitants of which 96,000 are of the City itself. Ninety-six per cent of the population is German. This is due to the fact that the Order of the Teutonic Knights had in the Middle Ages got control of the City, founded by the Slav Dukes of Pomerellen. It had already seen many masters before the Teutonic Knights came—Pomerania, Poland, Brandenburg, Denmark. But the Order of the Teutonic Knights germanised the territory and then gave it the tone and colour that has persisted still. The City changed masters. It became one of the four chief cities of the Hanseatic League. In 1455 it incorporated with Poland which allowed it to maintain its right as a Free City. After the partition of Poland in 1793 it became Prussian, and, only for 8 years, 1807-1815, after the treaty of Tilsitt, a Franco-Polish garrison marked a break of the Prussian occupation of the City until the Versailles Treaty of 1918. But meanwhile the old Hanseatic city sank to the rank of a small provincial garrison town.

The Corridor has a past equally varied but not identical in all respects. People of Slav origin were its masters and inhabitants until 966 A.D., when it came under the domination of the Polish Kings which lasted until 1308. Then the Order of the Teutonic Knights held it up till 1454,—though the results of their rule are less pronounced here than in the City of Danzig. For, only one-third of the population—of the 600,000 inhabitants of the territorry—are German; Poles and Kashubes make up the remaining two-third. The Poles who came after the Order of the Teutonic Knights in 1454, and remained in control of the area up to 1772, held their own in this rural side against the germanising process, so much so, that even though the territory was passed off to the Prussian King, Frederic II, at the first Partition of Poland, the Prussian tone and colour could not predominate in the composition of its population. The Prussian rule came to an end by the Treaty of Versailles, as is known, when it returned to Poland, now brought back to life.

Versailles Creations

At Versailles the State-makers were at pains to give Poland an outlet to the sea and give her back her natural hinterland which comprised of the City of Danzig. A new State, a re-born Poland, could otherwise neither stand on her legs nor effectively rise in the East as a powerful barrier against Germany. But Danzig with its immediate neighbourhood was German in population—and the war was fought on the principle of self-determination for peoples. The masters of Europe at Versailles determined the conflicting issues in their own typical way. Danzig and the German rural are a around it were not to be incorporated in the Polish speaking Corridor immediately to the West as the map shows. The town of Danzig with the surrounding territory was formed, therefore, into a Free City, to be placed under the protection of the League of Nations.

The League of Nations also appoints a High Commissioner, and the City is under him and a Polish High Commissioner. Internally Danzig is controlled by a Senate of 12 members, elected by the Diet or *Volkstag* of 72 members. Both today are predominantly National-Socialists (Nazi). The foreign policy of Danzig could be directed by Poland, but Poland had long yielded this right to the Danzig authorities. Outside the City on an extra-territorial piece of ground, called the Westernplatte, situated at the mouth of the river Vistula (Weichsel), Poland maintained a small garrison, and since January,

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1922, the Polish-German customs frontier ex- tends to the sea. So, there is a customs unio between Danzig and Poland.

Importance of Danzig

Danzig witnessed a new life as Polan came to life again. Polish trade made of th provincial town a port of world importanc The total tonnage movement before War wa scarcely 1 million tons; today it is about millions of tons. The exports of course exce the imports by almost 5:1, and the chi items of Danzig's exports are coal, saw timber, grain; those of imports salt herrin coffee, ores and sulphates. Approximately 3 per cent of Poland's exports and imports pa through Danzig.

For Poland thus the importance of Danzig both geographically and economically, is evide It represents the mouth of the river Vistul the gate of the Corridor; it is the Polish outl to the world overseas; it is the key statio to the Polish economic order. Its strateg importance follows from the above. The Balt Sea would be at the command of the Germa Navy, which already is inferior to none in th region. Danzig thus would give contr over the Baltic shores. Besides, th adage of Frederick II, Hitler knows, is as applicable today as in the past. In the hands of Hitler, Danzig would acquire a decisive position. The Corridor would be hardly defensible; Poland would be cut off from the sea and necessarily depend on the goodwill of th Fuehrer for a means of access to the sea This would turn an independent Poland into vassal State of Germany, and since th liquidation of Czecho-Slovakia and acquisitio of Memel, that naturally is the big item i the Fuehrer's programme. After the Czec annexation, it is impossible any more to decei oneself with the Hitlerian doctrine that th object of the present Germany is nothing b a unification of the German races. Danzi Germans have still less to complain of "oppre sion" that the Sudetenlanders raised agai the Czechs. The Free City enjoys self-gover ment; and even its Nazi character is fuli recognized by Poland. "The annexation which Hitler aspires has nothing to do eith with Germany's 'vital space,' or 'the liber tion of oppressed brethren.' It is to secure leverage for controlling Poland."

Poland's Position

The clouds over Danzig lowered not all a sudden, nor out of nothing. They approach

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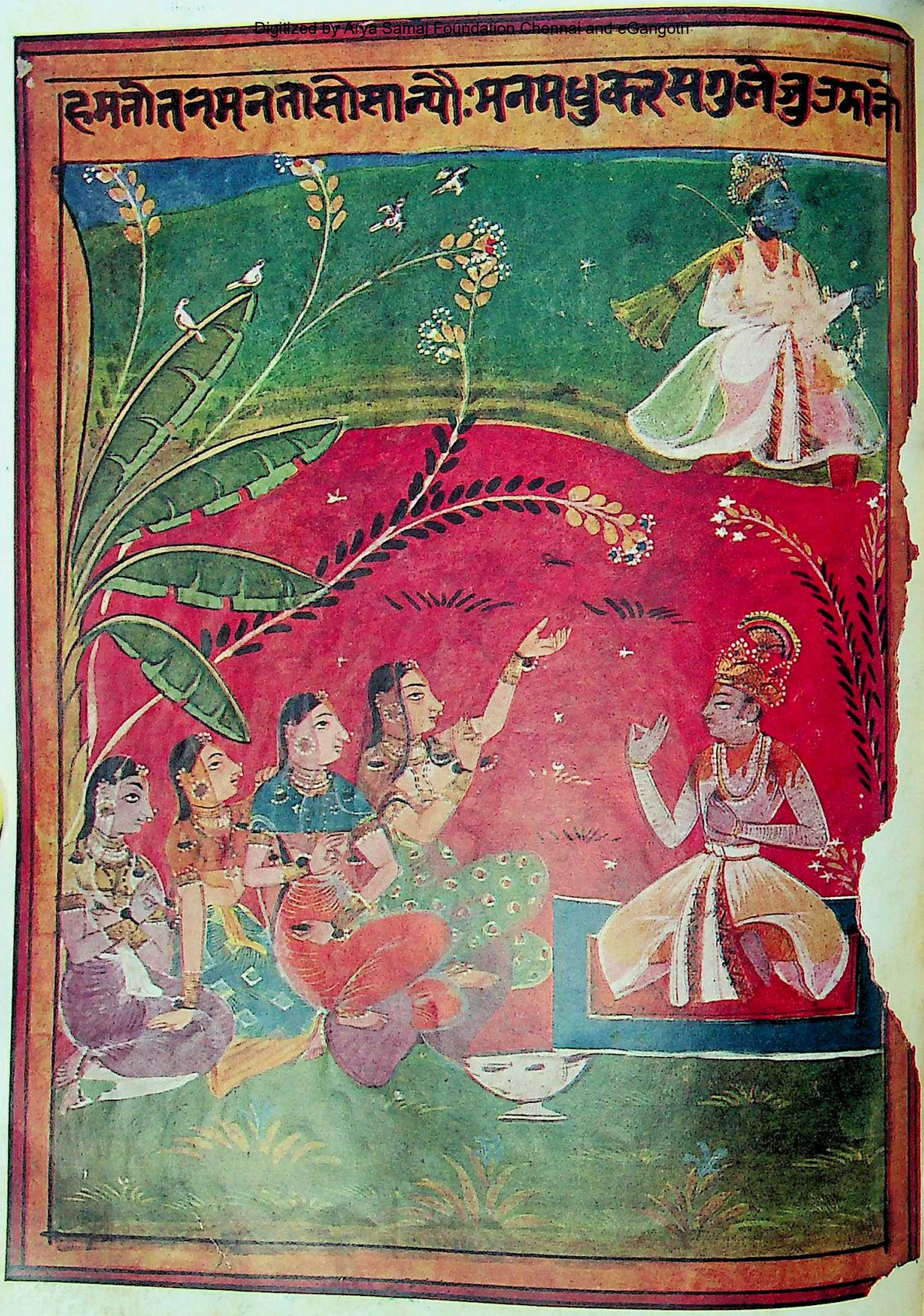

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THE MESSAGE OF UDDHAVA

AN EPISODE FROM THE BHAGAVATA

[Southern Rajasthani School]

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THE MODERN REVIEW

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NOTES

"The Modern Review" Not Surprised at Soviet-German Pacts

The Modern Review for July last, page 16, contained a note foreshadowing some sort of understanding which was going to be arrived at between Hitler and Stalin. Therefore the news relating to the Soviet-German pacts do not come to us as a surprise. And some people in China had glimpses of the Soviet-German courtparlers so far back as May last. Were the British secret service men asleep ?

Earlier, when M. Litvinov, who is a Jew, resigned or had to resign, it was surmised that that was due to the influence of Nazi anti-semitism.

Our July note bore the head-line "*Hitler is Courting Stalin*" and ran as follows :

"*The China Weekly Review* for June 3, 1939, has an article on how "Hitler is Courting Stalin" which is too long to quote in full or to summarize. We quote only the last two paragraphs.

"If, indeed, Soviet-Nazi rapprochement becomes a fact and Moscow finally declines to be drawn into the orbit of the democratic "encirclement policy," the effect on the Far Eastern situation will be far-reaching. Japan will be left completely isolated, for Italy counts but little in the Far Eastern situation, while Germany, because she is Soviet Russia's most powerful neighbour, counts for a great deal. With its hands united in Europe for agreement with Hitler, Soviet Russia will surely adopt a firmer policy toward Japan in the Far East and Dai Nippon would find herself compelled to tread very warily out here.

"During the past week, inspired press dispatches have contained threats that Japan will join the German-Italian alliance if Soviet Russia enters a military alliance with Britain and France. But what will Japan do if Soviet Russia, instead, makes friends with Nazi Germany? That is a much more interesting question. In such an event, perhaps, Japan will join up with Britain and France. This is not at all impossible, for Britain and France would then have sound reasons for *rapprochement* with Japan. But it will be a bad day for China if such a thing comes to pass."

The Uniqueness of Nepal

The uniqueness of Nepal consists in two or three facts : it is the only independent part of India; it is the only independent Hindu State in the world; and it is in this State alone that *under the existing circumstances* the Hindus can be taught "to rise to the full stature of their growth" in the twentieth century, as Shivaji taught the Hindus of his age to rise to the full stature of their growth.

What was Shivaji's achievement and what did he expect the Hindus of his age to achieve ?

In *Shivaji And His Times*, Sir Jadunath Sarkar concludes his masterly summary of Shivaji's achievement, character and place in history in the following paragraphs :

"Before he came, the Marathas were mere hirelings, mere servants of aliens. They served the State, but had no lot or part in its management; they shed their life-blood in the army, but were denied any share in the conduct of war or peace. They were always subordinates, never leaders.

"Shivaji was the first to challenge Bijapur and Delhi and thus teach his countrymen that it was possible for them to be independent leaders in war. Then, he founded a State and taught his people that they were capable of administering a kingdom in all its departments. He has

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proved by his example that the Hindu race can build a nation, found a State, defeat enemies; they can conduct their own defence; they can protect and promote literature and art, commerce and industry; they can maintain navies and ocean-going fleets of their own, and conduct naval battles on equal terms with foreigners. He taught the modern Hindus to rise to the full stature of their growth.

"He has proved that the Hindu race can still produce not only *jamadars* (non-commissioned officers) and *chitnises* (clerks), but also rulers of men, and even a king of kings (*chhatrapati*). The Emperor Jahangir cut the *Akshay Bat* tree of Allahabad down to its roots and hammered a red-hot iron cauldron on to its stump. He flattered himself that he had killed it. But lo! within a year the tree began to grow again and pushed the heavy obstruction to its growth aside!

"Shivaji has shown that the tree of Hinduism is not really dead, that it can rise from beneath the seemingly crushing load of centuries of political bondage, exclusion from the administration, and legal repression; it can put forth new leaves and branches; it can again lift up its head to the skies."—Pp. 405-406.

Shivaji had to carve out an independent State. But as Nepal *is* an independent State, the statesmen whose high task it is to guide its destinies need not do what Shivaji had to do to secure for himself and his people unrestricted scope for their activities for the attainment of the highest level of enlightenment, prosperity and political status and power then attainable. Nepalese statesmen have the field ready for their operations.

As regards defence, Shivaji required a navy as well as a land army. Nepal, not being a maritime kingdom, does not require to and cannot have a navy. Its soldiers are among the finest in the world. One may be sure that the supreme commander of the Nepalese forces has an eye to the most up-to-date equipment for his army and also to aerial safety.

The short article on Nepal and its supreme Ruler published in this issue of *The Modern Review* shows that His Highness the Maharaja Joodha Shumsher Jung Bahadur Rana has been exerting himself to make his people great in literature and art and commerce and industry also and that he has moved in the direction of making citizens of them in the modern sense.

We cordially congratulate him on the seventh anniversary of his accession to his high office, which is to be celebrated today, the first of September.

Modernization in Nepal

It was twenty-eight years ago that Nepal took the first step for the subsequent abolition of slavery in that kingdom, thereby placing itself in a line with those modern civilized countries which value man's personal and individual freedom highly. This decisive step of modernization taken by Nepal attracted our attention when we were at Geneva in September 1926 at the invitation of the League of Nations. In that month Sir William Vincent, leader of the Indian Delegation to the League, made a speech in the League Assembly on the slavery convention. On a passage in that speech we sent from Geneva on the 30th September, 1926, the following editorial note, which appeared in *The Modern Review* for November, 1926:

"WAS ABOLITION OF SLAVERY IN NEPAL DUE TO LEAGUE'S INFLUENCE?

"Sir William Vincent concluded his speech (on the slavery convention) by saying:—

Such has been the moral influence of the work of the League and of the high ideals for which it stands, that I saw in the *Times* the other day a statement, and I have no reason whatever to doubt it, that the State of Nepal, an independent State not in India but on the northern frontier, has recently completed the liberation of 50,000 slaves at a cost of £375,000 paid by the State. That is a result on which the State of Nepal may, I think, be congratulated, and is clear evidence of the influence of the League in the East.

"We are not unwilling to give credit where credit is due. But we do not remember to have heard or read before that the State of Nepal has abolished slavery *under the influence of the League*, of which Nepal is not a member. We should like our readers in Nepal and elsewhere or others who know either to confirm or to contradict what Sir William has said."

Evidently in response to our request Mr. A. C. Rai sent us a communication from Kathmandu, Nepal, which appeared in full in *The Modern Review* for December, 1926, from which some extracts are given below.

Nepal is not a member of the League and one fails to understand how the League could have influenced her in her decision to abolish slavery. The abolition in Nepal has been entirely due to a spontaneous act of generosity and heroism on the part of Maharaja Chandra Shamshere, Prime Minister and de facto ruler of Nepal and not to any external influence or moral pressure from the League or any other body. This is evident from the report on abolition issued by the Anti-slavery Office, Kathmandu (August, 1920), a summary of which appeared only two months ago in almost all the leading journals of India. According to this communique, upon which the *Times* report is based, the Maharaja's anti-slavery campaign began as far back as the year 1919 when the first Census was taken of the entire slave population in Nepal, which was followed by a second Census in 1920 and a third in 1923-24. It also appears that in the year 1920, certain important anti-slavery laws were passed whereby it was enacted that "escaped slaves who had resided for ten years or more in a foreign land would be automatically declared free-men and that those who had been away for three years might on their return home claim emancipation on payment of the legal

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amounts to their former masters." (*The Pioneer*, August 30, 1926).

Thus various measures for manumission of Nepal slaves were adopted by His Highness the Maharaja long before the League appointed its first commission of inquiry on the subject of slavery in the year 1922. At a time when the League could hardly exercise any influence in territories beyond its direct control, the Maharaja of Nepal began seriously tackling the problem and tactfully preparing his country for that great announcement which he was to make in November, 1924, of his final determination to eradicate slavery from his land.

Mr. A. C. Rai added :

Mr. John Harris, Parliamentary Secretary to the Anti-slavery and Aborigines Protection Society, says : "Not within living memory has such a remarkable step been *spontaneously* taken by any Government with regard to slavery."

After quoting relevant passages from the *Westminster Gazette* and the *Manchester Guardian*, Mr. Rai observed :

So far from the Maharaja's action being influenced by the League we have on the other hand every reason to believe that it was his campaign against slavery that attracted the attention of the League which recently appointed the Slavery Commission to deal with slavery and conscripted labour in various parts of the globe." (*The Times of India*, September 1, 1926).

In an editorial note on Mr. A. C. Rai's long and important statement we observed : "The above statement therefore fully corroborates our editorial remarks in *The Modern Review* for November 1926" (already quoted).

In spite of what appeared in *The Modern Review* Sir William Vincent's mistake was not acknowledged. On the contrary, it was repeated. So we wrote the following editorial note in our issue for February 1927, page 260 :

"NEPAL AND THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

"Nepal is not a member of the League of Nations, and had been making preparations for the abolition of slavery a decade before the establishment of the League. Yet Sir William Vincent claimed for the League credit for the abolition of slavery in that independent kingdom. The hollowness of this claim has been exposed in this Review, but nevertheless it has place, unaltered, in the 'Final Report of the Delegates of India to the Seventh (ordinary) Session of the Assembly of the League of Nations (1926)'. We suggest that some future "delegate of India" should claim that the abolition of slavery by Great Britain and the U.S.A., in the last century, was due to the retrospective influence of the League."

At long last, however, the mistake was admitted. So we wrote in our issue of October, 1927 :

"ABOLITION OF SLAVERY IN NEPAL AGAIN

"We are glad our repeated contradictions of Sir William Vincent's story that Nepal abolished slavery under the influence of the League of Nations have borne fruit. The Maharaja of Kapurthala (as a 'delegate of India') admitted at a League meeting this year that the League had nothing to do with it—Nepal did it independently."

All honour to Nepal and its Ruler that this great act of humanity was done *spontaneously*—not under any sort of external pressure or influece.

Forced Labour in How Many Indian States ?

In the chapter on Findings and Recommendations in the Orissa States Enquiry Committee's Report we find the following paragraphs :

11. *Bethi, Begari, Rasad, Magan, Bheti* :—Forced labour and contributions are widely prevalent. Regulations sanctioned by the Rulers and the Political Agents are usually set at naught and people continue to groan under the weight of these systems and usages.

12. Of these *bethi* for *kheda* operations to catch elephants, still in vogue in several States, is intensely hated by the public. *Bethi* for shikar excursions, with its attendant evils, still persists.

Nepal could abolish slavery spontaneously, without the stimulus of the pressure or influence of the League of Nations or the British Government, but obviously the great influence of the Paramount Power has not availed to put a stop to forced labour in many an Indian State. We wonder in how many of these States it still persists. We would in this connection draw attention to a four-column editorial note on the subject in *The Modern Review* for August, 1926. In our issue for November, 1926, page 563, a statement of that year's Indian Delegation to the League of Nations is quoted to the effect that

Recent enquiries have satisfied the Government of India that slavery in the ordinary sense is not now practised in any Indian State and that where conditions are present which may be held to amount to forced labour of the kind against which the draft convention is directed, no serious abuses exist, and progress is in fact being made in removing or mitigating such conditions.

That was in 1926. In 1939 "such conditions" persist "unmitigated" in many States. And in 1926 itself in October *The Servant of India* wrote :—

"We read in the memorial sent to the Maharaja of Jodhpur by the All India Raona Rajput Mahasabha, Ajmer, that the Raona Rajput community in Jodhpur State (numbering 46,677) has been groaning under a most pernicious practice known as the 'slavery of Raonas'—a malevolent and inhuman measure passed by the Consul-

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tative Council of Jodhpur State, dated the 11th July, 1926, under which the master of the Raona has the absolute right of maintaining and extracting work from them, of setting them free at will and calling them back on necessity of giving away the daughters of Raonas or whole families of them as dowry of Rajput daughters, even if the Raona be serving elsewhere at the time . . ."

The Subodha Patrika of Bombay of approximately the same date drew attention, to what a correspondent of the *Times of India* had written about Hyderabad. According to him, in Hyderabad "each aristocratic house overflows with any number of purchased slaves—men and women—and this in spite of the recent firman of the Nizam against forced labour."

We wonder whether the state of things in Jodhpur and Hyderabad, and in many other States, is the same now as in 1926. Forced labour exists in some Orissa States at any rate. We should be glad to give credit for its abolition (if and when it takes place through the instrumentality of the British Government) to the League of Nations at the proper time.

Russo-German Pacts

Trade follows the flag. Politics in the modern world may sometimes follow trade. First came the Russo-German trade pact, and then followed the Russo-German political or politico-military non-aggression pact. It is a very important episode in contemporary international history and is bound to have far-reaching consequences.

We will not speculate what the results will be—the scene shifts too rapidly and too often for a Monthly Reviewer.

The Russo-German pacts constitute a diplomatic defeat for Britain and France and may presage other kinds of reverses for them. Hitler has been too quick for them and perhaps also more of an opportunist than they, forgetting old scores. Of course, they also are opportunists. It is not any "eternal verities" or immutable principles which made them hesitate to come to some agreement with Soviet Russia; in the "real-politik" of no country is there any adherence to any immutable principle or eternal verity. What prevented France and Britain from concluding some sort of alliance with Russia was the memory of old unhappy far-off things, or some 'phobia,' some suspicion, or some political-caste feeling.

"Is Language or Creed A Greater Cause of Discord In India?"

An Irani professor of a college in Iran was good enough to pay us a visit the other day on his way back home from America where he had been during the last two years. In the course of our conversation, he asked us whether in India its many languages are a greater cause of disunity, discord and conflict than its many creeds, or *vice versa*? Though the question was somewhat unexpected, our reply was: "We have not yet taken to breaking one another's heads on the ground of our mother tongues being different, though all are not agreed as to what should be our common language. But we *have* broken one another's heads and bones and slain one another because of credal differences, and may do so again."

We did not then and do not now remember whether there have been any mild or severe *lathi* charges on Anti-Hindi Agitators in Madras. But it is true that in no province is anybody sent to jail for not being or for not agreeing to be a Hindu, a Muslim, . . . whereas in Madras it seems still to be true that people can be and are sent to jail for expressing their dissent in a particular way from a particular article in the linguistic creed of the Indian National Congress!

"Why Islam Is Strong In India"

The Irani professor referred to above gave expression to a rather interesting opinion of his of his own accord. As according to his personal observation and experience and his information regarding Islam, by which perhaps he meant Islamic bigotry and religiosity, it is not strong in Turkey, Iraq or Iran, he has come to the conclusion that it is strong here because the British Government back it.

That the British Government patronises and back Indian Muhammadans is a fact. Imperialistic policy requires it.

Satyagraha in Hyderabad Called Off

The Hindus and Arya-Samajists who have been carrying on satyagraha in Hyderabad for winning religious liberty, being satisfied with the assurances given by the Government of His Exalted Highness the Nizam, have discontinued the movement. Satyagraha had become inevitable as that government would not listen to reason, though the movement could not but cause some communal tension. Now that it happily over, it is to be hoped communal good feeling will be restored.

Satyagrahi Prisoners Released in Hyderabad

His Exalted Highness the Nizam and his Prime Minister Sir Akbar Hydari are to

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congratulated on the release of the satyagrahi prisoners. It will go a great way to conciliate public opinion. But alas! the memory of the heroic men who died in the course of the struggle will make people regret that the Hyderabad authorities had not been wise and humane in time.

Drought And Excessive Rainfall

Gujarat, Katthiawar and adjacent parts are suffering from drought and parts of Bengal from excessive rain. There is public sympathy for the sufferers from both these opposite causes. On such occasions immediate and temporary relief is required and given as far as the resources of the Government and the public permit. In addition, plans to prevent such distress have to be devised and carried out to the best of human scientific knowledge, skill and resources. But in India the people have no power and control over all the resources of the country, there is dearth of widespread scientific knowledge, engineering skill is utterly inadequate, and the public cannot even imagine that anything beyond occasional and temporary alleviation of distress is possible. The controlling personnel of the Government in India consists of birds of passage who think sufficient unto the day is the evil thereof and the Secretary of State for India residing in London is troubled more with anxiety for the safety of Britain and her Empire imperilled by the international situation than with the distress of the masses in different parts of India.

No wonder the people of India continue to be fatalists instead of being doughty fighters even with the forces of nature.

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's Visit to China

On the eve of his departure for China Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru declared that he was going to China, "heavy at heart, at the seemingly disruption of what she laboured to build these many years," adding: "I shall, however, bring back something of the courage and invincible optimism of the Chinese people and their capacity to pull together when peril confronts them." We do not have enough of these qualities.

In ancient times there was close spiritual and cultural connection between China and India. Rabindranath Tagore's visit to China some years ago revived this relationship. Those in China who value cultural intercourse between the two countries have enabled the Poet to establish the Cheena Bhavan in Santiniketan in order to systematically promote Sino-Indian studies. Cultural relationship such as that existing between these two great countries is more lasting and deeper than political alliances.

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's visit to China will draw the two countries closer together. It will enable the Pandit to establish various kinds of contacts, though effective political alliance between a dependent and an independent country is not practicable.

All lovers of freedom in India feel that China has been fighting not only for her own liberation but also for freeing the world from the menace of predatory aggression. She is fighting our battle, too. We wish her complete success. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru will make that quite clear.

Folk-lore in Andhra-desa

A correspondent of *The Hindu* of Madras writes to that paper:

RAJAHMUNDRY, Aug. 17.

Mr. Devendra Satyarthi, whose life-mission is to collect Indian folk-lore, paid a visit to the local Government Training School on Tuesday.

Mr. Satyarthi addressed the students of the school on "Folk-lore." He observed that the days in which the parents and masters alike felt it below their dignity to learn rustic songs were fast disappearing. In every country there was a movement to preserve the rich ancient folk-lore of the land. The purpose of the collection of folk-lore—of the songs of the mother who sang the lullaby, the woman who sang to the tune of the grinding mill, and the cultivator while garnering the harvest,—was to discover and illustrate the unity of thought underlying the songs and poems in every provincial language. These rustic songs would provide us with positive proof that India was a nation. They would also help us to reconstruct the national literature of the new India.

A recitation of Telugu ballads was given yesterday in the Training School by professional ballad singers.

Sir M. Visvesvaraya on Planned Economy for Provinces

Science and Culture for August has published Sir M. Visvesvaraya's note on "Planned Economy for Provinces." It describes what is planning and treats of "plan and its operation," "main heads of development," "industries in three classes," and "development campaign."

The main lines of advance have been summarized thus:

Of the proposals outlined in the preceding sections of this paper, the following items are fundamental for securing rapid economic advance:

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(1) Establishment of heavy industries, specially those relating to the manufacture of machinery and heavy chemicals,
Extensive spread of small-scale and cottage industries,
(2) Providing adequate tariff protection for both heavy and cottage industries,
(3) Increasing production under agriculture,
(4) Providing banking and credit facilities,
(5) Rapid extension of literacy,
(6) Establishing real self-government in villages,
(7) Introducing a District Development Scheme as outlined.

The following is a summary of the principal conclusions and recommendations:

(*i*) Economic Planning is a means to an end. The end is to secure a rise in material prosperity and standard of living.

(*ii*) Economic planning is part of a larger development, namely, "Planning for Reconstruction and Nation Building."

(*iii*) The organization best calculated to promote the proposed developments in a province will include (*a*) A Five-Year Plan, (*b*) A Development Department, (*c*) A Provincial Economic Council and (*d*) A Separate Development Budget.

(*iv*) The Five-Year Plan should give a schedule showing the growth or increase expected in the five-year interval, in income, production, trade, banking, and other occupations and activities within the province as previously indicated.

(*v*) The main result expected from these improvements is a rise in the standard of living. In the present case, a rise of at least 100 per cent should be attempted within five or seven years. It would, of course, be more if the Central Government were also autonomous.

(*vi*) In order that small scale and cottage industries may be successfully established, local self-government in villages must become a reality. There should be no hesitation to grant self-government to village populations to the same extent that Japan has done. Rightly directed the concession would help to stimulate creative power, aspiration and ambition among our rural communities.

(*vii*) Nation building will be a slow process at first but it is bound to grow as the country gets fuller control of money power, manufacturing power and power of defence. The banks are the mainstay for all growth.

(*viii*) A beginning in planning may be made in each Province at once by the *etablishment of a Development Department* under the supervision of a Minister with a competent secretary and a staff of three or more experts.

(*ix*) The Development Department should be able to start surveys and investigations and prepare a provisional Five-Year Plan as well as a plan for action in the first year.

(*x*) The resources of each province in men, material and equipment should be fully mobilised to serve these ends. The services of university and college professors, retired officials, economists, financiers, engineers, chemists and other experts, wherever available in the country, should be freely utilised by constituting commissions, committees, informal 'brain trusts' and the like. The men should be adequately rewarded for their services.

(*xi*) The huge waste of effort that is going on will be prevented, if the Government also awakens the general public to the fact that in present-day economy, agriculture, though a necessary occupation, plays a less important part than industries. In advanced Eng[illegible] agriculture, though protected and subsidised, is regar[illegible] as on the whole unprofitable.

(*xii*) This is a machine age. It is power machin[illegible] that moves heavy railway trains, immense sailing sh[illegible] military and naval armaments, automobiles, aeropla[illegible] mills, pumping engines and a host of other instrume[illegible] of mechanical production and propulsion. The condi[illegible] of the country will remain low and primitive until [illegible] deficiencies in mechanical equipment and use of machin[illegible] are speedily made good.

The development of a comprehensive scheme sho[illegible] not stand in the way of starting activities in each p[illegible] vince on an organised plan to enable its population [illegible] work for its more essential and urgent needs. This cl[illegible] of needs should be singled out and placed in the fo[illegible] front of the programme. The beginning of plann[illegible] development should not be delayed. With an e[illegible] beginning for instance, a village or a district may [illegible] able to show increase in its school-going or liter[illegible] population, at the end of the first year of operation [illegible] the plan. It may show an increase of, say, 5 per ce[illegible] in agricultural produce and 10 per cent in manufact[illegible] products. If at the end of the first year the people [illegible] an area are taught to think in terms of improvement [illegible] this way, a welcome change will have taken place [illegible] methods of proved efficacy common in Western countr[illegible] and Japan and a notable beginning will have been ma[illegible] in planned development.

"*American Press and Indian Questions*"

In our last July number, page 24, we no[illegible] that Mahatma Gandhi told a representative o[illegible] the *New York Times*: "Your press has ma[illegible] very little effort to enlighten American opini[illegible] on the right lines." On this remark of Mah[illegible] maji we observed: "The *Asia* magazine [illegible] New York has made some efforts."

As luck would have it, the August numb[illegible] of the *Asia* magazine contains three articles [illegible] subjects relating to India. They a[illegible] "Mystery of the Khaksars," "The Fe[illegible] Third of India," and "The Singing Tribe [illegible] Todas." The first two are topical. The [illegible] telligentsia of India do not possess much defin[illegible] information relating to the Khaksars. Rece[illegible] ly we read in the papers that the U. P. G[illegible] ernment have ordered government officials [illegible] to join the Khaksar movement and that [illegible] Lucknow barrister, who is a Khaksar, has p[illegible] licly received disciplinary thrashing, and t[illegible] willingly.

"*Mystery of the Khaksars*"

Dr. Amiya Chakravarty summarizes [illegible] fourteen points of the Khaksar movement, [illegible] incorporated in its vows, in his article [illegible] follows:

(1) A world social system built on tolerance sh[illegible] be established. (2) Islam means early Islam of the [illegible]

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Prophet. Khaksars cannot follow any example but that of his life. (3) The religion of the moulvis, or priests, is false. Khaksars would uproot it and re-establish Islam. (4) Khaksars do not believe in moulvis. (5) Khaksars do not favour or oppose any Muslim religious sect. (6) Khaksars will act upon the Koran and the *Hadis* (sayings of the Prophet). (7) Khaksars believe in toleration toward Hindus, Sikhs and Christians, and are ready to give assurance that their cultures are safe. Does this imply that the Khaksars, a small minority, already envisage their supremacy over the vast majority of Indians when the latter are to be patronizingly favoured with toleration and assurances of cultural safety?—Editor, *M. R.*] (8) Khaksars aim at world conquest and will, by good acts, win prestige and establish superiority of this nation over others. (10) Khaksars will build up a *Baitulmal* or Treasury. (11) Justice is supreme and must be observed. (12) Trade must be organised and improved. (13) Associate Khaksars will contribute six *pies* a month or one *rupee* a year to the Baitulmal, and will be ready to make any sacrifice at the order of the Idara Ilya Hindiya. (14) Khaksars are opposed to all those leaders, editors and others who exploit the nation or relations between Hindus and Muslims. They will avenge themselves, if necessary, at any cost.

We will extract a few more sentences from the article.

Khaksar literally means "earthlike."

Martial preparedness is insured by those who can trade with an easy economic conscience and run camps with private purses.

. . . parades multiply and mock fights produce casualties.

But communal violence he (the leader) condemned strongly.

Intrepid followers hold marches, maneuvers, bayonet practice, mass-prayers and khaki drills from Sind to Delhi and the Northwest Frontier; in the United Provinces and in Hyderabad the movement runs strong. Non-violence does not function as a Khaksar principle and practice, whether of mockfights or mimic drills leading to casualties, will bear this out. The threats, therefore, mentioned in the vows, and only delivered in conversation, need not be treated too seriously.

Bayoneting of dummies and parading have not worn down their spirit; . . . . .

Dr. Chakravarty writes of Khaksars doing commendable unpaid philanthropic work also and concludes his article with the following sentences:

Destiny's horizon becomes luminous today in our environment, events move forward with tremendous acceleration. As I saw Allama Innayatullah's red-brick silhouetted against the suburban sky of Lahore, I made him good-by at his door, an air of significance and to invest his quiet presence, promising not merely peaceful organizing but an ultimate far-sightedness that will unite the Khaksar movement with the great sources of civilization.

The Hindu Outlook of Delhi gives a fuller account of the organization of the Khaksar movement, which conveys a distinct impression that it is a militant and military movement.

"*The Feudal Third of India.*"

The article on "The Feudal Third of India" in the August number of the *Asia* magazine of New York has been selected by a committee of librarians in America "as one of the best articles of the month in all American magazines."

In that article the writer conjectures that

When Federated India becomes independent, perhaps there will be an Indian Confederacy comprising Federated India as at present adumbrated and the independent state of Nepal. Even such an Indian Confederacy will not comprehend the whole of India if French India and Portuguese India remain outside it and constitute what may be called *India Irredenta*. Whether Burma will ever come into the Indian Confederacy cannot be foreseen.

In the opinion of the writer even those Indian States which are misgoverned, and they are the majority, are not without their uses!

The Indian States, nominally ruled by unworthy Princes, serve a useful purpose in the British Empire. For one thing, they serve as a foil: by comparison with them, British India appears very well governed indeed. Moreover, in the Indian constitution as embodied in the Government of India Act of 1935, the States, whose rulers are autocrats, have been set up as bulwarks of British autocracy in India. They are to act as breakwaters against the advancing tides of democracy and Indian nationalism.

It has been asserted in the article that the people of the States have the undoubted right to demand that Britain must do her best to make them self-ruling.

Many Viceroys and Governors-General, including Lord Curzon and the present Viceroy, Lord Linlithgow, have made significant pronouncements laying down that, just as the British Government is bound to maintain the Princes on their thrones, so it is bound to see that their subjects are well governed. But British Viceroys as well as other Britishers and non-Britishers know that rulers of people become servants of the people when they are made responsible to them.

As regards the duty of the British Government to the people of the States, the writer observes:

Whether the British government does its duty to the people of the States or not, its duty is quite clear. If any British statesman says that Britain has neither the right nor the might to put pressure on any ruler of any State to grant civic and political rights to his subjects, such opinion must be considered absurd. British political officers residing at the courts of the Indian Princes do apply pressure on the latter to safeguard and uphold imperial interests and prestige. That being so, why cannot they press a ruler to grant to his subjects representative institutions and responsible self-government? And it need not be pressure at all. Let it be advice, let it be suggestion, let it be a mere hint. The States' rulers possess invisible microphones which magnify the British political officers' whispers into Jupiter's thunder.

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In conclusion the writer lays down the *sine qua non* of good government in the Indian States :

> In order that the Indian States may have continuous good government, instead of the chronic misrule which is the fate of most of them, occasional intervention on the part of the paramount power, after glaring misrule in some State, is not enough. Good government can become the rule, as it is now the exception, only if responsible self-government be secured to the people of the States by the constitutions of the States. The paramount power should see that they get such constitutions. Let the paramount power then, in the words of one of its distinguished Viceroys of more than a half century ago, "prescribe" responsible self-government for the Indian States and "insist that its advice be adopted," without delay.

The words within marks of quotation are from Lord Lytton's dispatch to the Secretary of State prior to the rendition of Mysore in 1882.

Proposed National Art Gallery in New Delhi

Some months ago we had occasion to notice the scheme for the establishmnet of a National Art Gallery in New Delhi prepared by the All-India Fine Arts and Crafts Society of that city. That project deserves full public support, which we hope it will receive.

Professor Dhar's Land Improvement Experiments

ALLAHABAD, Aug. 21.

Land improvement experiments carried out by Professor N. R. Dhar of Allahabad University are said to be attracting the attention of scientists in such widely separated parts of the world as California and Palestine.

The method adopted by Professor Dhar of adding molasses and other by-products of the sugar industry and cellulosic material to the soil it is stated, is particularly suited for removing the alkality of "usar" land and alkaline fields and thus making them fertile. The method also lends itself to increased crop production in normal soil.

California is particularly interested in green manuring, chemical fertilising and alkali neutralising. A letter written by Professor Fisher of "Los Angeles" to Professor Dhar says that some of his (Professor Dhar's) successful experiments on alkali reclamation or nitrogen fixation might be "translated into like results in our irrigated regions."

The citrus industry of Palestine is also said to be interested in Professor Dhar's researches. It is not possible for the orange growers of Palestine to dispose of all the orange crop produced in one year, with the result that considerable quantities are annually wasted. Even after making syrups and jams from the orange juice and extracting pectine and essential oils from the peel, large quantities of pulp and peel remain unutilized. Professor Raczkowski of Jerusalem writes to Professor Dhar, "your discovery would appear to lend itself admirably well to render the use of orange peel and of otherwise unutilisable fruit possible as an appropriate medium for fixing nitrogen in the soil. It is for this reason particularly that your discovery is likely to solve a vexing problem of the citrus industry."—*A. P.*

Some Cawnpore Workers Are Disillusioned And Become Sensible

Cawnpore has been the scene of the most harmful labour strikes in India in recent times, in addition to being notorious for bloody riots. It is a welcome sign that in such a city hundreds of workers have come to find out their mistake and repent of it. Two thousand workers of the New Victoria Mills of Cawnpore have sent a memorial to the Minister of Development, asking him to get the management to re-open the Mills. They have expressed want of confidence in the Mazdoor Sabha (Labourers' Association). They now want to work to earn their bread, not strikes.

The disillusionment should spread to the other industrial areas where the workers are exploited by labour-leaders who are themselves not labourers. They can only bring about strikes but cannot provide any gainful occupations for the workers.

Mahatma Gandhi on Hunger-strikes

Recently in *Harijan* Mahatma Gandhi has described hunger-strikes as a "plague" and "nuisance." He has gone to the length of suggesting that it should be considered whether the Congress Working Committee should not lay down a rule that a public and political hunger-strike (of course by Congressmen, of whom Gandhiji is not one) without permission should be deemed a breach of discipline. The Mahatmaji himself set the example of fasting (unto death if need be), he should clearly differentiate between his fasts and others' fasts giving his reasons.

Madras Ter-centenary, And De-martializing of Madras

On the occasion of the recent celebration of the ter-centenary of Madras, on which we heartily congratulate our sisters and brethren of that city, the Governor of the Madras Presidency opened a historical exhibition organized for commemorating the event. In the course of his speech he complimented Madras on possessing the distinction of having been the nursery of India's trade" and "the first training ground of the army in India." The mention of the latter item in the compliment was rather lacking in politeness, though, of course,

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HIS HIGHNESS THE MAHARAJA JOODHA SHUMSERE JUNG BAHADUR RANA,

G.C.L.H., G.C.L., G.C.S.I., G.C.S.S.M.L., G.C.I.E.

Prime Minister and Supreme Marshal of Nepal

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discourtesy was intended. It reminded the people of Madras that, though in point of time they were the first fighters for the British Government, they have long ceased to be considered fit to be recruited for the army—and that for no fault of theirs.

Russo-German Non-Aggression Pact

The Russo-German Non-Aggression Pact, which is intended to remain in force for ten years, was signed at Moscow on the 23rd August last.

The text of the agreement as released by the official German news agency reads :—

"Guided by the desire to strengthen the cause of peace between Germany and the Soviet Republics based on the fundamental stipulations of the neutrality agreement concluded in April 1926, the German and Soviet Governments have come to the following agreement : The articles follow :

Firstly, the two contracting powers undertake to refrain from any act of force, any aggressive act and any attacks against each other or in conjunction with any other powers.

Secondly, if one of the contracting powers should become an object of warlike action on the part of a third power, the other contracting power will in no way support the third power.

Thirdly, the Governments of the two contracting powers will in future remain in consultation with one another in order to inform themselves about questions which touch their common interests.

Fourthly, neither of the two contracting parties will join any other group of powers which directly or indirectly is directed against one of the two.

Fifthly, in case differences or conflict should arise between the two contracting powers on questions of any kind the two partners will solve these disputes or conflicts exclusively by a friendly exchange of views or, if necessary, by Arbitration Commissions.

Sixthly, the agreement has been concluded for a duration of ten years with the stipulation that unless one of the contracting powers gives notice to terminate the year before expiration it will automatically be prolonged by five years.

Seventhly, the present agreement shall be ratified in the shortest possible time and the ratification documents will be exchanged in Berlin. The treaty comes into force immediately after it is signed."

The agreement is drawn up in the German and Russian languages and is dated August 23.—*Reuter.*

It may be that the two contracting powers are really "guided by the desire to strengthen the cause of peace *between Germany and the Soviet Republic*", but that does not mean that they have peaceful intentions as regards other countries. Germany is fully prepared for war and as we write (August 25) she may have already made herself responsible for acts of aggression against Poland. And Russo-Japanese fighting has been going on for some time past on the Manchurian and Mongolian fronts.

The Russo-German Pact naturally reminds one of Hitler's boasting promise that he would give India to Russia and Africa to Italy.

Movements of Nationals of Different Countries Residing Abroad

In consequence of the signing of the Russo-German agreement the nationals of different countries, such as Britain, America, etc., residing in Germany, Britain, etc., have been ordered or asked to return to their own countries. This is usually done on the eve of war breaking out.

Russo-German Pact Makes Japan Indignant

As the Russo-German Pact strengthens the hands of Russia and destroys all hope of Japan receiving any help from Germany, it has naturally roused Japan's wrath.

TOKYO, Aug. 24.

Irritated comments are made in the newspapers at what is considered Germany's "betrayal" of an ideological ally.

The irritation is accentuated by the alleged offer from Berlin to act the intermediary in the negotiations for a Non-Aggression Pact between Japan and the Soviet.

The "Miyako Shimbun" asks cynically, who said the Anti-Comintern Pact was a spiritual accord between nations ? Whoever says so is an optimist. Japan's great indignation and anger must be borne in silence.

The "Asahi Shimbun" states that Germany has clearly violated the letter and spirit of the Anti-Comintern Pact, which has been reduced to a scrap of paper.

The "Miyako Shimbun" says that Japan is shortly denouncing the Nine-Power Treaty.—*Reuter.*

The British Premier's Statement After The Russo-German Pact

After receiving the news of the signing of the Russo German Pact Mr. Chamberlain made a calm and considered statement appropriate to the gravity of the situation. What he said on Germany's attitude on the Danzig question and on Germany's provocative anti-Polish propaganda appears to us to be correct.

Mr. Chamberlain went on to observe :

This Press campaign is not the only symptom, which is ominously reminiscent of the past experience. Military preparations have been made in Germany on such a scale that that country is now in a condition of complete readiness for war. In the beginning of this week we had word that German troops were beginning to move towards Polish frontier. It then became evident that a crisis of the first magnitude was approaching and the Government resolved that the time had come when they must seek the approval of Parliament for further defence measures.

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Russo-German Pact

That was the situation on Tuesday last when in Berlin and Moscow it was announced that negotiations had been taking place and were likely soon to be concluded for a Non-Aggression Pact between those two countries.

I do not attempt to conceal from this House that the announcement came to the Government as a surprise and a surprise of a very unpleasant character.

For some time past there have been rumours about an impending change in the relations between Germany and Soviet Government but no inkling of that change had been conveyed either to us or to the French Government by the Soviet Government.

Bombshell Flung Down

The House may remember that on July 31, I remarked that we had engaged on a step that was almost unprecedented in character. I said we had shown a great amount of trust, a strong desire to bring the negotiations with the Soviet Union to a successful conclusion when we agreed to send our soldiers and airmen to Russia to discuss military plans together, before we had an assurance that we should be able to reach an agreement on political matters. Nevertheless, moved by the observation of M. Molotov that, if we could come to a successful conclusion of our military discussions a political agreement should not prevent any insuperable difficulties, we sent a mission.

The British and French missions reached Moscow on August 11. They were warmly received in a friendly fashion and discussions were actually in progress and had proceeded on a basis of mutual trust when this bombshell was flung down.

It was, to say the least, highly disturbing to learn that while these conversations were proceeding on that basis the Soviet Government were secretly negotiating a pact with Germany for purposes which on the face of it were inconsistent with the objects of their foreign policy as we had understood it (cheers). I do not propose this afternoon to pass any final judgment upon this incident. That I think would be premature until we had had opportunity of consulting with the French Government as to the meaning and consequences of this agreement, the text of which was only published this morning.

We have shown in a previous note that Chinese journalists knew in May last, if not earlier, that pourparlers were going on between Stalin and Hitler, and that when M. Litvinov resigned it was said to have been due to anti-Semitic Nazi influence. So, unless British secret service men are utterly inefficient, Mr. Chamberlain's statement that the Russo-German agreement came suddenly upon the British people like a bombshell is itself very surprising.

Mr. Chamberlain has made it clear that Britain's obligations to Poland and other countries remain unaffected by the Russo-German agreement.

"But the question which the British Government had to consider when they learned of this announcement was what effect, if any, this changed situation would have upon their own policy.

"In Berlin, the announcement was claimed with extraordinary cynicism as a great diplomatic victory, which removed any danger of war and it was claimed that neither we nor France would any longer be likely to fulfil our obligations to Poland. We felt it our first duty to remove any such dangerous illusion (loud cheers).

"The House will recollect that the guarantee which we gave to Poland was given before any agreement was talked of with Russia and it was not any way made dependent upon any such agreement being reached. How then could we with honour go back upon such obligations which we had so often and so plainly repeated? Therefore, our first act was to issue a statement that our obligations to Poland and other countries remain unaffected."

We shall be glad indeed if the guarantee to Poland remains inviolate. But all talk of 'honour' should have been avoided. Britain did not act honourably in the cases of Abyssinia and Czechoslovakia

Mr. Chamberlain concluded :—

"If despite all our efforts to find the way to peace—and God knows I have tried my best (cheers)—if in spite of all that we find ourselves forced to embark upon a struggle which is bound to be fraught with suffering and misery for all mankind and the end of which no man can foresee—if that must happen we shall not be fighting for the political future of a far-away city in a foreign land, we shall be fighting for the preservation of those principles of which I have spoken and the destruction of which would involve the destruction of all possibilities of peace and security for the peoples of the world.

To Act as United Nation

"The issue of peace and war does not rest with us and I trust that those with whom responsibility does lie will think of the millions of human beings, whose fate depend upon our action. For ourselves we have a united country behind us (cheers) in this critical hour and I believe that we in this House of Commons will stand together and that this afternoon we shall show the world that as we think, so we will act as a united nation (cheers).

It must be said in justice to Mr. Chamberlain that he has tried his best to preserve peace under very provocative circumstances and even when accused of cowardice and betrayal of trust. If now war comes, it will not be his fault or that of the present British Government. Indirectly, of course, if it comes it will be the result of what was done to Germany after the conclusion of the last great war.

How Britain Can Fight Other Powers' Aggressions

The root cause of all imperialistic wars is Britain's vast empire, of which the most important part is India. Britain's possession of India excites the envy and cupidity of other imperially-minded powers. They want to have similar empires. Britain can lay the axe to the root of imperialism and lay the foundation of lasting peace in the world by allowing and helping India to become self-ruling. She can then oppose imperialistic aggression on the part

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of other countries with good grace and a clear conscience.

All this has been shown convincingly in Dr. J. T. Sunderland's *India in Bondage*, proscribed ten years ago by the British Government in the plenitude of its wisdom.

Where Britain Looks For Help

In the course of his speech the British Prime Minister said :

"The pronouncement that we have made recently and what I have said today reflects, I am sure, the views of the French Government. Throughout we have maintained the customary close contact in pursuance of our well-established cordial relations. Naturally our minds turn also to the Dominions. I appreciate very warmly the pronouncements made by the Ministers of other parts of the British Commonwealth. (Cheers). Indications, which have been given from time to time and in some cases as recently as yesterday, of their sympathy with our patient efforts in the cause of peace and of their attitude in the unhappy event of their proving unsuccessful, are a source of profound encouragement to us in these critical times.

"The House will, I am sure, share the appreciation with which His Majesty's Government have noted the appeal for peace made yesterday by King Leopold in the name of the heads of the Oslo States after the meeting at Brussels yesterday of representatives of those States. It will be evident from what I have said that His Majesty's Government share the hopes to which that appeal gave expression and earnestly trust that effect will be given to it."

There is no mention of India in these paragraphs, though in the last great war India's help was of the most vital importance and if war comes India will be again bled. The reason for the omission appears to be the British imperialistic feeling that, as India is a slave, her resources can be commandeered and therefore need not be "appreciated."

British Labour Party's Attitude To The Present Crisis

On the 24th of August last Mr. Arthur Greenwood spoke in the British House of Commons to make the position of the British Labour Party clear at the present crisis.

Mr. Arthur Greenwood, who followed Mr. Chamberlain, declared that the latter's statement was of the utmost gravity. "War clouds are gathering in Europe and the shadow of war. I say that this situation has arisen very largely through mistaken policies, which we strongly criticised in the past, but we are facing a tragic situation and do not propose at this time of crisis to rake over embers of days behind us." (General cheers).

"The Peace Front, which most of us hoped for, has been greatly impaired by this morning's news, but Britain and France remain in alliance and close friendship and in a sense, therefore, we are in no worse position. My main purpose is to try and make clear the attitude of the Opposition.

Mr. Greenwood read a declaration of the National Council of Labour, published last night, and added, "I speak for the millions of Labour supporters of this country when I say that we will take not one single syllable or comma away from our declarations. We still stand by them without qualification or hesitation. We are not supporters of this Government, but let no man abroad think that Labour will be a willing party to acquiescence in any further actions of aggression. The world must know that in this attitude against aggression British Labour is unshakeable."—*Reuter.*

That is to say, if war comes the British nation will present a united front to the aggressor or aggressors.

Indian Communists and Russo-German Pact

It is said that Indian communists, following the example of the communists of Russia, have no religion. Russian communists profess to be atheists. But though the Bolsheviks do not believe in God, it has been thought by the communists of India, and perhaps by others, too, that they have certain immutable high democratic ideals and principles. For this reason Indian communists have almost deified the Bolsheviks. They swear by them almost.

But now the Bolsheviks have joined hands with the Nazis. Perhaps Fascism (or Nazism) and Communism are two sides of the same medal ! By which side will the Indian communists swear now ?

The expression "slave mentality" has become current coin with Congresswalas—particularly with their extremest wing—to be flung at the heads of their opponents. Perhaps the time has come for this extremest wing to shake off all foreign *isms*, think out their own ideals and principles in consonance with India's past and present, and thus cease to be ideological slaves themselves.

Suggested Soviet Justification For Siding With Germany

Students of the history of international diplomacy do not generally or invariably seek to find any moral justification for alliances. They have their obvious reasons for not doing so.

If then the Russo-German agreement were not found to be the outcome of adherence to any high ideals or principles, Russia would not be to blame according to diplomatic ethical standards. It has been said in justification of the step taken by Russia that, though the western democracies (France and Britain) were

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ostensibly trying to conclude agreements with Soviet Russia, in secret they repeatedly tried to push Germany into conflict with the Soviet union, thereby deflecting the Nazi aggression from themselves towards Russia.

President Roosevelt's Appeals For Peace

President Roosevelt has made dramatic appeals to Herr Hitler and President Moscicki to preserve the peace and suggests three methods of avoiding war, firstly, by direct negotiation, secondly, by submission of their controversy to impartial arbitration, thirdly, an agreement to adopt a procedure of conciliation and to select conciliator or moderator.

President Roosevelt also suggests a truce "for a reasonable stipulated period" and signficantly remarks that the people of the United States are as one in opposition to policies of military conquest and domination and in rejecting the thesis that any ruler or people possess the right to achieve their ends or objectives through the action of plunging countless millions into war and bringing distress and suffering to all nations "belligerant and neutral." The President's suggestions do not mean that President Roosevelt has another "Munich" in mind, according to his secretary.

President Roosevelt's message to President Moscicki is shorter and reads :

"The manifest gravity of the existing crisis imposes an urgent obligation upon all to examine every possible means which might prevent an outbreak of a general war," with this in mind he felt justified in suggesting certain possible avenues to a solution be considered. President Roosevelt thereupon outlined the same solutions as to Herr Hitler and adds, "Should you determine to attempt a solution by the way of these methods you are assured of the earnest and complete sympathy of the United States and its peoples."

President Roosevelt then appeals to President Moscicki to refrain from any positive act of hostility during the exploration of avenues and concludes :

"It is I think well known to you that speaking on behalf of the United States I have exerted and will continue to exert every influence on behalf of peace. The rank and file of the population in every nation—large and small—want peace. They do not seek military conquest. They recognise that disputes, claims and counter-claims will always arise from time to time between nations but that all such controversies without exception can be solved by peaceful procedure if the will on both sides exist to do so.—*Reuter.*

WASHINGTON, Aug. 24.

President Roosevelt in a message to the King of Italy says, "Again a crisis in world affairs makes clear the responsibility of the heads of nations for the fate of their own people and indeed humanity itself. It is my belief and of the American people that Your Majesty and your Government can greatly influence the averting of the outbreak of war. We in America often find it difficult to visualise the animosities which have often created a crisis among the nations of Europe, but we accept the fact that these nations have an absolute right to maintain their national independence, if they so desire. If that be a sound doctrine then it must apply to weaker as well as stronger nations. The acceptance of this means peace because fear of aggression ends. The alternative, which means efforts by the strong to dominate the weak, will lead not only to war but to long future years of oppression on the part of victors and rebellion on the part of the vanquished—so history teaches."

President Roosevelt referred to his suggestion of April 14 for an understanding against aggression to be followed by discussions to seek a relief from the burden of armaments and open avenues of international trade and also discussions of political and territorial problems, and added, "Were it possible for Your Majesty's Government to formulate proposals for a pacific solution of the present crisis along these lines, you may be assured of the earnest sympathy of the United States. The Governments of Italy and the United States can today advance those ideals of Christianity which lately seem to have so often been obscured. The unheard voices of countless millions of human beings ask that they should not be vainly sacrificed again."

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru in China

Inida feels honoured and gratified at the warm reception given to Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru in China and at Marshal Chiang Kai-shek's personal care for his safety.

CHUNGKING, Aug. 24.

Four hundred representatives of the Kuomintang Government and public organisations welcomed Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru when he arrived at Chungking air field at 13-30 yesterday afternoon. Chuchiahua, Secretary-General of the Kuomintang, greeted the distinguished visitor while school girls presented flowers. Public organisations gave tea reception in the afternoon and dinner in the evening in honour of the Indian leader, while Government officials are tendering tea reception to-morrow.

Marshal Chiang Kai-shek is receiving Pandit Nehru on Saturday while Lt.-Col. Prideauzbrune, head of the British Diplomatic Mission is entertaining the visitor to dinner this evening. Pandit Nehru has also promised to lunch with the American Ambassador, Mr. Nelson Johnson.

In a dark suit and a white "oversea cap," similar to the one worn by General Franco and Signor Mussolini, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru was given an enthusiastic welcome at a mass meeting this afternoon. Picked members of "The Three Peoples Principles Youth Corps" of the Kuomintang, as also girl athletes, acted as a guard of honour, escorting Pandit Nehru to the meeting hall where Chenlifu, Minister of Education, and other prominent Government officials and civic leaders were also present.

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru spent a thrilling and interesting first night in China's war-time capital as the result of an attempted Japanese air raid which was frustrated by Chinese pursuit planes after a furious air battle.

Reuter learns as soon as the news of the Japanese planes heading for Chungking was received Marshal Chiang Kai-shek personally telephoned to Mr. Chuchiahua, Secretary-General of the Kuomintang, asking the latter to look after the safety of Pandit Nehru who was accordingly taken to the well-constructed dug-out of the Foreign Minister, Mr. Wang Chunghui, where he met besides the Foreign Minister several other Government officials. During the raid Pandit Nehru spent two most interesting hours exchanging views on national and international questions.—*Reuter.*

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Congress of Anthropology and Pre-historic Archaeology in Turkey

CALCUTTA, Aug. 11.

Dr. Kalidas Nag, of the Calcutta University, and Chairman, Calcutta Branch, Indian Institute of International Affairs, has been invited to participate in the 18th International Congress of Anthropology and Pre-historic Archæology. The Congress will be held about the middle of September at Istanbul under the patronage of the President of the Turkish Republic.

The Historical Society of Ankara (founded by Kemal Ataturk) will organise excursions into the archæological sites of Turkey like Alaca Hoyuk and Boghaz Koi where the earliest (14th century B.C.) mention of Vedic Gods was discovered in a Hittite-Mitanni treaty.

Dr. Nag has been invited to deliver an address on the 'Pre-historic bank-ground of Indian Archæology' and he proposes 'to draw the attention of the antiquarians assembled in the Congress to the veritable mine of ancient culture, that is India.' Dr. Nag will visit the cultural institutions of Syria and Palestine like the American University of Beyrut and the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, delivering, at the latter place a few lectures on 'Tagore and Gandhi as Educationists.' From Palestine, Dr. Nag will visit the excavation sites and field-museums of Iraq and thence proceed overland to Teheren where he will deliver a course of lectures on 'Indian Art and Archæology' as a guest-lecturer to the University of Teheran, Iran.—*A. P. I.*

Disciplinary Action Against Sj. Subhas Chandra Bose

So much has already been written by so many persons on the disciplinary action taken by the Congress Working Committee against Sj. Subhas Chandra Bose and so many days have already passed since the action was taken that it would not be proper for us to inflict on the public another long note on the subject—particularly when the whole world is faced with issues of the gravest character. Suffice it to say that in our humble opinion the action taken was neither constitutionally correct nor consonant with expediency. We could have stated the reasons for our opinion but refrain from doing so. We shall not complain if the majority of our readers or even all of them think we are wrong, though we think we are right.

Mahatma Gandhi On the Wardha Decisions

In the course of a statement issued to the Press Mahatma Gandhi says :

"I continue to receive mostly abusive letters about, what may be called the Subhas Babu resolution of the Working Committee. I also saw a letter addressed to Rajendra Babu, which can hardly be surpassed in the use of filthy language. I have seen some criticisms about the war resolution."

It is a shame that there are men in the country like the writers of these letters.

We have no desire to comment at length on Mahatmaji's statement, but will make a few remarks on a few points.

Gandhiji says :

"In my opinion the action taken by the Working Committee was the mildest possible."

We are temperamentally reluctant to use superlatives, as such use very often leads to the violation of truth. We will not say more.

Perhaps Gandhiji thinks Sj. Subhas Chandra Bose has been guilty of a very heinous ofience. We disagree.

Mahatmaji says, Sj. Bose "had pitted himself against the Working Committee, if not the Congress organization." Of course, if Sj. Bose thought that the Working Committee (*i. e.*, the rightist majority of its members) had pitted themselves against him ever since he stood as a candidate for the presidentship for the second time and could even prove it, that would not justify him in pitting himself against the Committee. Nor would he be justified in pitting himself against the Congress organization, which has for years been controlled by the rightists under the dictatorship of Mahatma Gandhi, if he believed that that organization had been pitted against him and if he could prove the correctness of his belief. That is our conclusion so far as abstract reasoning goes.

But as Sj. Bose is a human being, not an abstract entity, it is possible that the attitude of the (rightist) Working Committee and the (rightist) Congress organization towards him has determined his attitude towards them without his being conscious of the fact. We do not say that that is what led him to initiate the 9th of July protest movement. We are speaking of a possibility. It would appear from Sj. Boso's statements that in his opinion he acted from a sense of duty. That is not at all improbable.

We have not written this note and the previous note in a controversial spirit. Had we chosen to enter into a controversy, we could have marshalled plenty of arguments—may be of a trivial character—in support of our opinions. But our object is different. We desire that a man of Mahatmaji's position will scrutinize the actions of the rightist leaders, from the time that many of them issued their statement against Sj. Bose's candidature for the president-

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ship for the second time to the time when Dr. Rajendra Prasad was placed in the presidential chair in what many, including ourselves, consider an unconstitutional and irregular manner, in the way that he has scrutinized Sj. Bose's actions. What was done to Sj. Bose at Tripuri, including the maneuvring for passing the Pant resolution, should also come under Mahatmaji's scrutiny.

No scrutiny of the conduct of only one party can lead to any satisfactory conclusion.

"The Abode of the Nation"

The Mahājāti-Sadan ("The Abode of the Nation") or Congress House has been a desideratum in Calcutta. All the purposes which, according to Sj. Subhas Chandra Bose, it is intended to serve are not at present served by any edifice, public or private, which we have in Calcutta.

For the collection of funds it is perhaps necessary to appoint trustees in whose integrity the public has faith and a solvent, efficient and reliable treasurer like the late Sir R. N. Mukerjee but for whose treasurership of the Chitta Ranjan Seva Sadan Funds sufficient funds could not perhaps have been raised.

The short speech which Rabindranath Tagore delivered before laying the foundation stone of the building was entirely worthy of the occasion, and it was one which he alone could have composed and delivered. We say this with reference to the original Bengali speech, of which the English translation gives the gist, as it were. All who know Bengali should read the original speech.

Subhas Chandra Bose At the Foundation Laying of Congress House

The speech which Sj. Subhas Chandra Bose delivered on the occasion of the laying of the foundation stone of Mahājāti-Sadan, asking Rabindranath Tagore to do so, was quite appropriate and unexceptionable except for one passage, which is extracted below. Said he:

"Today clouds have darkened our political firmament and the Congress stands at one of the cross-roads of history. Shall we hark back again to the days of Constitutionalism which we thought we had discarded in 1920? Or, shall we continue along the path of mass-movement which ends in mass-struggle? I shall not enter into a controversy. I shall only say this that the awakened masses of India cannot give up the method of self-help and self-reliance, of mass-organization and mass-struggle which has given them the success they have won and which will bring them the greater success that is yet to come. Above all, they cannot give up their birth right for a sordid bargain with alien Imperialism."

Though Subhas Babu said he would not enter into a controversy, he not only referred to a controversial matter but mentioned the principal points at issue, too. Nay more, he hinted that those who differed from him were trying to induce the masses to "give up their birth right of freedom for a sordid bargain with alien Imperialism." All this was inappropriate to the occasion, and need not and should not have been said. As we do not possess sufficient information on the subject, we shall not discuss whether any leaders are actually carrying on any negotiations with "alien Imperialism." Even if some are, Subhas Babu chose the wrong occasion to refer to the topic.

As regards constitutionalism, it is not wrong so long as a constitution serves national ends. Acceptance of ministry was decided upon by the Congress as it was thought that if Congressmen became ministers they would be able in that way to prepare the country for the final struggle, should such a struggle be necessary. If our memory serves us right, we were not in favour of Congressmen accepting office. We gave our reasons when the matter was under discussion. Subhas Babu was opposed to it in great part, but also stated the probable advantages that might accure to the country if office were accepted.

Several ministers, *e.g.*, Mrs. Vijaya-lakshmi Pandit, have frankly declared that provincial autonomy cannot and will not lead to Swaraj. But having put their hands to the plough they must reach the end of the furrow. They perhaps feel that they must extract all the good they can from constitutionalism as implied in working the provincial machinery.

It may be that just as provincial autonomy has been accepted and is being worked for gaining some advantages, federation may be accepted and worked for similar advantages if the accepters and would-be workers are convinced that such advantages, are sure or very likely to accrue. We do not definitely know the men and the parties who may be in favour of accepting federation under such conditions. But in any case it is best not to impute mean motives.

It was perhaps with reference to offer acceptance that Mahatma Gandhi observed that the parliamentary mentality had come to stay. Opposed to that mentality is the revolutionary mentality. In Mahatmaji's opinion the country is not yet morally equipped for bringing about

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a non-violent revolution by mass civil disobedience, and that is the only kind of revolution desirable, and the only kind practicable, too, in India.

"The Revolutionary Urge"

We confess we are lacking in the revolutionary urge, which Sj. Subhas Chandra Bose is bemoaned of.

We know storms and volcanic upheavals and erruptions do some good. But nevertheless we do not desire them.

Revolutions have also done some good, though the most famous revolutions in history were sanguinary. We do not know of any bloodless revolutions which may be comparable to them in vastness and the degree of radical changes produced.

But our dislike of revolutions is not due merely to the bloody character of most or many of them. There are other reasons. For instance, in revolutions things happen or are done in a hurry. It takes a long time afterwards to mend the defects of hurried happenings and actions. Along with what is bad, revolutions destroy much that is good. Much injustice is done in days of revolutions, the primal animal instincts of men are then let loose. It takes time to redress the wrongs done. Some wrongs are never redressed. Taking everything into consideration, we are considered radical reform in all directions, though that may apparently take more time than revolutions.

Cession of Alexandretta to Turkey

Our note on the cession of Alexandretta to Turkey in our last August number (page 137) referred to a bright and a dark aspect of the case. But it seems in referring to its brighter aspect we were under a misconception, as the following extract from the *Jewish Frontier* of New York will show :

"... it seems that the current degeneration of international relations is also sweeping away the mandate system that has been in existence for the past two years. When Japan began to disregard its obligations and its mandated territories, the answer was simple. Nothing to any code of international morals . . . . But today we are confronted with an act of a presumedly democratic and responsible government which shows the same attitude of cynicism toward international obligations. The Government of France ceded the Alexandretta district of Syria to Turkey. This area contains only a minority of Turks and it had been previously agreed that it remain as an autonomous unit within Syria. The present step was taken without either the consent of Syria, which France governs under a mandate, or the acquiescence of the League of Nations. International horse trading thus reverts to older forms when obligations and the desires of the population were not taken into account. Following upon the White Paper on Palestine issued by England, which repudiates all the promises and obligations to the Jews, the cession of Alexandretta constitutes a serious breach in the mandatory system.

"Naturally, there are explanations for this move. Undoubtedly, the cession of this region was demanded by Turkey as the price for its joining the anti-Hitler front. France may thus plead that the exigencies of the situation required that this step be taken. However, such alibis carry but little conviction.

Bengal P. C. C. and Disciplinary Action Against Sj. Subhas Bose

The following resolution was passed at an emergent meeting of the executive council of the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee held on the 25th of August last :

> This Council deplores the recent decision of the Congress Working Committee whereby the unanimously elected President of the B. P. C. C. has been removed from office in an arbitrary high-handed manner and without any justification whatsoever.
>
> This Council re-affirms its full confidence in Sj. Subhas Chandra Bose and is emphatically of opinion that for the successful prosecution of Congress work in the province, his leaderhip is indispensable.
>
> This Council desires to draw the attention of the Working Committee to the intense resentment and indignation that has been caused throughout the province, not only among Congressmen, but also among the public at large by the above decision of the Working Committee. The resentment and indignation roused has created an atmosphere in which it is impossibe for the vast majority of Congressmen to retain confidence in the present Working Committee. This meeting, therefore, requests the Working Committee to reconsider and rescind this decision as early as possible so that public feeling in the province may be appeased and Congress work may be carried on with the usual vigour and enthusiasm.

The Executive Council has also resolved that pending the final decision of the Working Committee the office of the president of the Bengal P. C. C. be kept vacant and all the business of the B. P. C. C. be transacted in consultation with Sj. Subhas Chandra Bose.

In democratic bodies the authority empowered to punish to the extent of dismissal or final expulsion is or should be the electing and appointing authority and *vice versa*. In the present case the executive body of the B. P. C. C. has not, therefore, done anything undemocratic in desiring that its resolutions should be considered by the Working Committee. According to the Congress constitution the Working Committee has, it is to be presumed, the power to take disciplinary action. But the question is, was it democratic to take disciplinary action against

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an offic-bearer without reference to the views of those who elected and appointed him ?

Certain other opinions of the Executive Council of the B. P. C. C. deserve attention. One is that too much importance should not be attached to mere technicalities, to the exclusion of other considerations.

This Council would like to remind the present Working Committee of the unconstitutional and *ultra vires* character of Pant resolution which was nevertheless not ruled out of order by Sj. Bose at Tripuri on the ground that a large number of members of the All-India Congress Committee were in its favour and this Council expresses the hope that in dealing with important issues, the President of the A.-I. C. C. will not be guided by mere technicalities. . .

In the opinion of the Council the election of Dr. Rajendra Prasad, the present president of the Congress, and therefore also, the selection of the members of the present Working Committee by him, are of doubtful validity.

Apart from these considerations, there is another factor which makes it difficult to accept the verdict of the Working Committee. The present Working Committee is, to say the least, of doubtful validity itself. In the first place, the election of a new Congress President had taken place before the resignation of the outgoing President was accepted by the A.-I. C. C.—a procedure which is unheard of in democratic institutions. Secondly, the new President should have been elected by the general body of delegates and his election by the A.-I. C. C. was obviously for a political reason, *viz.*, that the members of the present Working Committee were not sure of commanding a majority among the delegates. Thirdly, the then President of the meeting of the A.-I. C. C. Mrs. Naidu, had declared at the outset that she was going to be unconstitutional and after this announcement of hers, the election of the new President of the A.-I. C. C. took place.

Another Important Work on Raja Rammohun Roy

We are glad to learn that another important work on Raja Rammohun Roy, under the editorship of Dr. J. K. Majumdar, M.A., Ph.D., Bar-at-Law, is going to be out shortly. It is in the press. It is a selection from official records supplemented by an historical introduction. Besides containing the full history of the case of the King of Delhi, in which connection Rammohun was sent to England as an envoy, it will comprise a very interesting and in many particulars a new account of the affairs of the last Mughals from Shah Alam to Bahadur Shah. In short, it will throw a new light on the last chapter of the history of the Mughals, based on hitherto unpublished records, which should be anxiously looked forward to by every student of pre-British Indian history.

Anglo-Polish Agreement

LONDON, Aug. 25.

An agreement for mutual assistance between Brit and Poland has been signed at the Foreign Office b Lord Halifax and the Polish Ambassador.

It consists of eight articles, laying down the circum stances in which the parties will come to each other assistance.

Article 1 provides : Should one of the contracting parties become engaged in hositilities with a European Power in consequence of aggression by the latter, the other contracting party will immediately give the part engaged in hostilities all support and assistance in its power.

Article 2 states that the provisions of Article 1 w also apply in the event of any action by a European pow which clearly threatened directly or indirectly the in dependence of one of the contracting parties and w of such a nature that the party in question considered vital to resist it with armed forces.

Should one of the contracting parties become engag in hostilities with a European power in consequence action by that power which threatened the independen or neutrality of another European state in such a w as to constitute a clear menace to the security of th contracting party, the provisions of Article 1 will app without prejudice however to the rights of the oth European State concerned.

Article 3 provides : Should a European power atte to undermine the independence of one of the contra ing parties by processes of economic penetration or a other way, the contracting parties will support e other in resistance of such attempts. Should the Eu pean power concerned thereupon embark on hostiliti against one of the contracting parties, the provisions Article 1 will apply.

Article 4 states that methods of applying the unde takings of mutual assistance are to be established betwe competent naval military and air authorities of the co tracting parties.

Article 5 provides for the exchange of complete a speedy information concerning any development, wh might threaten the independece of the contracting part

Article 6 lays down that the contracting parties sh communicate with each other in an undertaking assistance against aggression which they have already gi or may in future give to other States.

Article 7 provides that should the contracting par be engaged in hostilities in consequence of the appl tion of the present agreement they will not conclude armistice or treaty of peace, except by mutual agreem

Article 8 provides that the agreement will rem in force for five years, subject to six months' notice denunciation.—*Reuter.*

What Congress Would Do In Case of War

Some Indian troops have been sent Malaya and Egypt for defensive purposes. question is, for whose defence ? If for defence of India, why were not the members the Central Legislature informed before and their consent obtained after convin them ? The present constitution of India d not make it incumbent on the part of

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Government of India to do this. But Congress and other Nationalists have always insisted on having their say upon questions of defence and in fact upon controlling all matters relating to defence. This demand cannot be ignored for all time, and if the British Government be wise they should conciliate Indian public opinion in view of the difficult times ahead—or rather the difficult times in whose midst all nations already find themselves. Such being the case, the Government of India could have called a special session of the Central Legislature and convinced the members that the movement of troops intended was necessary for the defence of India. It is not a very secret matter. Defensive measures and steps of greater importance and urgency are discussed in the British Parliament.

But supposing a special session could not for some reason be summoned, at least the party leaders' *consent* ought to have been obtained after convincing them. It is said that they were *informed* that troops were being sent. But mere information is not enough.

If the troops have not been sent in the interests of the safety of India but in imperial interests, the step is clearly wrong. And what makes it more so is that India is to bear the cost in the form of salaries of the troops and other expenses.

Another question which incidentally arises is if India can remain safe after the dispatch of so many of her soldiers abroad, why should her army be reduced proportionately and military expenditure reduced? On the other hand, if in the absence of a part of her army India's safety be doubtful, that part should not to have been sent out.

In the circumstances which have arisen, members of the Congress Assembly party have been asked by the Congress authorities to keep themselves from the ensuing session of the Assembly. In our opinion merely absenting themselves would not be an effective protest. Perhaps the resignation of the members and their re-election may be more effective.

That which could produce a deadlock would in reality be the most effective step. Congress leaders should take counsel to determine what would clog the administrative machine.

We have not yet discussed what Congress should do if a war broke out involving Britain and India. According to the rights implied in Dominion Status, the Dominions are free to join the side of Britain in her war, or to remain neutral, but not free to join the enemy. India not being a Dominion can be dragged into any war, even if her interests be not even remotely involved. The Congress attitude is well known. It would oppose India's participation in any imperialist war of Great Britain. But it is not quite easy to define a British imperialist war. If Germany attacked Poland and if Britain went to the latter's rescue would that be an imperialist war? If when Germany was about to swallow up Czechoslovakia, Britain gave military help to the Czech Government, would that have been an imperialistic move?

There are some anti-Imperialist Indians who appear to think that every war in which Britain may be engaged, even if it be a war for helping a democratic country to defend itself against aggression, must be considered imperialistic, so long as Britain does not yield to India's national demand of freedom. It is difficult to subscribe to this view.

If Britain drags India against her will into a war in which her interests are not at stake, Congressmen and other nationalists must protest and oppose it in speech and on paper, but they cannot prevent the country being so dragged. That is the real situation. The Government can incur any military expenditure it likes. It is illegal to tell soldiers who are already in the army not to fight, and to prevent recruitment by direct or indirect means has been made unlawful.

By an amendment of the Government of India Act the Government of India has been empowered to require the provincial governments to carry out its orders in war time. So the provincial ministers have either to do the bidding of the central government or resign. Standing for election after resigning and getting re-elected may create some sensation but cannot bring about a permanent deadlock. For the Governor can suspend the constitution and assume all the powers of the ministers himself.

The Working Committee is in favour of the provincial ministries co-operating with the British Government if India is directly attacked. But does it much matter in reality whether the ministers co-operate or resign?

We are in such a pitiable position that we can do nothing ourselves to defend the country against attack. That is the greatest glory of British rule.

If Britain had been just and wise she could have raised the largest number of *citizen* soldiers in the world from this country as her friends. But she has in her timid and suspicious selfishness chosen to keep the

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people of India in the helpless position of helots.

All-India Anti-Communal "Award" Conference

The fourth All-India Anti-Communal "Award" Conference was held in Calcutta in the Calcutta University Institute Hall on the 27th of August last. The proceedings commenced with the singing of the Bande Mātaram song in full.

Though admission was by tickets for which at least one rupee each had to be paid, the big hall and its galleries were full. The inaugural address was delivered by Sir P. C. Ray. Sir Manmatha Nath Mukherji was the chairman of the Reception Committee. After his address had been delivered Mr. M. S. Aney, the President of the session delivered his address. All the addresses were ably written and exposed the highly unjust and injurious character of the so-called Award. That it was not and should not be called an award was shown by many of the speakers.

Some 500 delegates attended from different parts of the country. Loud speakers having been provided both within and outside the hall the gathering outside the gate also could follow the speakers.

Before the principal resolution was moved, Sir N. N. Sircar, retired Law Member of the Government of India, delivered a very remarkable address. His conclusions are given below in his own words.

Having regard to the supreme necessity of a united bloc, whether that leads to change in the Communal decision, in reasonably distant future or not, the question is what should be done to attain that end.

I shall state my conclusions 'seriatim':

(1) We must try to convert to our views those who still believe in the formula "Neither accept nor reject." I venture to suggest that, although we cannot wipe off the past, yet recrimination about past events and conduct will serve no useful purpose, and must be avoided.

The task may not be easy, because Bengal Congress is part of All-India Congress, and the Communal shoe does not pinch the Hindus in Congress Provinces.

(2) There should be consolidation of Hindu opinion and efforts in Bengal, and the necessity for the same being reflected in the Bengal Legislature.

For success of this effort, constructive work will be necessary, and not merely speeches, processions and taking out boys and girls from schools and colleges.

(3) The artificial barrier between Scheduled and non-Scheduled castes must be made to disappear and this can only be done by fair and sympathetic treatment, by acts, and not by mere declaration, remembering we have to atone for past short-comings.

(4) For the next Assembly elections, let not a single Hindu vote be cast for a Hindu candidate, unless he will be willing to openly discard the formula "Neither accept nor reject," and equally openly to join not only in protest against the Communal decision, but to do that he will try to preserve, safeguard and promote H rights, subject to the interest of the whole Province justice for other communities.

(5) That the spade-work and preliminaries for work should be taken up from now, and not left a future date nearer the next election.

Sir N. N. Sircar concluded his address follows:

The five heads I have given require no further ex nation, but I would like to say just a few words on formula "Neither accept nor reject." It is sometimes that those who believe in the formula, have declared Communal Award to be anti-national and anti-democ and is not that enough? I say—most certainly not, declaration is quite useless, if it is not implemented overt acts, and active opposition.

In this connection I would like to give you an cident, which was of the kind to be expected.

After Congress had remained neutral in the Asse on the voting on the Communal decision, one of the Members of the Joint Select Committee, who supp the cause of the Hindus because he believed it t just, wrote to me a letter, in which is stated—"Is i useless to try to help your community when they determined not to help themselves?"

In concluding may I say that I have attempted an analysis of the general situation, time not perm my dealing with the Communal decision in its va aspects. A decision which has created an unh able situation, viz.: a majority community co through special electorate has been given we age in the shape of the excess seats not justified on p lation or any other basis. Why should not my frie of the Muslim Community against whom I have animus, take and try hard to retain a gift, and giv up on the quixotic ground that it is undeserved.

Where they are in minority they get weig because minorities deserve assistance. In Bengal w they are in majority they receive weightage, possibly because they are really liked, but because they are disliked than their Hindu brothers.

It is quite likely that the time is not distant, w both will be looked upon with equal disfavour.

There is a legal maxim—"Where the equities equal, Law prevails"—and may we not expect a pol maxim—"Where both are equally obnoxious let ju be done."

After this momentary light-hearted digression, I w like to offer this Conference my whole-hearted sup and my sincere wishes for its ultimate success, how much wind and tide may be adverse to us just a present moment. Let us continue our efforts with s minded earnestness, without animus against any o community, for righting a grievous wrong done to We seek no favours at the expense of the legiti claims of other communities, but we cannot acquies a wrong, because peace at any price may be prom by an undesirable defeatist mentality.

Main Resolutions of Anti-Communal "Award" Conference

The two main resolutions of the Co ence are printed below.

"This Conference records once again its strong approval of the Government's decision on the comm

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...blem, which has been wrongly called 'Communal ...ward' inasmuch as

(i) it retains and extends the evil of separate communal electorates, which is fatal to the development of ...presentation upon a national basis on which alone a ...stem of responsible government can possibly be rooted;

(ii) provides statutory majorities with separate communal electorates which are wholly opposed to the ...inciple of responsible government;

(iii) is calculated to impede the growth of common ...tional feeling and to accentuate communal bitterness;

(iv) is grossly unfair to the Hindus, particularly in the ...ntral Legislature and in the Provincial Legislatures of ...ngal, the Punjab and Assam where they have been ...ven seats less than what their proportion to the population entitles them to; and

(v) gives to Europeans, particularly in Bengal and ...sam, excessive representation at the expense of both ...ndus and Muslims.

"This Conference is of opinion that a system of ...sponsible government can be based only on joint electo...es and not on an anti-national system of representation ...h as the Communal Award provides for.

"Further, this Conference desires to point out the ...rious consequences of the operation of the 'Award' ...ring the last few years which go to show that the ...prehensions in this regard have come true. The 'Award' ...s accentuated communal bitterness all over the country, ...d in provinces like Bengal and the Punjab measures, ...islative, administrative and educational, which are ...ostensibly communal in character, have been adopted in ...ter disregard alike of public opinion and the canons ...justice and fair-play. As recent instances of such ...asures may be mentioned the Calcutta Municipal ...endment Act and the communal reservation in the ...blic services."

Proposed by—Sj. Ramananda Chatterjee and seconded ...Sj. N. C. Sen, Mayor of Calcutta.

"This Conference requests all political organizations ...well as individuals opposed to the Communal Award to ...e and work in co-operation in fighting the Award. In ...connection the Conference regrets the attitude of the ...ress towards the question and urges it to revise its ...and to strive for the reversal of the Award."

Moved by—Sj. B. C. Chatterjee, and seconded by—Nagendra Nath Sen, M.L.A.

...e of Those Who Addressed Conference

Among those who addressed the Anti-Communal ...ward" Conference were Sj. Akhil Chandra Dutt, ...A., Maharaja Sasikanta Acharya, Sir N. N. Sircar, ...B. S. Moonje, Sj. Nishith Chandra Sen, Mayor of ...ta, Maulvi Reza-ul-Karim, M.A., B.L., Dr. Shyama...d Mookherjee, Dr. Harendra Coomar Mookherjee, ...A., President, All-India Christian Association, Sj. ...C. Chatterjee, Barrister-at-Law and Vice-President, ...d Hindu Mahasabha, Sj. Nagendra Nath Sen, M.L.A., ...P. N. Banerjee, M.L.A., (Central), Dr. Radha ...d Mookherjee, M.L.C., Dr. Nalinaksha Sanyal, ...A., Sj. Radha Kanta Malaviya (U. P.), Sj. Dhiresh ...avarty and Sj. Ramananda Chatterjee.

...ages to the A.-C. "Award" Conference

...ndra Tagore sent the following message:

"I have already expressed my views clearly on the ...Communal Award. In my present weak state of health I do not feel strong enough to repeat the same thing. Kindly accept what I have already said about the Award. With this I beg leave of you for the present."

Sj. P. R. Das in course of his message says: "I hope your Conference will be a great success as it deserves to be."

Sj. V. D. Savarkar wires: "Regret inability to attend the Conference. Confidence in President Aney's lead. Wish success."

Sir C. Y. Chintamoni says: "I need not assure you of my complete sympathy with the aim of the Conference. I have never altered my opinion that the so-called Communal Award is grossly unfair to the Hindus and to no section of them more than to the Hindus of Bengal."

Spade-Work for Doing Away with Communal Decision

All right-thinking and justice-loving persons who know the facts are convinced that the Communal Decision has been injurious not only to the interests of the Hindus—particularly of Bengal, but is injurious to the cause of national unity and freedom all over India. The practical question to be asked and answered is what should be done to get rid of the decision.

Before making a few suggestions, we wish to make some preliminary observations.

We Bengalis and those non-Bengalis who are kind towards us make too much of Bengal having unsettled the "settled fact" of the Partition of Bengal.

In the first place, the partition has not been in reality exactly reversed. The old partition has been followed by a new partition, the motive of the two being the same, namely, the weakening of the Bengali people—particularly the Hindu Bengalis. The object of the Anti-partition agitation was to bring together all the Bengali speaking areas under one provincial administration. That object was not fully gained. Hence the "settled fact" of the partition of Bengal by Lord Curzon was not really fully unsettled.

In the second place, what was done in 1912 was done in great part to conciliate the people of Bihar and Orissa. What was done in justice to them was well done; but the injustice done to the Bengalis was wrong. Justice could and should have been done to the Biharis and the Oriyas without wronging the Bengali people. For this wrong we do not, of course hold the Biharis and the Oriyas responsible. What was done in 1912 was partly the result of the Bengali anti-partition agitation and partly due to the desire of the British Government (in their own interests of course) to please the Biharis and the Oriyas. If at present the British Government feel the necessity of reversing the

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Communal Decision in order to please some party or parties, then it may be reversed.

In the third place, though Lord Curzon partitioned Bengal in imperial interests, yet it was after all a provincial affair. The Communal Decision is *not* a provincial affair, though it has adversely affected Bengal more than any other area. The Decision being an all-India affair, the agitation against it should be all-India in character and greater in strength than the anti-partition agitation of Bengal. It should not be lost sight of that though the partition of Bengal was a provincial affair, the agitation against it was successful partly because it was joined in by people outside Bengal also.

The Congress authorities have permitted agitation against the Decision on national grounds. Of the Indian nation the Hindus form the most important and essential part, not only because they are the numerical majority, but also because they represent India's intellect, knowledge, culture, public spirit, and *whole-hearted devotion to the country*, more than any other section or sections of the people. Therefore, if the strength of the Indian nation is to be maintained and increased, it is absolutely necessary to maintain and increase the strength of its most important and essential part, *without injuring any other part*, of course. It is well known that the Hindus do not want to deprive any other community of its just dues and rights; they do not want more than what is justly due to them.

In order to maintain and increase the strength of the Hindus, whatever weakens the Hindus most be done away with. The Communal Decision weakens the Hindus in the Central Legislature, degrading them to the position of a powerless minority from their just and rightful position of an undoubted and unchallengeable majority. It has weakened them in the provinces also. It is common knowledge that it has made the Hindus of Bengal powerless in the Legislature, and they are going very rapidly to be practically excluded from the administration also. But few people pay attention to the undoubted fact that the Communal Decision has weakened the Hindus in the Hindu-majority provinces also.

Take the case of the United Provinces. There the Muslims form only 14 per cent. of the population. Yet the U. P. Ministry are so afraid of this small minority that they have not dared to take all the steps necessary to prevent and quell communal riots. They have felt compelled, as it were, to overlook the violent writings of the Muslim Urdu press which gender communal hatred. They have restri the legitimate religious rights of the Hindus removed some restrictions on the Mus which were necessary for maintaining pe As regards the Administration, it is far m in the hands of the Muslims and far less those of the Hindus than either the numbers, the public spirit, or the intellectual and cult standing of the two communities, or all of th taken together, would justify.

Therefore for the maintenance and incre of the all-India and provincial strength of Hindus, who constitute the core of the In nation, the Communal Decision must be knock on the head. Unless the Decision goes, Hi weakness cannot go; and unless Hindu we ness is replaced by Hindu strength weakness of the Indian nation cannot replaced by the strength of the Indian nati

The Hindus have to make this clear to Congress, of which also the Hindus are the and soul. Let the Hindus of Bengal who b been the greatest sufferers from the Deci begin the process.

Our suggestion is that there should be least as many members in Bengal of the A Communal Decision Bloc as there are prim Congress members. We call it a Bloc purpo ly, as there may and should be in it Congressm Hindu Mahasabhaites, Liberals, and pers who do not belong to any party whatsoev There is no bar to a person being both a prim Congress member and a primary Hindu Ma sabha member.

Our second suggestion is that when there is an election to the legislature, a dist board or municipality, Hindu voters should only for those candidates who pledge th selves in writing to work directly and indire against the Communal Decision.

Our third suggestion is that Anti-Com nal Decision Blocs should be formed in provi other than Bengal, too.

Our fourth suggestion is that public opi should be educated everywhere with the mate object of persuading the ministries in Congress provinces to demand of the Bri Government that the Communal Decision done away with; if the demand be not met, Congress ministers are to resign.

Our last suggestion is that there should an intensive campaign for rigid boycott British goods with a view to bringing pres on the British people for the reversing of Communal Decision.

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Report of the Bannu Raid Enquiry Committee

A lashkar of some 300 to 400 transfrontier tribesmen raided the town of Bannu in the British North-West Frontier Province on July 23, 1938. A committee was appointed by the Government of that province to inquire and submit a report. The report has been submitted and published. The committee's findings relating to the conduct of the Deputy Commissioner of the Bannu district has been thus summarized by *The Tribune* of Lahore :

So far as the Deputy Commissioner is concerned, the Committee dismisses the allegation that he either organized or connived at the raid as unworthy of credence, and says that the evidence on the point does not even cumulatively support the allegation. But while the Deputy Commissioner is exonerated from this grave charge, the Committee records against him the finding that he "was lacking in initiative and did not take proper and strong measures to protect the life and property of citizens committed to his charge and living in the city, which is a garrison town and should not have been allowed to be raided by a Lashkar consisting of only 300 to 400 men, even though armed with fire arms." This finding is amply supported by the evidence before the Committee. The failure of the Deputy Commissioner to take strong and proper measures may have been partly due to his impression that "in the maintenance of internal order against tribal incursion he was subordinate to the military authorities." But the Committee rightly affirms that "this was a wholly erroneous impression, and was neither supported by authority, nor by precedent nor by practice." In point of fact the existence of this impression in his mind shows all the more clearly that Major Laughton was not the kind of officer that should ever have been appointed to the administrative charge of so important a district as Bannu.

As regards the military authorities the Committee's finding is as follows :

"The Deputy Commissioner allowed himself to surrender initiative to the military authorities and the report of Bannu Brigade headquarters suggests that he was acting under their control. According to the same report orders for despatch of troops were issued between 10-15 and 10-30 p.m. and the military arrived at 11 p.m. Mr. Bowen in answer to a question said that the military gave no help in the dispersal or pursuit of the raiders."

Again,

"The final point we would emphasise is that the law lays on the military commander the duty of obedience and on civil authorities the right of requisition. The circumstances of the present case suggest that between 9 a.m. and 10 p.m. on the 23rd July, 1938, the legal position as between the two authorities was not properly appreciated at Bannu."

On these findings *The Tribune* very justly observes :

This is obviously the least that any impartial or dispassionate critic could say; and it is the clear duty of both the civil and the military authorities to see that this thoroughly discreditable state of things is never allowed to recur.

Regarding civil officers other than the Deputy Commissioner the Committee's findings are as condemnatory as those relating to that officer and the military authorities.

Some of the most important civil officers were not present in the city at all. This is particularly true of the Assistant Commissioner, K. B. Ibrahim Khalil Khan, and the Superintendent of Police. "It is regrettable," says the Committee, "that during those critical days when there was an apprehension of trouble, both the Assistant Commissioner and the Superintendent of Police were absent from Bannu. We do not think that leave of absence should be so readily granted to key officers in times of disturbance. The presence of a capable Assistant Commissioner on the 23rd July might have made much difference and would have strengthened the D. C.'s hands. The same applies with greater force to the S. P."

As regards the officers actually present in the city at the time of the raid the Committee concludes after a careful examination of the circumstances and the evidence that

"they did not on the night of the raid show the qualities of foresight, alertness and drive needed to meet a difficult and dangerous situation which did not come upon them entirely unheralded."

According to our Lahore contemporary :

This is no matter for surprise when it is borne in mind that in the absence of the Superintendent of Police, an officer of 14 years' standing, the police were placed in the charge of an Assistant Superintendent of Police who was a very junior officer and had at that time a total service of only 19 months to his credit. What followed might easily have been expected. Although information was received at 10 a.m. about the intended raid and was passed on by the Deputy Commissioner to the senior Indian Gazetted officer present at the station, no action in the way of special police precaution was taken during the day. The police officers were so unprepared that they were actually attending a dinner party at the quarters of the City Inspector. It took the Assistant Superintendent 40 minutes to hold the consultation and to reach the police lines after he had got definite information about the impending raid. He was still uncertain as to what he should do when at about 9 p.m. he was told that the raiders had actually entered the city and that looting was going on in the bazar. It is conclusively established by evidence that "the Assistant Superintendent of Police made up his mind, as instructed, to go into the city *after* the raiders had reached their objective and begun to damage the property of Bannu citizens," and that "with the exception of a small gateguard, consisting of four constables under the command of a lance head constable, there was nobody else at the railway gate or anywhere on the route from Gumbati to the City, to stop the entrance of the Lashkar into the city." A more disgraceful state of things cannot well be imagined, and it is the clear duty of the Government, on whom lies the responsibility for the protection of the life and property of the citizens, to bring home to those responsible for this criminal act of negligence the enormity of their offence, and also adopt the strongest possible measures to prevent a recurrence of this tragedy.

The Committee has recommended the following measures among others to be taken :

(1) The rigour of the Arms Act should be relaxed and people living within eleven miles of the administered areas

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in Bannu and D. I. Khan should be allowed to buy arms more freely.

(2) The system of police intelligence should be improved or augmented, the Frontier Constabulary should be increased and placed under the control of the Provincial Government.

(3) The tribes must be fined for kidnapping a British subject, and if a ransom has to be paid to obtain the release of kidnapped persons it must be deducted from the allowances payable to the tribes concerned.

(4) Villagers and townsmen should be organised in militias and the Khasadars should be replaced by the Frontier Constabulary.

(5) A motorable road interspersed by forts and a tower should be constructed on the administrative border and wireless telephones should be provided between the headquarters and all posts.

(6) The Provincial Government should become directly associated with the administration of the tribal territory.

(7) Joint electorates should be introduced for election to local and provincial bodies with a view to improving the relations between Hindus and Muslims.

All these recommendations are very important and useful. But what are the Central and Provincial Governments going to do to bring it home to the civil and military authorities concerned that they are strictly responsible for the safety of the lives and property of the people under their charge? What condign punishment is going to be inflicted on the officers who were guilty of neglect of duty?

"Attempt to Supplant Bengali by Hindi" in Manbhum

In relation to the allegation that "there is in Manbhum an attempt to supplant Bengali by Hindi", *The Behar Herald* of August 15 last publishes the following English translation of a circular in Bengali which was sent in May last by sub-inspectors of schools in Manbhum to the head pandits of the primary schools in their jurisdiction:

"Sir.—As directed by the Inspector of Schools, Chota-Nagpur Division, you are hereby notified to obtain the following informations and submit them to me by the 22nd May.

1. The names of the schools from which the teaching of Bengali can be completely abolished, and in which teaching of Hindi can be introduced from the next year;

2. The names of the schools in which both Hindi and Bengali are taught at present and may be taught even in future;

3. The names of the schools in which it will not be necessary at present to introduce Hindi in place of Bengali, the existing medium; in such cases if there are a very small number of students desiring to learn Hindi, the names of any schools nearby to which such pupils may be sent.

4. The names of schools in which Urdu teaching should be introduced.

You are requested to give the above informations after taking the opinions of the pupils and other residents of the locality. The opinions should be obtained in writing."

It is to be borne in mind that Manbhum is a predominantly Bengali-speakng district and that those in that district whose mother-tongue is not Bengali speak and understand Bengali as a secondary language.

The Behar Herald also quotes Mr. Krishna ballabh Sahay's reply to the Bengali deputationists' request at Jamtara that their children should be allowed to receive instruction through their mother-tongue Bengali. The reply was to the effect that the Bengalis must learn Hindi. But the Congress does not lay down that children in primary schools in non-Hindi-speaking areas should receive elementary education not through their mother-tongues, but through Hindi. In fact Congress does not want that Hindi should supplant other mother-tongues but that it should be learnt in addition to the mother-tongues. That can and should be done at a stage later than when children begin to know the alphabet and read the first primer or two.

Place of Bengali in U. P. Educational Institutions

In recent months there has been some discussion in the press of the question of the place of Bengali, the mother-tongue of Bengali children in the United Provinces, in the educational institutions of that Province. The Director of Public Information of that Province has recently (August 18) circulated a Press Note which clarifies the position. The subject of the discussion was a particular resolution of the Board of High School and Intermediate Education, United Provinces, which lays down that "in future answers in the various papers for the High School Examination shall be written in Hindi or Urdu."

This resolution has been held to be antagonistic to the educational facilities of the Bengali community in the province. In this connexion public meetings have also been held in a few cities of the province wherein reference has been made to certain assurances said to have been given by the Hon'ble Minister of Education to a deputation which saw him several months ago. The facts are as follows:

The Board is a statutory body and independent of the Government. It passed the resolution in what it considered to be the best interest of the spread of education in the province. So far, there had been three alternative languages English, Hindi, Urdu in which a Bengali student appearing at an examination under the Board could answer his questions. By the resolution of the Board, papers which could previously be answered in English were to be answered compulsorily in Hindi or Urdu. From the broader point of view the significance of the resolution consisted in the gradual substitution of English by Indian languages. Pedagogically, by the arrangement proposed by the Board the Bengali student was expected to devote less of his time to English which was one of the three optional languages

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in which he could answer and more of it to acquire proficiency in Hindi or Urdu one of which at least is more akin to his mother-tongue than English.

The Press Note does not say whether according to the arrangement proposed by the Board Bengali children were expected to devote some time to their mother-tongue and whether any facilities were or were to be provided for doing so.

The Note continues :

However, in deference to the wishes of the Bengali community, the Hon'ble Minister of Education told the deputation that pending Government decision on the recommendations of the Narendra Deo Committee, the then existing system would continue. That assurance has been observed. The Board's resolution has not been interpreted in a mandatory sense and Bengali students were permitted at the last High School Examination to answer questions in English, if they chose to do so.

This is satisfactory.

The relevant portion of the U. P. Government resolution on the Narendra Deo Committee's recommendation reads as follows :

"The Government accept the recommendations of the Committee as to the medium of instruction for the basic and the secondary institutions. The medium will rightly be Hindustani. This will not, however, preclude any special arrangement which may be required for the teaching of other Indian languages in the Province."

This decision of the U. P. Government is unexceptionable.

In the Note the following observations follow :

The last sentence clearly provides all that is necessary to enable teaching to be given and, by implication, examinations to be held in Indian languages other than Hindustani. As to which Indian languages should be recognised for this purpose is a question of detail, which will be examined by a special officer to be appointed shortly to go into the recommendations of the committee in their administrative and financial aspects. Till the results of this examination are available the existing position will continue. Thus the position is clear and unequivocal. There is nothing in any action, assurance or resolution of the Government to create misapprehension among the Bengali community inside or outside the province regarding the alleged disinterest of the Bengali language. It is farthest from the intention of the Government to curb the facilities the Bengali community enjoys at present in the province for studying Bengali, of the literature of which every section of the Bengali community is so justly proud. Government will continue to offer the community all such facilities.

The concluding paragraph of the Note reads :—

At the same time the Government expects that the Bengali community should be well-versed in the language of the province which they have made their home; particularly when in so doing they will relegate to a secondary position not their mother-tongue but a foreign language against the tyranny of which in the school and college curriculum the great educationists of Bengal have waged a noble struggle and with success.

The editor of *The Modern Review* began to publish his Bengali monthly *Prabāsī* in Allahabad nearly 40 years ago. It was meant to serve Bengalis living outside Bengal as well as those who lived in Bengal. Ever since its establishment we have tried our best to impress upon Bengalis living outside Bengal the duty and the advantage of learning the language of the region where they live. So we can give unqualified support to the first part of the sentence quoted above. With regard to the second part, though we presume we are nationalists in politics, we think we should avoid importing nationalistic politics into the sphere of cultural endeavours to any extent which may narrow our outlook. We cannot forget what we owe to our knowledge of the English language and literature. We are certainly against the tyranny of any foreign language. But it cannot be admitted that any Indian language, be it Bengali, or Hindi, or Urdu, or the still-to be party created Hindustani, is yet fit to displace English in any scheme of higher education. We venture to say that even when we begin to impart University education through the medium of some advanced Indian language, it would be necessary and advantageous to study English literature. Of course, we may study French literature or German literature, or some other advanced foreign literature in addition to the literatures of our mother-tongues.

Such being our opinions, we may be pardoned for hoping that there will not be any hurry on the part of linguistic nationalists or linguistic imperialists in seeking to *displace* English, though we would appreciate the *placing* of the mother-tongues.

The Note concludes thus :

Hindustani is very likely to be the medium of instruction in universities in the near future and may at no distant date displace English in an increasing degree in other spheres as well. Therefore, it is in the best interests, cultural and economic, of the domiciled Bengali community to acquire proficiency in the common language of the province which they have accepted as their own.

What sort of language the still-to-be-partly-created Hindustani will be we do not know. But it is probable that its *literature proper* will, at least for some decades, be poorer than the *literature proper* of Hindi and say, Bengali. Such being the case, will it be wise to make Hindustani the only medium of University education in the United Provinces ?

In the province of Bombay if University education has to be given through the medium of some Indian language or other, both Marathi and Gujarati must be the media—if not Canarese also. In the province of Madras as it is, the University languages should be Telegu

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and Tamil—if not Malayalam and Canarese also. In the C. P. also there must be two university languages, Hindi and Marathi.

In the United Provinces Hindi or Urdu or Hindustani is spoken by an overwhelmingly large majority of persons. But Bengali *is* spoken by a section of the permanent inhabitants of the province, though the numerical strength of that section is small—not at all comparable to the numerical strength of those who speak Gujarati, Marathi, Telugu, Tamil, Malayalam, or Canarese in the provinces named above. But U. P. Bengalis like the Bengalis of Bengal have a language and literature not less advanced than any others in India. Would it be too much to suggest or hope that it should be an alternative University language in the United Provinces?

When we visited Prague, the capital of Czechoslovakia, in 1926, we found two universities in that city, a Czech university and a German university. We find from a recent telegram published in *The Hindu* of Madras that even the Nazi devourers of Czechoslovakia are going to continue a similar arrangement. The telegram is printed below.

"CZECH PROTECTORATE"
"BI-LINGUAL SYSTEM ADOPTED"
"(Reuter's Agency.)
"PRAGUE, Aug. 19.

"On Baron Von Neurath's recommendation, the Government have issued a decree establishing equality between the Czech and German languages. The Protectorate thus is officially bi-lingual."

Of course, Bengalis are not as numerous in the U. P. as either the Germans or the Czechs in Czechoslovakia. But if the University in U. P. have an alternative linguistic medium they will be culturally richer.

"*Reward for Woman-Abduction*"

The Bengali daily *Jugāntar* has written an article under the heading "Nārī-haraner Puraskār" "Reward for Woman-Abduction," wherein a scandalous true story is told.

One Abdul Gafoor Kotwal, president of a union board, abducted a Brahmin girl Bināpāni. He was sentenced by the Sessions Judge to five years' rigorous imprisonment and a fine of Rs. 500. On appeal the High Court reduced the term of imprisonment to a year and a half, keeping the fine unreduced. After serving out his term, the man has been trying to become union board member again. But according to the village self-government act, a man convicted of an offence involving moral turpitude cannot stand for election until five years after release. Moreover, he has to obtain the pardon and approval of the provincial government before standing for election. If the distr board declares him unfit for election, he los his right to election for good. The district bo did so declare him, but on the man's bringi a civil suit against the district board, it effect a compromise and withdrew its ban, for reaso which can be guessed. The *Jugāntar* says has learned from a reliable source that the pro vincial government has also pardoned an recommended him for election.

If this account be true, the only thing th remains to decide is who should be whipped, according to the law applicable to the case t convict could have been awarded some strok also but was not. So the law should have due.

Russo-German Pact Anticipated in Prabāsi

In the last Jyaishtha number of *Prabā* published on May 14, in a note on Litvinov resignation, occurs the sentence, "it is report that arrangements are being made in secret f an alliance between Germany and Russia."

Lady Nirmala Sircar

By the death of Lady Nirmala Sircar, wife Dr. Sir Nilratan Sircar, Bengal has lost a la who from the privacy of her home inspired no only her husband but others also related to her to noble living. Not many know what a fortun Sir Nilratan has lost in trying to bring on a ne era in the industrial development of Bengal. H could not have done this without the full conse and co-operation of Lady Sircar. She took a active part on several occasions in relieving di tress caused by famine, flood and earthqua Her unostentatious and simple way of living a unfeigned courtesy won the respect of all w knew her. She studiously avoided the limeli but on the two notable occasions when took the chair she delivered stimulat addresses full of sound observations a arguments and accurate facts and statist One was the opening of a Swadeshi exhibit in Wellington Square, Calcutta, and the ot was an annual meeting of the Saroj Na Women's Welfare Association.

Key to the Frontispiece

The frontispiece in this issue of *The Modern Re* illustrates the following myth of the Hindus:

Krishna had left Brindabana and was made a Kin Mathura, while his loving admirers, *gopinis*, sorrowe Brindabana. After some time Krishna sent a messen Uddhava, to Brindabana to console the *gopinis*. Udd is painted here as speaking to the *gopinis*, and asking th to keep their faith firm in Krishna, who is introduced the picture as a King at Mathura.

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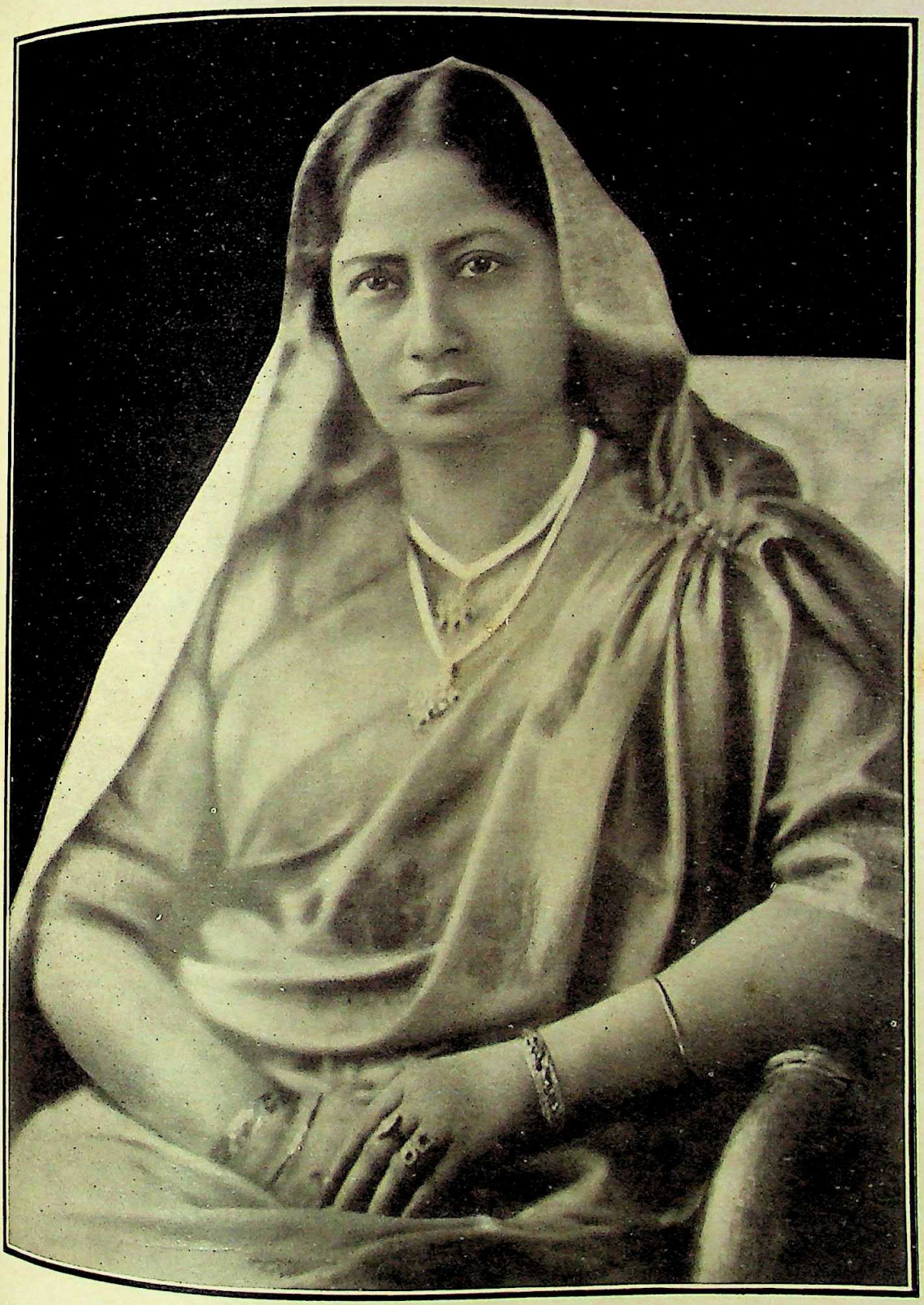

THE LATE LADY NIRMALA SIRCAR

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OTHER TIMES

By RABINDRANATH TAGORE

In our country it was the custom in the past for the villagers to hold a sort of informal club in some well-to-do person's *Chandi-mandap*.* Light talk and strong tobacco would circulate freely from mouth to mouth amongst the neighbours assembled there. The topics would, however, remain confined within the limits of the village. These social gatherings, with idle gossip and small talk, variegated with the pleasant pastime of angry and malicious fiction fights or bouts at cards or dice, along with three or four hours' noontide *siesta* helped them to while away the livelong day. Apart from these, from time to time, were provisions for mental culture in the shape of *jātrā*,† *sankirtan*,‡ *kathakata*,§ readings from the *Rāmāyana* and poetical and musical contests by improvisatores. Their subjects were drawn from the never-failing store garnered in the ancient tales of the country. The world in which these villagers lived and moved about was extremely circumscribed and monotonously familiar. Year after year, generation after generation, along the same beaten track, never deviating from the old ruts, caused by its own wheels, it had rolled on with its mass of well-known facts and the unchanging flow of its natural ideas, round which had solidified, in thick consistency, the customs and ways of our lives—customs and traditions, hard to break, forming the bricks and stones with which, long ago, the construction of this special world of our own creation had been completed. We never knew that, outside this limited sphere of ours, throughout the entire universe of man, from one end to the other, has been moving eternally the evolution of the mighty planet of History and that its revolving nebulae, instead of having been frozen into an inert lump motionless for ever, by the dead weight of ancient customs and *shastric* injunctions, were creating problems, ever-new, through the impact and recoil of their different parts against one another and the constant changes their forms undergo as a result of the frequent contraction and expansion of their respective boundaries.

The first blow from outside came from the Musalman. But he also belonged to the ancient East; he was not a modern. Like ourselves, he also was manacled by the fetters forged by his own past through centuries. He built up an empire with the might of his own right arm, but in the creative variety and freshness of new ideas, his mind was as poor as ours. Therefore, when he made his permanent abode in the midst of our limited horizon, it is true that we began to come into collision with him; but it was more or less external, in which one set of unchanging customs contended with another of the same kind, one body of fixed traditions with another. We find in contemporary literature proof of the fact that while Musalman influence penetrated deeply into the administrative sphere, it had no such absolute hold over the mind. Though the Persian language was current everywhere in those days amongst the gentry, we do not find that it inscribed its name across the page of Bengali literature; only in the polished language and the faultless metre of Bharat Chandra's *Bidyāsundar* (bearing the hall mark of the polite society of the city and court) can be detected a trace of the light badinage and the witty satire, characteristic of the Persian scholar of the time. Bengali literature of that period can be classed under the following two heads :—(1) Epic poetry, in honour and propitiation of gods and goddesses, some of whom were creations of a new mythology and (2) Love songs about Rādhā and Krishna, known as the *Baishnab Padābali*. The former contains, in places, descriptions of the Mahomedan administration of those days but, not to speak of the latter,—even in epic poetry, neither in the subject-matter nor in the ideology is any impress of Mussalman literature, notwithstanding the fact that we find a large number of Persian words in the Bengali language and that, at least, in the towns and capitals, the Persian fashion must have prevailed to a great extent. At that time, two ancient types of civilisation, fenced off from each other, stood side by side in India, facing each other. It will not be

* Edifice for the worship of the goddess Durga and other religious festivals.
† Indigenous theatricals.
‡ Choral religious chant and music.
§ Recital of mythological stories interspersed with songs and expositions.

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correct to say that they did not at all act and react on each other, but the effect produced was slight. The country felt violently the shock of physical force, but its mind was not roused by the fierce impact to move towards any new creation in the realm of thought. There is something more, however, to be said on this point. The Musalman came from a strange land to build his permanent home with us, but he did nothing to enlarge the range of our vision. He entered our house forcibly, stayed on in spite of our protests and then shut the door leading outwards. From time to time, attempts went on to break it open but nothing happened to extend our knowledge of the outside world. For these reasons, we stuck to the village club, which continued to be the chief theatre of our activities.

Then came the English, not only as men from a different continent, but also as representatives of the ideas of modern Europe. Man spreads himself over physical space, but mind exerts influence over mind. ***

The appearance of the English in Indian history is a wonderful affair. As men, they remained even farther from us than the Musalmans but, as messengers of European thought, they have come so near to us and established a contact so deep and so extensive, as no other foreign nation had ever done. Just as from the distant heavens a shower of raindrops strikes the earth and penetrating into its dormant depths, infuses a strong impulse of life—an impulse which shoots up into a wondrous variety of plants and blossoms forth into flowers of miraculous beauty—even so, did the vivifying downpour of European thought and culture quicken into new life our mind, slumbering, apparently lifeless, for ages. It is only the desert where this impulse is never felt, and this lack of response to outside living forces is a sure symptom of death. Now-a-days it is the fashion with some critics, wielding a clever pen, to pester us, modern Indian authors, with pinpricks by means of hair-splitting discussions as to how far and where we are indebted to Europe—discussions in which fanciful speculations, combined with only a modicum of research, play the major part. We know that, during the Renaissance in Europe, the mighty wave of new ideas created by the movement rushed, a leaping stream, from Italy and in its new career broke down all barriers and overflowed into the mind of all Europe. Do we wonder at the fact that its influence was manifested in various ways in the minds of the creators of English literature of that period? On the contrary, we feel th if it had not affected them in any way, t poverty of their ideas would have be deservedly termed rude barbarity. A mind which the faintest breath of life still persi cannot but be influenced by the currents another living mind,—indeed, wherever the s is alive, there runs on this eternal flow of g and take.

The radiant flame of modern culture whi first, shot forth its beams from the weste horizon is flooding with its rays the entire s of the history of mankind. Let us pause fo moment and examine its real nature. Mov by a strong impulse, the mind of Europe h spread itself over the whole earth, nay, ov the entire universe. Wherever she has stepp forward, she has dominated. What is the secr of her strength? It lies in the honesty of h search after truth. Neither intellectual lot eating, nor the seductive charms of fancy, n apparent but false analogies, nor blind obed ence to ancient learning has deflected her fro the right path; she has ruthlessly overcome t temptation of resting content with beliefs wh appeal instinctively to men. She has n attemped to bargain with truth on the ter that she will accept it only if it is consiste with her natural inclinations. Every day s is extending her sway over the world knowledge, simply because her devotion t intellect is absolutely pure and free from th obsession of personal idiosyncracies.

Although, even today, all around us, t walls of astrology lift up their suspicious fro challenging the entrance of free air and lig still the European mind has succeeded, throu breaches here and there, in penetrating into courtyard, has held before our eyes the univer sal aspect of knowledge and has revealed to the existence of an all-embracing eagerness curiosity in the human intellect—a curiosi not confined to any particular subject spreading out its tentacles towards the en universe—a curiosity which yearns with instinctive, unreasoning eagerness to exam and master all things nearest to us as well farthest from us, the minutest as well as vastest, the most useful as well as the m inutile. It has shown us that there is no vac space in the realm of knowledge, that all tru are threaded together into one insepara entity and that the mandate of no four-faced five-faced deity can claim to have a peculia supernatural evidentiary value of its own against the testimony put forward by even meanest witness in the universe.

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And this attitude towards scientific knowledge of the universe has its counterpart in that towards ethical questions. The laws introduced by the new government enunciated the principle that the heinousness of the offence does not vary with the class or rank of the individual. For example, the offence of murder remains in the same category and the punishment prescribed for it is the same, whether a Brahmin kills a Sudra or a Sudra kills a Brahmin. There cannot be a special classification of right and wrong because of the dictates of any ancient sage.

It will not be correct to say that, even now, we have adopted in our heart of hearts, and in its entirety, the doctrine that the scales of social justice must balance equally and that its immutable ideal should not be deflected towards any side by the added weightage of class distinctions; still there is no doubt that it has revolutionised, to a great extent, our thoughts and conduct. This is proved by our discussions as regards the impropriety of preventing the entry into temples of even those whom society persist in regarding as untouchables. Though a class of persons, instead of relying on the eternal truths of religion, are quoting in its support texts from the shāstras, still this verbal pleading based on 'revealed' doctrines has not impressed the people strongly. The public mind has been struck by the fact that what is wrong cannot be made acceptable simply by the adventitious strength of its basis on dharm, the shāstras or the dictates of an individual, and that it does not deserve to be treated with respect even if it bears a distinctive mark ascribing its origin to no less a person than the proud possessor of the title of Śankarāchārya.

If we look into Bengali literature of the Muhammadan period, we find that the ideal of conduct prevalent at that time was degraded by the belief that it is the special prerogative of eminence to have the unchallenged privilege of doing wrong. This conception of gods and goddesses extorting respect and obedience from mortals by raising the spectre of wrongful possession, was derived from the fact that in those days strong men used to consolidate their power by tyranny. Their comparative superiority or inferiority of status rested on the relative victory or defeat in this cruel contest of brute strength. The ordinary people must obey the dictates of religion, but the fortunate few, placed above the common herd by birth, had the unquestioned right of overriding those laws. It is imperative that we must not go beyond the terms of treaties if we want to keep our plighted word and to preserve the peace of the world, but power in the height of its arrogance claims the proud privilege of tearing them to tatters as so many scraps of mere paper. There was a time when men acknowledged as a sign of divinity the daring presumption of haughty irreligion, impatient of the ties of morality. The real significance of the phrase, then current, *viz.* :—"Delhi's Emperor or the Lord of the Universe"—is that the divinity of the latter is proved by His irresistible might and not by the justness of His ways to men and that, following the same rule, the Emperor of Delhi could claim to have attained an equal distinction. The Brahmin was then termed "bhū-deva," "god on earth", but in his divinity there was no indispensable qualification of *noblesse oblige* but only a meaningless claim of unreasoning superiority. This fictitious superiority was above all considerations of right and wrong. This is clear from the *smritis* which confer on him the unrestricted right to treat the *sudras* wrongfully. The British Empire is, undoubtedly, mightier and far more extensive than the Moghal, but it is inconceivable that even the veriest fool amongst us will subscribe to the doctrine, "Willingdon * or the Lord of the Universe". The reason is that, now-a-days, the comparability of the ideal of divinity is not measured by the merciless power of devastating enemy villages by a shower of bombs from the skies. Today, even though on the point of death, we can judge British rule from the standpoint of right and wrong and it never occurs to us that it is a presumption on the part of the weak to ask the strong in the name of justice, to refrain from the exercise of absolute power. Indeed the British Government with all its mighty resources has, in one respect, by acknowledging the universal applicability of the ideal of justice, placed itself on the same level with the weak.

When we first became acquainted with English literature, not only did we derive from it new aesthetic and emotional enjoyment, but also, our hearts were moved by a divine urge to remove the wrongs inflicted by men on their fellow-men, our ears rang with the proclamation of its political ideal of knocking off the shackles of fettered humanity and our minds felt the earnestness of its grim struggle against the tyrannous practice of treating men as merchandise in trade. We cannot but admit

* The author wrote this article, in Bengali, six years ago.

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that these ideas were new to us. We used to believe formerly that, either because of the immutable laws governing the birth of men or as the result of deeds done in our previous life (the doctrine of *karma*), one belonging to a particular caste has to submit without a demur to restrictions of one's rights and privileges as a member of society and to consequent loss of one's self-respect, and that the humiliation of belonging to a lower caste can be removed only by fortuitous re-birth. Even in these days, in our country, there are many amongst the educated community who, while admitting the necessity of exertions to remove the stigma of inferiority from which we are suffering in the political sphere, advise those labouring under disabilities due to social customs to submit tamely for the sake of religion to their shameful and dishonourable lot without making the least attempt to better it. They forget that this attitude of mind, to accept without a protest whatever a fixed unswerving fate has ordained for us, is one of the greatest factors in tightening the handcuffs and fetters and in strengthening the bonds of our political serfdom.

The contact with Europe has, on the one hand, brought out prominently before us the universality of the law of cause and effect in the material world, and, on the other, the pure ideal of justice which can never be whittled away by any directions from the ancient shāstras, by any limitations imposed by a long-standing custom or by any special rules about any special caste. The efforts we are making today, with all our imperfections, to bring about a change for the better in our political status are based on the recognition of this very ideal of justice; and in the shrill-throated agitation we have started against the mighty British Government to enforce claims which we could never even in our wildest imagination have dared to put forward before the Moghal emperors, we rely on the strength of the principle enunciated by the poet :—"A man's a man for a' that".

I am now more than seventy years old. It was about the middle of the nineteenth century when I commenced my acquaintance with this period of our history which must be called the European age. The present-day youth laughs at it; with them the Victorian age, as they style it, is a standing joke. England, that portion of Europe with which we were directly connected, had then attained the summit of material prosperity and political power. Nobody, then, could even have conceived that the whirligig of time, in its eternal march, might bring in a day when the demon of mischief would steal through a chink in the wall into the ample store of her wealth. In spite of whatever may have happened in ancient history, there was neither the slightest sign nor the slightest fear anywhere that the good fortune of those who, in these modern times, steer the ship of western civilization, might suffer a set-back and that they might be ever compelled to struggle against unfavourable winds. At that time, Europe had not lost faith in her ideals of liberty of thought and of the individual for which she had fougnt during the days of the Reformation and the French Revolution. At that time, in the United States of America brothers fought against brothers about the suppression of the slave trade. The Victorian Age could glory in the noble exhortations of Mazzini and the daring exploits of Garibaldi and it was during that age that Gladstone's voice of thunder resounded throughout the world in condemnation of the Sultan of Turkey's atrocities. We also in India, at that period, began to entertain definite hopes about our independence. In these expectations there was, no doubt, an element of hostility to the English on the one hand, but again, on the other, there was also an extraordinary confidence in the English character. Whence came the strength in our minds which made it possible for us to believe that, simply by appealing in the name of humanity, we might be able to persuade the British to take us as partners in the administration of India?

What a distance had we traversed in no time from the Musalman age to reach this advent of a New Era! What is the nature of the education that raised in our eyes the value of man and his claims to our regard to this marvellous height! And this, in spite of the fact that, as regards our conduct towards our own relations and neighbours, in the midst of our own environment and in our own society we have not, even now, accepted in its entirety the principles of liberty, equality and fraternity, the ideal that every one is entitled to freedom and respect as an individual and must have equal rights along with others to absolute justice without any discrimination of caste or creed. But, in spite of protest, at every step in our everyday conduct, the influence of Europe is slowly but surely working on our mind. The very same remark applies to our scientific ideas. Science has come to our ken through the path of schools and colleges but our old astrological almanacs and shāstras have not yet surrendered to her the full possession

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of our homes. Still, the learning of Europe, in the teeth of this opposition on our part, is forcing its way to our mind and extorting admiration and regard from us.

So, if we take all these facts into consideration, we find that this age has been with us an age of close co-operation with Europe. Indeed, whenever our ideas and education have been co-operated with her, we have suffered a defeat. This co-operation becomes easy and natural, if our growing respect for her does not receive a rude shock. I have pointed out already that our New Age commenced its career with an abiding faith in Europe's moral excellence, because we saw that, in the realm of knowledge, she had the courage to respect the free play of men's intelligence, liberated from the spell of old traditions and beliefs, and to admit his just right in the sphere of jurisprudence. This opened the way through which some self-respect in spite of all sorts of deficiencies and disadvantages. It is this feeling of pride in our self-esteem which leads us, up to this time, to hope to be able to carry through successfully even the most desperate enterprises on behalf of our nation and to dare the length of judging the mighty even by the standard of justice set up by themselves. It must be admitted that, so far as the previous Moghal government is concerned, we did not share with them the same ideas of mental and moral culture as we do with the British. At that time our difference with the authorities, indeed, was of so radical a nature that, though occasionally we might have received from them marks of favour, due to the sudden access of some good fortune on our part, we could not have then taken our stand on the ground that our fellow-men we have, according to the principle of universal justice, claims to their favourableness.

In the meantime, history went on marching forward. Asia was seized with the impulse of waking up from her long sleep of ages. Japan, even through her contact and her struggles with the west, won her way in a very short time to a rightful position of honour in the society of world powers. In other words, Japan proved to the hilt that she was a modern among moderns and was, no longer, shrouded under the shadow of the past. We saw the eastern nations marching towards the New Age. We had hoped for a long time that we also would fall into line with them and take our proper place in world history, that our political chariot will move along towards the front and that England herself will sieze the ropes and lead us on along the path of progress. We gazed and gazed earnestly in expectation of help, but to our horror found, at length, that the wheels had completely stopped. Today the chief achievement of the British Government, in which they take the greatest pride, is the establishment of law and order and the enactment of Acts and ordinances. In this vast sub-continent, there is very little provision for education and sanitation; and the opportunity is rare for our countrymen to open up new avenues for the production of wealth. We do not find the least possibility of any such opening in the near future, all the resources of the country having been swallowed up in the monstrous maw of law and order. It, therefore, appears as if India's very contact with Europe has brought about the untoward result of depriving her of the best gift of the European New Age. India still remains a dark spot on the brilliant surface of the sun that shines over the New Age.

England, France and Germany are, at present, very heavily indebted to America. But even if the amount of the debt had been twice as large, it would not have been impossible to repay it fully, had there been no objection on the part of the debtor countries to confine their expenditure strictly to the maintenance of law and order to the detriment of all other requirements, that is, if it had been possible to keep the entire population on half rations, if the supply of water, fit for drinking, could have been ruthlessly curtailed to a quantity very much less than that demanded to allay the peoples' thirst, if all that was necessary was to provide means of education for only 5 to 7 per cent of the entire population and if medicinal arrangements were allowed to lag behind in spite of the fact that disease, in all its forms, was perennially busy, sowing the seeds of debility and brittleness in the very bones of the country from generation to generation. But as the existence of all these disabilities will be fatal to the maintenance of a civilized standard of living, we came to hear the debtor telling the creditor straight off that the debt will not be paid. Could India, in the same way, make up her mind to go the length of saying, in the name of civilization,—"It is not possible to bear the intolerable load of debt imposed by your costly administration—a debt which robs us, poor broken bankrupts, of the priceless treasure of life itself—a debt which will never allow our ill-fated country to shake off the dead weight of barbarity which sits heavy like an enormous rock on her breast and suffocates her almost to death?" Will Europe with her own

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hands confine to the western hemisphere of the globe the ideals of that civilization which she herself has created in the modern age? Does not Europe lie under a moral obligation to all men and all times to explain how she discharged the great and noble responsibility which this civilization has imposed on her?

It came gradually to be perceived that the torch of European civilization was not meant to enlighten the dark places which lay beyond her geographical limits and were not peopled by her kith and kin, but to set them afire. This is the reason why, once upon a time, it rained simultaneously cannon balls and lumps of opium on the central heart of China. Such an outrage is unparalleled in history,* if we except the complete destruction of the unique culture of the Maya tribes in America immediately after the first discovery of that continent, when civilized Europe, moved by the greed of gold, devastated their country by physical force as well as subtle stratagem. In the Middle Ages, it is true, the rude Tartars had built huge piles of human skulls in conquered territories, but the sufferings inflicted by them were obliterated in course of time, while the poison which civilized Europe has compelled China to swallow will continue forever to course through her veins and shatter her whole system, penetrating even to the marrow of her bones. When the 'Young Persia' party tried to stand on their own legs and staked their lives on the task of freeing their country from the toils of listlessness which had bound her for ages, how civilized Europe stepped in, seized her by the throat and tried to stop her reviving breath, will be clear from a perusal of the book *Strangling of Persia*, written by Mr. Schuster, an American who had been called in to set her finances in order and was foiled in his efforts through the obstructive tactics of the European nations. We all know how European rule in African Congo resulted in unspeakable atrocities. Even now, in the United States of America, the Negroes have to labour under a wearisome load of social obloquy and humiliation and when some poor wretch of this community is burnt alive, crowds of white-skinned men and women thickly swarm and jostle one another in their anxiety to gloat over the brutal scene.

Then came the Great War and suddenly lifted a corner of the veil screening western civilization from our eyes. And it seemed as if the curtain of privacy was lifted to lay bare before our gaze the orgies of a drunkard. Such barefaced falsehood, such disgusting savagery might have fitfully formed a thick mist and troubled the skies of the previous dark ages but had never revealed themselves so distinctly in such a terribly demoniacal shape. They used to pass before our terror-stricken eyes like blackening whirlwinds, thick-covered with dust, but this is raging like the burning molten lava of a volcano, the fierce flood of dammed-up vice with its "waves of torrent fire" breaking down all barriers in its mad rush, illuminating the distant horizon from end to end with its lurid light and reducing to ashes the verdant freshness of the earth to its farthest corner. Since that time, I find that Europe's beneficent genius has lost faith in itself; in a mood of defiance, she is now ready to ridicule her former ideals of goodness. She has now lost her former sense of shame; the Europe we knew once, through our contact with England, used to shrink hesitatingly from evil, but now she is crying shame on these very scruples. I find that in these days civilization is divesting itself of its sense of responsibility as regards its duty of convincing the world that it knows and observes the rules of polite society. Inhuman cruelty no longer hides its head in shame but struts proudly before the public. I see that Japan—the best alumnus of those who have graduated in the school of European civilization—cites, with guffaws of sardonic laughter, precedents from European history, when she is taken to task for the merciless manner in which she tramples, in the pride of her physical might, over the just rights of weaker nations like the Chinese and the Koreans. Only a short while ago, it would have been impossible for us even to imagine such outbursts of savage frenzy on the part of the Black and Tan as we saw recently sweeping over Ireland. And then we had the misfortune of seeing the monstrous spectre of Jalianwala-bagh lift its frightful head in our very midst. That very Europe which had at one time severely criticized the Turkey of those days as barbarous and inhuman, has been now transformed into an amphitheatre where Fascism revels in the naked display of indiscriminate violence. It was a cherished belief with us once that the liberty of freely expressing one's opinion is a dearly-bought, hard-won privilege jealously guarded by the Europeans, with which they would never part; but today we are amazed to find that, both in Europe and America, the strangle-hold of the authorities on the breath of this freedom of speech becomes

*The author wrote this article, in Bengali, six years ago.

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daily more and more oppressive. When we were very young, it is from the pulpit of Europe that we were edified with the doctrine that individual opinions are entitled to respect; and now I shall quote a few sentences from a book to illustrate the fate which in these days overtakes those who, in that very continent, believe in the truth of Christ's teachings and who regard it a sin to bear malice even against enemies. René Raimont, a French youth, who had conscientious objection to war, writes :

"So after the war I was sent to Guiana . . . . Condemned to fifteen years' penal servitude, I have drained to the dregs the cup of bitterness, but the term of penal servitude being completed, there remains always the accessory punishment—banishment for life. One arrives in Guiana sound in health, young, vigorous; one leaves (if one leaves) weakly, old, ill . . . One arrives in Guiana honest—a few months later on one is corrupted . . . . They (the transportees) are an easy prey for all the maladies of this land—fever, dysentery, tuberculosis and most terrible of all, leprosy."

It is well known to everybody, what a veritable *inferno* of unendurable tortures is the island where Italy confines those punished for differences of political opinion. Germany can take the foremost place among those countries where blazed most brightly the flame of European civilization. But even there we find that it has not become impossible for demoniacal fury to run rampant over the whole country, crushing to pieces all the ideals of civilization. When, today, Europe's savage after-war cruelty is displaying itself shamelessly everywhere in this fashion, we are constantly reminded of the question : "Where stands now the court of humanity where man's last appeal must be made ? Must faith in humanity break down altogether and must we, for ever, put up barbarity itself as a shield against the assaults of barbarity ?" But, even in the midst of this despair, we find consolation in the fact that, to whatever dizzy heights may evil shoot up in the pride of arrogance, we can still judge it boldly without bowing down our heads in obeisance before it, we can still proclaim, "You are unworthy of respect," we can still call down destruction on evil with curses; that even in these dark days are to be found men who are not afraid, at the cost of their lives, to defy the powers of evil in this manner is a fact transcending all sorrow and fear. Today, even if our bones be powdered to dust under the tortures inflicted by the minions of tyrants, we cannot, as before, raise our folded palms in obeisance, crying, "Delhi's Emperor or the Lord of the Universe," we cannot force ourselves to say that he who can boast of his superior strength is above all blame. Rather do we shout lustily at the top of our voice, pointing out : "It is he on whom rests the heaviest responsibility, it is he whose offence, judged according to his own standard, is the most heinous." The day when the weak, the humiliated will cease to raise their voice, in appeal for justice, above the oppressor's roar and will lose, for ever, completely the courage and the right to cry shame on the strong who forget their better selves in the pride of power,—that day I will come to the melancholy conclusion that the age has indeed gone hopelessly bankrupt, even to the uttermost cowrie of all its best treasure. Let another age commence its career of unrelieved gloom from that day—the blackest in the calendar.

[*Free translation by Rai Bahadur Amal Krishna Mukerjea, M.A. Publication permitted by Rabindranath Tagore.*]

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RABINDRANATH TAGORE'S ADDRESS

At the Laying of the Foundation Stone of "Mahajati Sadan" (Congress House)

(English Translation)

BENGAL led India in welcoming European culture to her heart, living currents flowed from overseas stirring her with new freedom. From age-long hibernation, Bengal's intellectual mind awoke to full splendour. Mighty-souled Indians like Ram Mohun Roy had sudden access to a wide range of rational imagination, frontiers vanished from their vision in a background of universal humanity. Bengal launched India's crusade against custom, religious sectarianism, and political serfdom. Bengali language gathered new momentum, its stiffness was dispelled by youthful vigour, literature came laden with unprecedented hope sheltering and nourishing life like islands uprisen from primeval ocean's depth. Painting in Bengal burst the bonds of alien imitation; striving for the genius of India's art, it defied the savage attack of mimic-mongers. Music again, in Bengal, released itself from the coils of blind traditions, and even if final judgment cannot be delivered on her creative experiments, her path of self-expression, in spite of pedant's verdicts, has been opened. Bengal's individuality is being revealed in her songs.

Where life's call is vital, living centres must respond: Bengal did so even though the call of the New Age came from distant shores. In that lies Bengal's pride, and her true identity. India's first home for cultivation of national freedom was in this province; in those critical days again, when our leaders were banished behind jail-bars it was our youth in Bengal who led unhesitatingly in flinging themselves in the face of dire calamity—no other part of India can claim a parallel to this. Not that we are judging such events in the light of results, or by the standard of permanent beneficence—but we must give full value to intolerable suffering, to dauntless sacrifice for the sake of freedom. Hundreds of youthful lives in Bengal have burnt themselves out during long terms of imprisonment; Bengal's lights are dim, we know, for this reason; and yet we know that the soil in which they were born will give birth again to heroic sons who will not waste their manhood in destructive work but harness it to national reconstruction.

Today in this great Hall of India we shall lay the foundation of Bengal's prowess, but our strength will not lie in arrogant nationalism suspicious of friend and foe. We shall invoke Bengal's magnanimous heart of hospitality in which our humanity has found liberation; we shall seek freedom in manysided co-operation. Valour and beauty, resolute work and creative imagination, devotion to truth as well as self-dedication in public service—may these unite in benediction to our land. Noble memories of the past would mingle with great hopes for the future, heightening our power of action. Bengal's greatness, carrying her to a new sunrise will be augmented by propitious circumstance and stirred to triumphant ardour by adversity; she will spread the urge for diverse self-expression in our many-roomed Hall of Nation. We welcome here the renascent soul of Bengal which has taken solemn initiation from History to dedicate its wealth of intellect and learning at India's shrine. To that beneficent heart of our culture we offer homage; in our dignified self-respect we shall come nearer to our united nationalism, never yielding to the egoistic vanity of isolation which hurts our inherent humanity. High over all contentious politics let us keep the banner of truth flying, and pray:

Make them true, O Lord,
Bengal's vows, Bengal's hopes,
Bengal's work, Bengal's language,
Let them be true.
Bengal's heart, Bengal's mind,
Brothers and sisters in Bengal's home
Let them be one, O Lord, make them
one.

And to this prayer let this be added: May Bengal's arm give strength to the arm of India, Bengal's voice give truth to India's message; may Bengal, in service of freedom of India, never make itself ineffective by betraying the cause of unity.

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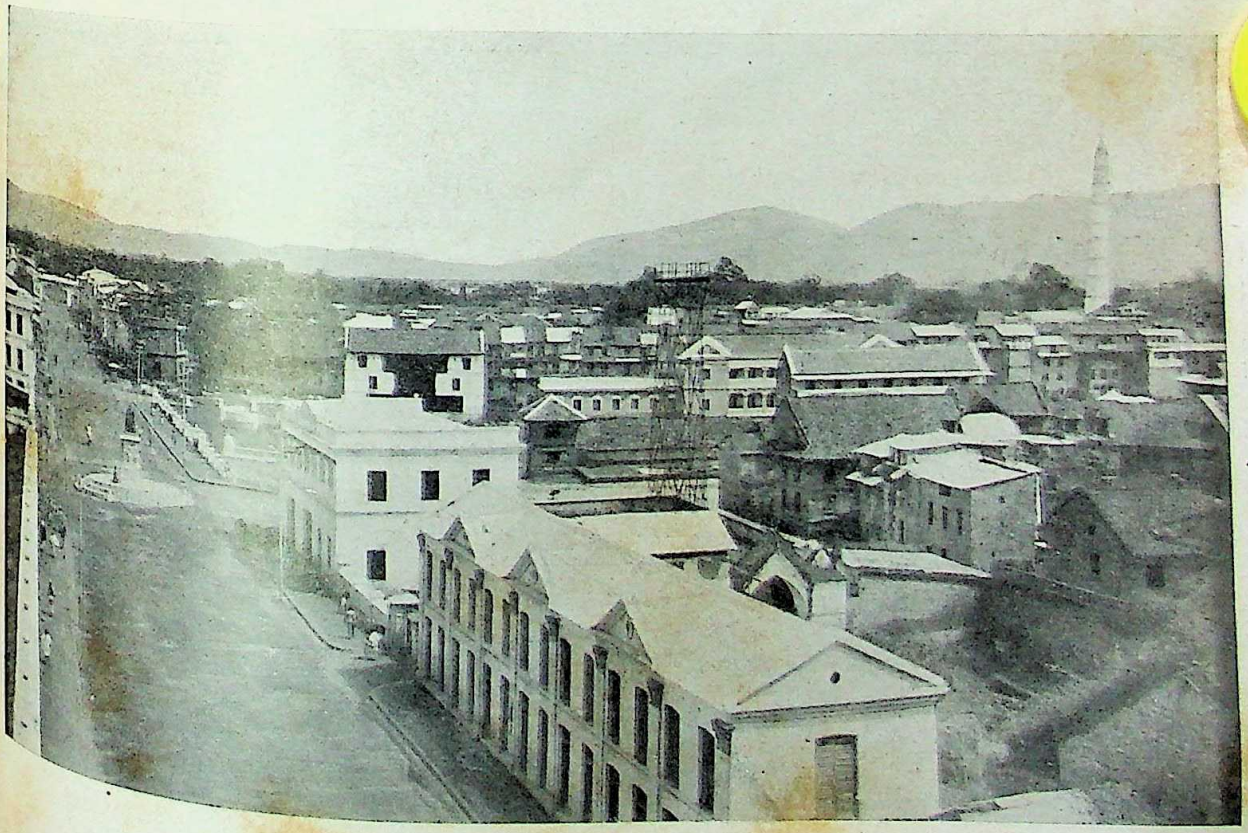
His Highness the Maharaja of Nepal with his Shikar Trophies of 1938



Joodha Satak

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Nepal Museum

Nepal Bank

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THE FIRST OF SEPTEMBER IN NEPAL

By SIVA NARAYANA SEN

Nepal spreads over a broad expanse, nearly rectangular, three sides of which are bounded by British territories. It consists of a series of tracts, changing their character as they rise from the level of the British frontier on the plains. It is girt with a belt of wild and wooded territory, called the Terai. Above the plain rises a range of low hills, watered by numerous streams descending from the mountains behind, and separated by broad valleys similar to the straths of Scotland.

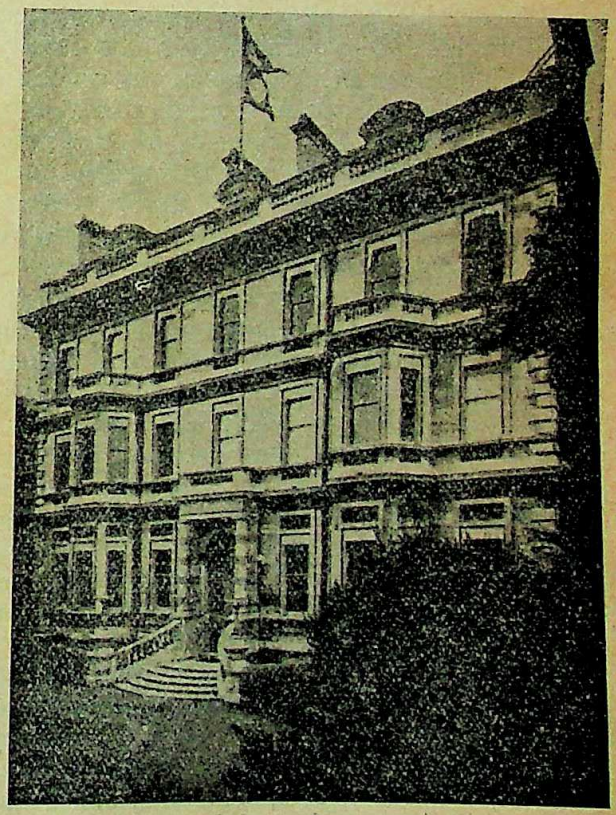
Above these hilly tracts towers a region decidedly mountainous, which comprises Nepal proper and all the most important districts of this territory. The mountains are here arranged in long steep ridges, with narrow valleys interspersed;—a configuration which renders travelling across them very laborious. The level of the valleys is more than 4,000 feet above that of the plains of Hindusthan. Where they present an extent of soil, they are exceedingly productive, the supply of water being ample and the temperature corresponding to that of the south of Europe. Great agricultural industry is here displayed, and the sides of the mountains are formed into terraces, by which the supply of water may be increased or diminished almost at pleasure, so that the crops are surer than in almost any other part of the world. The woods are particularly magnificent, and flowers of every form and hue cover the fields. Vegetables are scanty and defective. The country is full of various natural resources.

Nepal is independent both politically and economically. She is not insignificant. Before long she is sure to acquire her proper place on the international platform.

Conquests of the house of Gorkha under the able leadership of the king Prithwi Narayan Shah have united this vast expanse of varied mountain territory into one great kingdom.

To imagine Nepal, forget traffic and sharp noise and fast and smart living. Nepal, away from cities, is a land of silence and leisureliness and spreading spaces. Endless and endearing variety of beauty, or incongruity, or terror fascinates the eye. The land is as dramatic and varied as the people.

Kathmandu, the capital of Nepal, the only Hindu independent country in the world, being surrounded by mountains, looks like a flower, with its petals of hills, drinking the sunlight. These hills with voiceful hill streams are like children shouting and raising their arms, trying to catch the stars. The mist, like love, plays upon the heart of these hills and brings our surprises of beauty. The trees, like the longings of the earth, stand a-tiptoe to peep at the heavens and seek their solitude in the sky, while the grass below seeks the company of the crowd. Here



Napalese Legation, London

sing the waterfalls, "We find our songs when we find our freedom." The sun has his simple robe of light. The clouds are decked with gorgeousness. The smell of the wet earth in the rain rises like a great chant of praise from the voiceless multitude of the lowly. When women move about in their household service, their limbs sing like a hill-stream among its pebbles and men have in them the silence of

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the sea, the noise of the earth and the music of the air.

Worship, worship ! People are walking the roads of Kathmandu on their way to worship. They are walking to a temple to offer their "pujā," walking to the temple of Pasupatinath, the holiest of the shrines, walking to the river Bagmati to plunge into its sacred waters and wash away all impurities entailing rebirth.

Within these environments His Highness the Maharaja Joodha Shumshere Jung Bahadur Rānā, the present Prime Minister and Supreme Marshal of Nepal, who bears unquestionably the stamp of imperishable greatness, was born in 1875 A.D. in the month of April. He is the tenth son of General Dhir Shumshere Jung Bahadur Rānā, who held for a long time the actual office of Commander-in-Chief and practically that of Prime Minister also.

Joodha Shumshere came into the world under favourable auspices for the career that lay before him. To be born into the family of Dhir Shumshere in that epoch, was to enter upon life in the midst of surroundings eminently favourable to the development of a genius whose natural bent was towards politics and administration; it was to have the full assurance of the careful and reverent cultivation of such an instinct as a priceless gift of nature.

For one century this Rānā family, as its records prove, have occupied a place of the greatest eminence among the nobility of Nepal.

This family is collateral of the family of the Mahārāna of Udaipur, chief of the proud Sisodia clan, who boast descent from the Sun.

The Rajputs are anything but introverts. They do not care for sitting in groves renouncing the world, nor for spinning out subtle arguments in metaphysics. They love action and have a sensitive code of honour, for which they do not mind even giving up their lives.

Maharaja Joodha Shumshere was brought up in an orthodox religious atmosphere and was carefully trained in the manly and military sports befitting a Rajput. He possesses all the modern princely accomplishments, such as hunting, skill in speech and knowledge of law and Royal policy, coupled with elephant and horse riding and many other traditional qualities of a ruler of the past. He is an exceptionally good shot. A most enthusiastic hunter, even at this advanced age he goes out every year on his hunting expeditions into the dense forests of the Terai. Up till now his trophies have amounted to more than 300 tigers, apart from a good number of panthers, bears and rhinos, etc.

In person he is handsome and graceful in carriage and his stature is finely proportioned.

His guiding principle is tolerance but not weakness. He aims at establishing direct relationship between the subjects and the State and is specially concerned with the individual happiness of his people. He does not need to be surrounded by puppets to feed his pride. His conception is that the ruler should render all possible help to improve the quality of the human stuff of his kingdom. Can a government rise above the level of its human stuff? Of what value is it if the people are shoddy? Its chief duty, he thinks, is to promote their happiness and foster integrity of character so that their lives may be full-flowered. He is a man of kindly disposition and a lover of justice and piety, of gentleness and humanity. In the happiness of his subjects lies his happiness; in their welfare his welfare. Whatever pleases himself he does not consider as good, but whatever pleases his subjects he considers as good. He works hard, very hard. He personally attends to the business of the State and is in the know of the minutest affair of the State. In order to gather first-hand information about the subjects and the work done by various departments of the government he goes out every evening either on an elephant or in a car; and goes out into the interior of the kingdom once every year, which is known as his "Shikar expedition."

He was the Senior Commanding-General (military head of the Nepal Government) from 1902 A.D. to 1929 A.D., and the Commander-in-Chief from 1929 to 1932 A.D.

On 1st September, 1932, at night Maharaja Bhim Shumshere Jung Bahadur Rānā passed away, and on the same night His Majesty the Mahārājādhirāja Tribhuvana Vir Vikrama Shah Deva, the King of Nepal, formally appointed Maharaja Joodha Shumshere Jung Bahadur Rānā Prime Minister of Nepal. Invested thus with absolute power, His Highness the Maharaja Joodha Shumshere Jung Bahadur Rānā assumed supreme control of all things Nepalese and became the supreme judge in Nepal to whom all appeals lie. His accession to the supreme office was received with enthusiasm by all classes of the people.

The folliwing brief account will show how Nepal is fast advancing towards modernisation and acquiring an international status.

In the march of progress Nepal is making an earnest effort to keep pace with the other nations of the world. The special characteristic of this progress lies in making changes with

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without disturbing the national ideal and without any apish imitation of other nations. This is the inner spirit of the present regime.

Economic progress is at the root of all developments in a country. First of all this point drew the attention of His Highness and he set up a "Development Board" in order to explore new avenues of income for the people by utilising the vast resources of the country. This Board has already organized a bank, a jute mill and a sugar mill. Another department called "Gharelu" has been set up to look after the improvement of the cottage industries of the country. Thus he is trying to bring about a harmonious development of both large-scale industries and handicrafts.

At the helm of these affairs is placed his worthy eldest son, the Northern Commanding-General Sir Bahadur Shumshere Jung Bahadur Rānā, who is also the A. D. C. General to His Highness.

His Highness has been trying to elevate the position of Nepal in the international sphere and during his regime the Nepalese Legation in England was first opened and Commanding-General Bahadur went there first as the minister plenipotentiary.

Provident fund for the military department has been first inaugurated by him in this country, and the Eastern Commanding-General Sir Bāber Shumshere Jung Bahadur Rānā is in charge of the same along with his portfolio of Public Health.

Maharaja Joodha Shumshere Jung has continued the policy of free education, both primary and secondary, of his predecessors and as a supplement of the education department and a necessary adjunct of civilized society, he has been spending money munificently on the Nepal Museum. This Museum is now open to the public and is growing to be the cultural centre of the country. Grants have already been sanctioned for a new up-to-date building whose construction will begin very soon. His Highness takes a keen interest in the Museum and in the preservation of the antiquities of the land. A nucleus of the Archaeological Survey of Nepal has already been formed, which is now busy in drawing up its preliminary report. These departments are under Major General Mahārajendra Shumshere Jung Bahadur Rānā, M.A. That he is not indifferent to Art is best shown by the "Gallery Baithak" (New Darbar Hall) within the Singha Darbar (the official residence of His Highness the Maharaja), which has been built under his instructions and which bears testimony to his refined taste and love of art. The new road which bears his name—"Joodha Satak"—can be compared with any other avenue of the modern world.

The mainstay of Nepal is Agriculture. His Highness wants to improve it on modern scientific lines, and under the auspices of the lately started "Krishi Parishad" (Agricultural Department) scientific investigations and researches are being carried on by experts. This department is being conducted by Major-General Sir Krishna Shumshere Jung Bahadur Rānā, who has lately returned from England after serving there as a minister plenipotentiary to the court of St. James as a successor of General Bahadur.

It is under his regime, first in the history of Nepal, that Art and Industrial Exhibitions are being annually organized, which are giving a great encouragement to the people concerned by way of competition and publicity.

The great earthquake of 1934 practically devastated the country. Millions were rendered homeless—thousands died. His Highness' generosity and kindness enabled all homeless people to find shelter, and for this purpose he made a gift of 29 lakhs of rupees. But the most touching fact in this connection is his sympathy for his people. He lived in a tent outside his Palace until his poor people could find shelter under their roofs. A great soul indeed!

The introduction of franchise as an experimental measure is his latest act. Besides these there are many other things to be mentioned, but my space is limited.

Before I close I must name the most trusted and loyal collaborators of His Highness in realising his ideal. They are General Sir Padma Shumshere Jung Bahadur Rānā, the Commander-in-Chief of Nepal, who is in charge of the civil departments of the Government; and the Western Commanding-General Sir Mohan Shumshere Jung Bahadur Rānā, who is also known as the Senior Commanding-General and is in charge of the military department. Both of them are His Highness' nephews and full of dignity and men of resource. They are contributing to their uncle's work the most loyal and efficient help that any Prime Minister of Nepal would desire.

Today (1st September) is His Highness' seventh accession anniversary—a red letter day in Nepal. On this day we wish him many more happy returns of the auspicious occasion. Let Hindus all over the world feel proud of Nepal and her Ruler. Here in Nepal the torch of Hinduism has been kept burning with undiminished brilliance.

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WITH AN ENGLISH FARMER

By M. MANSINHA

As I drove along out of the suburbs of Newcastle my English friend pointed out to me the long row of factory-houses of Vickers-Armstrongs, the world-famous arms-manufacturers. Their sight came to me in a shocking contrast, as I was going with my friend to a typical English farm where I was expecting to see how British energy and intelligence were still sticking to our old Mother Earth in the effort to produce the sustenance of the race. But soon the monotonous and drab buildings of the city gave place to the beautiful landscape of British autumn. Down below our high-road lay spread before us the valley of the river Tyne to whose banks Nature sloped down in a variegated garment of beautiful tints with the soft caress of a dear hand. The summer had just passed by and the rich green of the foliage-garment of the countryside was just changing into gold and yellow. The ripened harvest in the fields in the shape of long strips across the valley with their typical English hedges running up and down, presented the annual golden smile of the Mother Earth, signifying eternal hope in a world that is now everyday getting into the quagmire of despair.

Mr. Richardson, the farmer-host of the writer, with his live-stock and workers. Mr. Richardson, his wife and their daughter June are seen in the middle

We got down at last from the 'bus and walked along a road that must have been trodden by Emperor Hadrian and his Roman legionaries centuries ago. For it was this road that in Roman times led straightaway to London and from there to Rome across the continent. The farm we were going to visit lies within a quarter of a mile of this road.

The farm house lies on an eminence commanding a view of the entire estate. When we reached it, after a rather deep ascent on a footpath, I was surprised at its elegance and modernity. After the usual greetings when we met our host, we sat on chairs on the well-trimmed green sward in front of the house and go talking about India and Gandhi—the two things now invariably and inseparably going together. In the meantime June, the little young daughter of our host, had come back from her bath and my friend, who is an amateur artist, asked her to sit on the grass like Buddha, so that he could paint her in that pose. The poor child showed great enthusiasm in the beginning but her nimble limbs and her unfamiliarity with the habit of sitting cross-legged as we do in India, made her so restless that the artist at last gave up the attempt in despair. And as we sat and talked there, I saw also how June was pestered with another trouble—the fly. I had an idea—which must be shared with most Indians—that there are no flies and mosquitoes in England. But I remember having met our friend the mosquito at Stratford-on-Avon, and I have come across flies in many places in England—particularly in summer. But in spite of that fact, the fly in England is not allowed to share man's food and home as she does in India. The ugly way that myriads of flies buzz, darken and poison our homes and bazaars is unknown beyond the Suez Canal.

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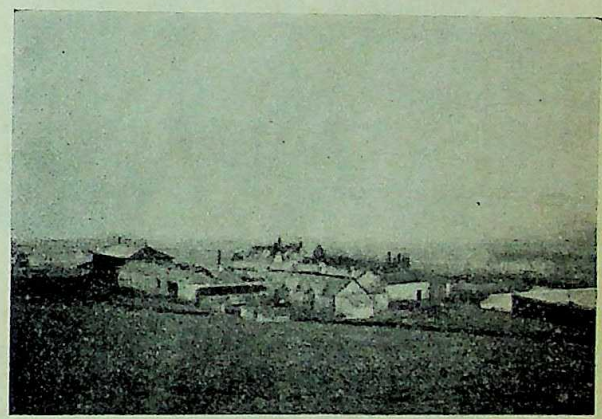
II

My interest in farming and agriculture is ...er hereditary than technical or professional. ...ing of a family of farmers in India, I have ...rather curious to know the British farmer ...e I came to England. I have been to ...ral English farms, walked along the ...wed soil and smelt the subtle fragrance of ...newly ploughed land. But this particular ...is rather different from others. Here the ...er is not an ordinary farm labourer. He ...graduate in Agricultural Science from ...bridge. Fancy an Indian, trained in Agri-...re in England, taking up his father's farm ...his return as an occupation of life. But no ...is mean for the Englishman if it brings ...money and comfort, while nothing is so ...ous to the Indian as a *chakri* in the Govern-..., no matter how insulting and unprofitable ...uncomfortable it is !

To understand the agricultural conditions ...England we Indians must bear in mind some ...mental differences between those who work ...the soil in England and those in India. ...land has farmers but no peasantry as we ...in India. Tilling the soil for a living has ...the sole occupation of millions upon millions ...Indians of a particular class for countless ...ations. These men are incapable of thin-...of leaving the land for something else. ...life is bound up with the soil, whether it ...s for their labour or not. But in ...nd there is no such particular caste for ...tied down to the land. Agriculture is only ...of the many professions and occupations to ...ken up by an Englishman only if it holds ...profitable balance. It is neither here-...nor compulsory. So the cultivators in ...nd are an ever-changing class like office-... schoolmasters or shopkeepers. The ...er in England is on the soil only so long ...gives him a comfortable living; he is not ...ally and helplessly tied down to it like ...dian peasant.

There is another big difference too, which ...must bear in mind. It is usual to find ...s all over England with estates from 300 ...acres or more, and no farmer in England ...perhaps less than 60 acres, while in India ...verage holding is just five acres. This is ...due to the system of Primogeniture ...obtains in England, according to which the ...property comes under the possession of ...eldest son of the family without being ...ented among all the brothers as it is in ... Such large farms enable the English ...ators to take up new economic enterprises, to rotate the crops and to raise livestock as well as a harvest. In India the land is so fragmented that it sometimes becomes all ridges only dividing one tiny plot of land from another, just as our castes go on dividing our nation till we become mere social fragments, instead of a virile and united people.

To come to concrete examples, here is our friend the host, who is only one of a family of many, who has taken to agriculture, others having taken up different professions according to their inclinations. He now owns an estate of nearly 400 acres and is getting on very well. But it is just possible none of his children will like farming and in that case the eldest child will sell it to someone else, who, in turn may not necessarily be a hereditary farmer but might turn out to be any ordinary gentleman who liked farming and thought he could make



An English farm

money out of it. And thus these large and compact estates of the English countryside have been changing hands for generations. But not being usually fragmented they provide the most peculiar beauty to the English countryside. It is not usual in English countryside to see houses huddled together in rows as in India. The characteristic sight is that of large farms limited by green hedges running on all sides, with the beautiful and cosy house of the farmer in the middle of it and each such house being apart from one another by long distances, sometimes of miles. If one stands at the window of such a farmhouse and looks down the valley below one gets an unforgettable picture of quiet countryside, with snug cottages, smoke curling out of them, hedges running up and down the valley, cattle grazing on the grassy plots and clumps of elms, sycamores, pines and firs and chestnuts giving a beautiful bluish-green frame to the entire picture. England's greatest attrac-

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tion to the foreign tourists is not the industrial cities but her marvellous countryside, although it has been sadly spoiled and is still being spoiled by the soulless and thoughtless inroads of industrialisation.

III

But with all these advantages what is the condition of agriculture in England? It is indeed deplorable. The countryside is gradually depopulated, the people disliking agriculture and drifting to the cities for better wages and better life. But in the cities as well as in the rural areas of England, there are two million people without any work to do. Is it not tragic to think that there are two million people sitting idle and getting dole while millions of acres of soil are lying idle waiting for the human hand? Some time ago someone asked the question in the *Spectator* why the unemployed are not made to grow vegetables in return for the dole they received? The reply was that if they were allowed to do that, the existing producers of vegetables would be hard hit. I believe there is something wicked, vicious and criminal as well as foolish in an economic system that compels millions to stand idle so that others may make a profit.

And unemployment is not the only evil associated with the English agricultural system. In contrast to the so-called primitive and unscientific methods of the Indian peasant, the British farmer brings in costly machines, expensive fertilisers and deep scientific knowledge to bear on the operation on the soil. But with all that the entire agricultural structure of England would come to pieces without the State subsidy and guarantee, which are far cries to the Indian cultivator. And what about the quality and quantity of the produce? I could not go into the statistics and would not. I definitely want to look at things as a layman. For all systems should ultimately be judged not by abstract statistics but by their effect on the life of the layman. As a layman, I know the qualities of vegetables in India and I have been in daily contact with vegetables in England too. And I must say that I have seen bigger tomatoes, nicer cauliflowers and larger cabbages in India than I have in England. And as to the effect of the agricultural products on national health, it must be remembered that there are millions upon millions of men, women and children in the British Isles who are suffering from severe malnutrition, exactly as they do in India. Some time ago in a certain place in Cumberland, some children were given eggs to eat but they not know what to do with them. I been to a Nursery School in Newcastle the head mistress informed me that some chil when they were first admitted into the sc did not know how to drink a glass of milk. in spite of equality in quality, the prices necessary food-stuffs in England are four five times higher than in India, so that people—few in India realise how poor mil of English people are—cannot simply afford have such items as eggs and milk in their diet.

So here is the picture of British agricul in a nutshell. In spite of costly machines, pensive manure, scientific knowledge, and o of all, state guarantee, agriculture in Eng is so unprofitable that it drives away pe into towns; so unproductive that it can sup the people only for three months, and its ducts so costly that millions are compelle go without them. What a contrast to I where the primitive methods of the pea sustains a vast population and but for a fo government and capitalism, the country w be overflowing with milk and honey as it say, fifty years ago.

This tragic aspect of British agricul system was best expressed in an article in of the most-read magazines of England tod I reproduce below the relevant parts of it:—

My uncle.....possessed a little farm some in England. "But Uncle," I asked him, "where do make your profits?"

"My boy, you don't understand agric Nowhere in Europe does it yield profit. I get my in a roundabout way—through fattening foods. All wealth of food is eaten by my cattle."

"Is that how you utilise your harvest?"

"No, my dear boy. The fattening food itself me no income. Not a farthing. The cattle prosp it—not I. Certainly not I."

"And the profit Uncle?"

"Well, you see, my boy, it is difficult for a la to understand. My profit comes from the manure duced by my cattle."

"Oh....."

"Yes. And the manure"....the Uncle's lips w a little, "the manure is strewn on the fields a its turn yields the rich harvest you see." (*Lilliput* IV. No. 3).

Such a picture of British agriculture in with the frequent outbursts of Mr. L George, who is as successful as a farmer statesman, about its hopelessness and his tent call to the nation to take up the sp In a recent conference of school masters declared that only 5 per cent of the people Great Britain were on the soil, as against per cent in Germany and 40 per cent in Fr

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that it was food that decided the last war against the Germans. The Germans knew it and since then have put fields under the plough and were not touched since the deluge. But the British remain indifferent to the situation.

IV

But whatever the ultimate effects of agricultural conditions in England, there is no doubt that the Indian farmer has a lot to learn from what I saw in the estate of my host. From the answers which he so kindly gave to some of the questions of mine regarding his estate, the folly of the Indian farmer as well as his handicaps were brought home to me as never before.

The most cramping of the handicaps of the Indian farmer is his poverty and the small and scattered character of his holding. His soil can feed him and his family only with difficulty, and he has no capital to make the land produce more. And so the vicious circle of handicaps goes on. But what about the vicious circle of his own follies? My English friend has an estate of 360 acres. If an Indian farmer had such an estate how would he run it? Most certainly he would try to put the whole land under the plough to produce main-crop staple crop. It is true this may bring some profit in a rough sort of way, but surely it is a primitive and unitelligent way of tilling the soil. Now see how our English friend manages his estate of 360 acres. He says (in a letter to me):

"I own an *estate* of 360 acres, only *part* of this is a farm which I do the farming of; other parts of the estate are of *woodland, garden, market gardens,* let to tenants for a rent, *fields* let to another farmer for rent, and some let to people for rent, some of whom have work on the estate and some of whom have not."

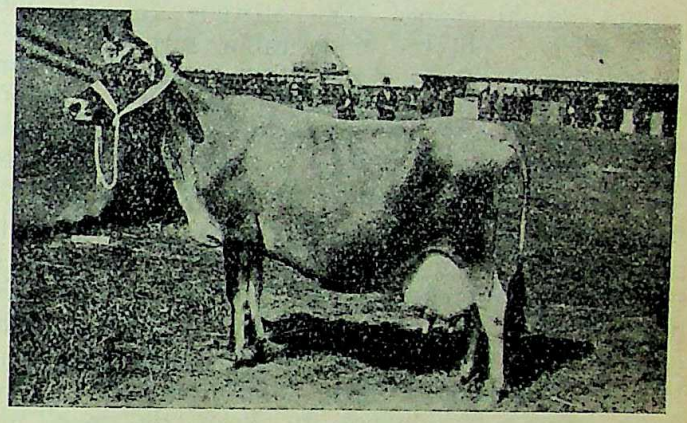
He tells me later that of the 360 acres, 100 are forest and the rest is farm. But the most interesting to an Indian is the way the farm of 260 acres is managed. He says:

"In any one year there is usually about 25 acres of 6 acres of *root-crop* (turnips, potatoes) and the other will be grass. Many of the grass-fields are put in turn and then sown down to grass again—keeps up the fertility of the farm."

By concentrating on merely 30 acres of land my English friend gets 25-30 cwts. of oats, 6-10 tons of potatoes, 15 tons of turnips per acre. Those can compare these yields with the average yield of the same crops in India per acre of land, and realise the difference. To my question of how much is his expenditure per acre, my friend gives me the following account.

Labour	..	£3 0 0
Rent	..	2 0 0
Purchased feeding stuff	..	3 0 0
Haulage and railway charges	..	0 15 0
Manures	..	0 15 0
Other expenses	..	1 0 0
Total	..	£10 0 0

It is needless to say, however, that it is impossible for any type of Indian farmer to invest £10 on one acre of land. But even if



One of the choice cows of Mr. Richardson's farm

he had money, would he be enthusiastic to try new methods of cultivation?

My friend carries on a mixed farming, raising harvests as well as live-stock. His principal income however is from the live-stock. While going round the estate I visited his cow-shed. The cows were definitely healthier and bigger than those generally found in India. And it was a sight for me to see how the heavy and large udders of some cows were almost touching the ground, the precious substance inside them seeming to brust out, out of sheer fulness. Of course, even with all the scientific care taken in my friend's cowshed it was as much stinking as any in India, but it was much cleaner. The cows were all standing on beds of hay, just as our cows are made to stand or lie down on those of straw. It was milking time when I went in and the cows were being milked with electric suckers.

My friend has two herds of cattle—one, Jersey-breed for milk; the other, Angus-breed for beef only. He says:

"The Jersey herd consists of about 70 animals, 30 of which are cows (animals which have produced one calf or more); Angus herd consists of 25 cows—during the summer their 25 calves and 4 bulls are kept, to be

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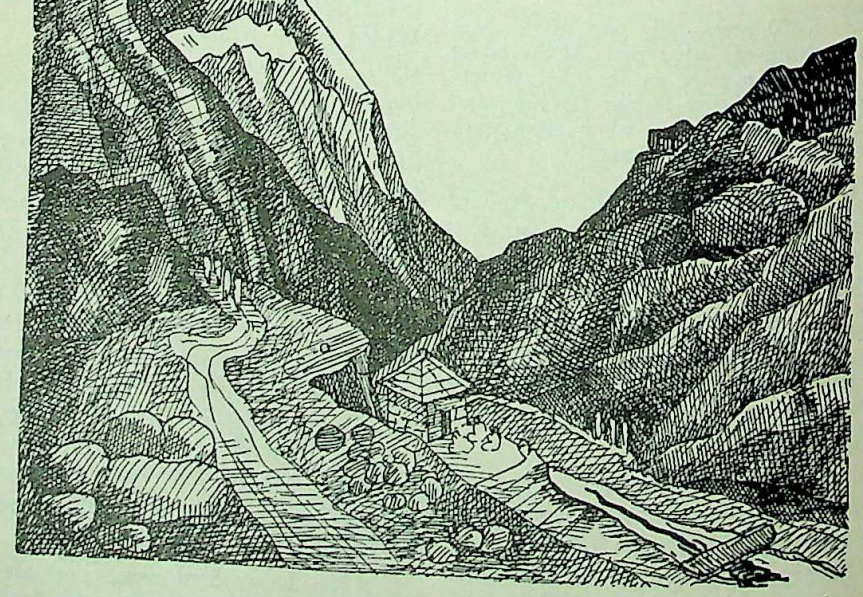
disposed of for beef by winter. In winter, 6 months only, about 24 Jersey cows are milking; in summer, 6 months, 24 Jersey cows and 25 Angus cows are milking. The average yield for Jersey cows is 800-850 gallons per year —varies from about nothing when something goes wrong with the cow to about 1,200 gallons."

In India, like the human population, the cattle too are allowed to grow without any restrictions and without any thought of adequate sustenance for the increased number. The Hindu does not kill the cow with a weapon. but he kills her through perpetual starvation and neglect. This folly is more heinous a crime in my opinion than actual killing. I think both for political and economic reasons the Hindus should change their attitude towards the cow and put the undesirable surplus to merciful death. As things stand now, the Hindu is ready to kill a Moslem—a human being—rather than bring any harm to the cow—an animal. This, when looked at with regard to our political aims is folly of the first water. Cow, after all, is an animal as much as a goat or a fish and even if it is taken to be sacred, both the letter and the spirit of the scriptures must demand that either the number of the cattle should be regulated through control of birth or that some of them must be killed to leave enough sustenance to keep the rest healthy. To my enquiry as to the number of cattle in the farm at any time my Eng friend says, "Only a certain number pretty strictly maintained, as the farm will carry any more—surplus cattle are sold a (for beef)."

I hope the Indian farmer will find something to think and act upon.

With nearly 400 acres of land, my fr is very well off, and so are his servants. has two men working on the estate both whom get 45 sh. a week as wages, rent cottages and a small part of farm pro Just imagine an Indian farm labourer get 45/- a week. Perhaps the best he can g never more than 2/- a week. What a cont I went into the cottages of one of these hands and found it better furnished than house of a middle class Indian family—wi piano, cushioned chairs and sofas, a wire set and all the rest of it.

In my wanderings through the estat also came upon the woodlands of the es Like all other woodlands in England, this was planted. And here too is a lesson for Indian farmers as tree-planting is not give much attention as it deserves in Indian cou side these days. The most beau characteristic of the English countryside is carefully planted forest.



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PEACE OR APPEASEMENT ?

By Major D. GRAHAM POLE

Parliament rises this week and may not meet again until October 25th. For three long summer months, that is, the Prime Minister has a free hand. On all sides of the House he has been urged, in view of the gravity of the times—in view of what happened last September—to agree to some plan for keeping Parliament more or less in being. But he has steadily resisted these suggestions. He sees no exceptional reason for keeping the Commons in touch with the Executive. It is for the Government he says, which has the responsibility, to watch the course of events. (Constitutionalists however will dispute this. The role of watching, they point out, is the historic role of the Commons). And only if the Government contemplate some departure in their foreign policy, it appears, would he consider it an occasion for calling the House together.

Whatever, the pros and cons of this attitude may be from the constitutional point of view, in the realm of immediate practical international politics it is unfortunate. Parliament ought not to adjourn at least until the present important negotiations—with Poland and with Russia—are successfully concluded. Our whole destiny hangs on these negotiations. In a strong Poland and in the Peace Front lies the only hope of a stable Europe. But does Mr. Chamberlain really think so ? The Dictators think so. He is their great hope. They do not believe that he has given up Appeasement. They see fresh evidence of it in the formula just adopted at Tokio. They believe that he is an unwilling servant of a temporary revulsion of popular feeling, that Parliament advertises that feeling, and once Parliament is out of the way the Prime Minister can have things his own way again—give the Dictators what they want and snatch "peace" again over the body of Poland, as it was snatched last year over the body of Czecho-Slovakia.

But even if Mr. Chamberlain were just such a figure as the Dictators would have him be, even if he decided that Danzig was not worth a war—and how that cheap phrase discounts the whole Polish dilemma !—history would not repeat itself. There would not be peace, there would be war. Poland will fight even if, at the beginning, she has to fight alone. That is her unshakeable determination. In this the whole nation is united. Anyone, who visits Poland at the present time is deeply impressed with the unity and calmness of the people. To them the taking of Danzig, as Marshal Smigly-Rydz has remarked, would be an act which recalls the Partition of Poland. The threat to Danzig stirs up their history and their memories. And they agree that " there are things that are worse than war to us, and one is the loss of our freedom." Thus it is, in the words of their Marshal, that they have the calm of people who have come to a decision, who have made up their minds that they will go to war if they must.

Surely, when such is the state of affairs in Poland, when the Poles are getting ready to face their zero hour, the least we could do is not to adjourn Parliament until the arrangements for their loan have been satisfactorily concluded. And after all it is for such a small amount ! The position is that the Poles are to be allowed a credit of £8,000,000 for the purchase of arms in this country. In addition to this they would like a *loan* of £8,500,000 of which France has been asked to contribute £3,500,000. But the Treasury insists on certain conditions attaching to this loan—which the Poles would like to spend on arms abroad or where and how they please—and the haggling has gone on so long that the Poles will not get their loan before the autumn, if they get it then. With the Nazis preparing to spring at her throat, Poland none-the-less is expected to be orthodox in the matter of finance. And, as if it were only a matter of routine and not a matter of urgency, Sir John Simon expresses suave regrets to the House of Commons that there is no time now to pass the necessary legislation before the House rises !

What an incredibly inhuman, short-sighted outlook this reveals. It is all of a piece with the Chamberlain-Simon-Hoare mentality which seems ready to meet Germany, Italy, Japan half-way, but can never be stirred by any warmth for the victims, past or present, of these three aggressors. (Never a regret for China, Abyssinia, Czecho-Slovakia or Spain). Parliament ought to pass the necessary legislation before it rises. The haste with which the I.R.A. terrorists have been enacted upon shows what

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can be done in a hurry. And after all a loan to Poland is not just an ordinary loan : it is a gesture of solidarity which should bear interest in Berlin. But all these wider implications are lost on the present Government. They have thrown them all away. So that far from doing any good to Poland, the proposed loan comes near to being a good reason for defeatism. The Nazis, for instance, have not been slow to explain things as they see them. General Ironside, they suggest, who has been inspecting the Polish Army, has given so unfavourable an impression that the British have decided to go carefully. . . And while this pitiful sum of £8,000,000 or so is withheld, they learn that Mr. Hudson, Secretary of the Department of Overseas Trade, has been discussing with Herr Wohltat, the German trade expert, the possibility of a loan of £1,000,000,000 to buy back Germany into the way of peace! What a contrast . . . Moreover, quite apart from the ethics or economics of such a project—and they are both open to question—what a return is this to Appeasement. (Have we scotch'd the snake, not killed it? Will she close and be herself once Parliament is out of the way ?) No wonder Poland feels a little dashed. No wonder Russia stands pat.

Russia has been standing pat from the very beginning of the Peace Front negotiations. Her terms have always been the same, except when they have been more so, as when she insisted that the guarantee of the Baltic States must be a guarantee against indirect as well as direct aggression. There must be no separate war, no separate peace, a guarantee extending from the Baltic to the Black Sea—balanced by the guarantees also given by France and Britain to Germany's neighbours in the west—and there must be Staff talks. All this she has stood out for, all this is about to be conceded, unless the Appeasers in the Cabinet, untrammelled by Parliament, decide on a retreat from Moscow.

The negotiations have dragged on for so long, finality so often has seemed as far off as ever, that the idea has grown in this country that Russia is really to blame. She has been accused of pushing up her price and of deliberately delaying tactics. Though it would not be so very surprising if Russia felt luke-warm about an alliance with Britain—Mr. Chamberlain makes no effort to woo M. Stalin as he has to woo the Dictators; we make it quite plain that we do not propose to make friends with Russia but to make use of her—Russia has not in fact been the delayer. This is clearly revealed by an analysis which has just appeared in the Press. It covers the first hundred days of the negotiations (to 25th July) and points out that of these over seventy have been spent by the British in considering the issues in London. The Russians, on the other hand, have spent only about ten days all told in preparing their case.

The Russian negotiations could undoubtedly have been concluded long ago if we had wished them to be. The greatest time-wasting element has been the necessity of reporting everything back to London and then waiting for fresh instructions. Much of this could have been telescoped if Lord Halifax had himself gone to Moscow. But for Lord Halifax to go would give too much emphasis to the negotiations. It would amount to a statement of policy. It would be a sign which Herr Hitler could not disregard and Mr. Chamberlain is constitutionally averse to giving such signs. Not frankness but discretion is his principle of behaviour. And even now after all the evidence there is to the contrary and not the least in Herr Hitler's present respect for Russia—he is *still* afraid that it might imperil the peace if we were to stand up to Germany. He hopes instead that more hidden paths may lead in the end to safety. What he would like is not an alliance with Russia—but staff talks and arrangements so that if war should come everything would be in readiness. So that, if war should be avoided, we can leave Russia alone again.

As I most truly believe that the only chance of preserving peace lies in confronting Germany with a resolute Peace Front—unless of course we desert Poland and even then she would probably fight—I sincerely hope that by the time this reaches India the Russians will have insisted that the political talks and the staff talks must be concluded together. But it is difficult to be optimistic. The Government does not like dealings with Russia. And Russia, during the negotiations, is treated to the spectacle of Britain compromising, as she thinks, with Japan. With the hereditary enemy who will assuredly attack her in the East, is indeed already attacking her in the East, while she makes war in the West in support of the Peace Front. Nor is this the only feather which makes the Russians wonder in which way the wind is blowing. Our diplomacy is sometimes so polished that in being polite to our potential enemies we forget our potential friends. At an important State function recently, it is reported, marked attention was paid to the Japanese and German Ambassadors and none at all to the Russian and Chinese Ambassadors and their ladies. The discrimination, it is stated, was "so plain as to cause much inquisitive

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ommment." It is to be hoped that there was nothing special in this—but how out of date is all this statecraft.

This everlasting dualism in our policies reflects, of course, the dualism in our Government. Mr. Chamberlain, Sir Samuel Hoare and Sir John Simon, are all reactionaries. They do not recognise any interests, in the last analysis, but British interests. They can shut their eyes to what Japan is doing to China, what Germany is doing in the concentration camps, what Italy is doing in Spain. They delude themselves that all is well if Britain remains friends with Japan and China, if Germany signs a paper that she will never again resort to war with Britain, if Italy signs an Anglo-Italian Agreement. Only when the march of events has proved them to have been a hundred per cent wrong in their calculations do they reverse their policies, and even then they are ready to reverse again if they think the moment is favourable. And all this can be done in the sacred name of keeping out of war. . . . And the greatest reason they have for keeping the country out of war is that they are afraid that another war will end in revolution.

Nobody who has any regard for freedom desires a revolution to come either from the right or from the left. Nor do they like to see our statesmen hobnobbing with the Nazis and fascists (especially when they do not hobnob with the Bolsheviks to even things up). Even among Conservatives a revolt is growing. Many decline to subscribe to the assumption of the Chamberlain-Hoare-Simon clique, that the rule of property is the only alternative to the rule of the masses.

What a tremendous opportunity there is waiting here for a democracy leader. Great Britain, though in recent years he has thrown away every initiative in Europe and the Far East, still has the habit of leadership about her. As Mr. Arthur Greenwood remarked in a speech last Saturday, to capture the Government of this country could be to capture the imagination of the world ! And indeed we need only to look across to America, to consider what President Roosevelt has accomplished in a few years of office to realise what tremendous strides a country can take under a truly democratic leader. He has brought his country from the depths of the great Depression. He has addressed Appeals to the Dictators, pointing out the responsibilities for peace or war which rest on present-day Rulers, in language which makes them the only classic utterances to come out of this era. He is not afraid to take action against aggression—as when, following on the German invasion of Czecho-Slovakia, he imposed crippling duties on imports from Germany. Or when, as just recently, he denounced the Treaty of Trade and Friendship with Japan. In fact courage is the most conspicuous quality of the Roosevelt administration. People in this country are used to seeing their leaders give way under pressure—either at home or abroad !—but they are in danger of forgetting that there is such a thing as giving a lead to a democratic people as well as giving way to them. But President Roosevelt is giving his people a lead all the time and is undaunted by temporary set-backs—as witness the present state of the neutrality legislation. If he is baulked in one direction, he tries another.

What would the United States be like, what would the world today be like, without President Roosevelt ? In an age of grandiose dictators, by a wonderful stroke of irony, the greatest Ruler of them all is not one of their kind but is a democratic statesman. How he will stand beside them in history, showing up the hollowness of their achievements.

And what he can do in America, a democratic Prime Minister could do here. For if figures are to be believed President Roosevelt has about the same following in his country as Mr. Chamberlain has in this. According to sample votes, taken by the British and American Institutes of Public Opinion, Mr. Chamberlain has the support of 53 per cent of the electorate, while President Roosevelt's percentage is 57.

And while we are considering figures, and the states of opinion which they reveal, I would like to adduce a few more, especially in view of the fact that we are promised a General Election in November. People abroad, I think, must often be impressed by the number of followers and docile majorities which the National Government has in the House of Commons. It must incline them to believe that the country is solidly behind the Prime Minister. But appearances are deceptive. The Government secures a number of seats purely as a result of the system which divides the country up into haphazard areas. A system of proportional representation would take away at least a hundred of their seats. In critical times it would put them often right out of office. This perhaps might be disputed, but that there is a large volume of opinion in this country which is critical of the Government can be proved from another source—and that is the Press.

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Lord Camrose, the Proprietor of the *Daily Telegraph,* has just published a survey of London newspapers (and all the London dailies, of course, have a nation-wide circulation). This survey clears up a lot of illusions. And one of the first surprises is the tiny circulation enjoyed by the *Times.* This paper, so often accepted abroad as the voice of England, has a sale of only 204,491. (It just shows that people can always be bluffed by the pompous, as someone has remarked of T. S. Eliot's plays.) The biggest sale of all, of course, goes to the *Daily Express,* that paper which is compact of the prejudices of the little man. But its runner-up is the Socialist *Daily Herald,* and after that the Conservative *Daily Mail* and the Liberal *News Chronicle* are running neck and neck for third place. So it does seem as if there were a great deal of leavening stirring in the lump, a great deal of the raw material for a new administration in this country—if only someone could give it cohesion.

Did the film *Gabriel Over the White House* have much of a showing in India when it appeared some years ago—at about the same time, wasn't it, as the beginning of the Roosevelt Administration? The end of that film, it will be remembered, was that Britain and America united to give a lead to the world. Well President Roosevelt over and over again has shown that his sympathies are with the Democracies, but our present leaders have been more apt to go on pilgrimages to Rome and Berlin than they have been to seek support in Washington. To-day they are given yet another chance of co-operating with the United States. Are they going to take it? I refer of course to the fact that America has denounced her Treaty with Japan, thereby clearing the way for a still more important move—the stopping of the shipment of arms to that country. Will we join her in that move? It is said that 77 per cent of Japan's war materials come from our two countries. Together, that is, we could stop Japan's war in China. What a blow we could strike for peace. . . . And who can doubt, if we supported America in this, that feeling against the changes in the neutrality legislation would swing to our side? Thereby forging one more link in the Peace Front, one more deterrent to the Nazis.

But it is said in some quarters in this country that Britain can do nothing to hinder Japan in China, because all the people in our concessions out there have now become hostages in Japanese hands—and we fear reprisals. But what is the American view of this? And would it not be better to evacuate these people? We seem to care all the time about what Japan will do. But in the last analysis it will not matter what the Japanese think in China. The Chinese will be the people to be reckoned with. And if we try to put off the evil day now by coming to terms with Japan, what hope have we, on a long view, of maintaining our position in China? The Japanese have already taken away a lot of our "face" in the Far East. But we could regain Chinese respect, and more important our own respect, if we put a term to these compromises—put an end to these sordid traffickings in arms.

No one can tell how this present crisis will end. I believe that peace depends on our standing firm over Danzig, on our co-operating with Russia in Europe and with America in the Far East, and after the Peace Front has been in being for some time—and other timorous nations have joined it—that then we shall be strong enough to talk real peace with Germany. But if we are out-manoeuvred at Danzig, if we try to appease Germany again, then there will be no end to war and misery in the present century. In Poland, in the Mediterranean, in Africa in the Far East, the Berlin-Rome-Tokio axis will spread their havoc.

But has Mr. Chamberlain, who could not see what was coming to Czecho-Slovakia and Spain—or who thought he could keep off the wolf by throwing these small creatures to them—any idea of how touch and go it all is? One thing is certain, Germany is getting ready for war. It is now only a question of what will stop her. And even if she cannot be stopped the challenge must be met . . . Europe must get out of this nightmare of Hitler's so-called "bloodless wars." Bloodless wars which is bleeding Czecho-Slovakia of her independent life, planting a Nazi in every business firm, carrying off her young men for compulsory labour. Bloodless war which led to 8,000 suicides amongst the Jews in Vienna.

I think war will be averted if we stand firm. I think the Hitler terror will diminish if we succeed in diminishing Nazi prestige. For one more sacrifice to the Nazis is unthinkable.

London,
August 1, 1939.

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CULTURE OF HILSHA

A Really Hopeful Proposition in Bengal

By CHINTA HARAN MOJUMDAR, B. A.

ILSHA (Hilsha ilisha) or Indian shad is an portant fish of Bengal which is available for rly six months in the year. The salted hilsha d its spawn also meet the demand of a siderable section of the people during the nths when fresh hilshas are not available. scope in the market of Bengal is great. ring the rainy season when other fish me scarce, hilsha comes to the market with delicious taste and flavour. In the opinion Sir K. G. Gupta it has

extensive distribution on the East coast where it is nd in all the principal rivers falling into the Bay of gal. And there can be no question that the shad or ilisha, is more abundant and the fishery more ent in Bengal than anywhere else in India."

In his report published in 1908, he has n an estimate, of course roughly computed, 8,000 boats (each boat having 2 to 12 with various nets were engaged in Hilsha ing in the year 1907. The Dacca and the ttagong Divisions were not taken into that unt. As the former is undoubtedly the important tract of hilsha fishery, the e for the whole of Bengal would have, efore been almost double that shown by in 1907 and the present day figure will be higher.

The hilsha fishing alone gives employment thousands who are associated with fishing fish marketing, directly or indirectly. And g to the fall in the daily wages and with fall in price of the agricultural products, of the non-fishing classes, *e.g.*, cultivators landless labourers, including the Muhamdans, have now-a-days taken up the business shing and fish marketing, all over the vince, specially in the riverine districts. e an intensive fishing has been going on the last 9 or 10 years. And if no protecbe given, for the species, hilsha supply may ally dwindle in the future.

The Hindus, of course, through their socioious injunction, forbid the eating of hilsha n the closing day of the Durga Puja up to swati Puja, the period approximately corponding from the middle of October to the dle of February. This perhaps gives protection to the brood fish to a certain extent, but it is not strictly observed now due to the decreased supply of other fish in the market.

Abolition of the Bengal Fishery Department

The Bengal Fishery Department was abolished in 1923 before any definite results regarding the hilsha could be arrived at. In the same year the Director of London Museum identified the Jatkas as young hilsha. Mr. R. S. Finlow, the then Director of the Department, envisaged the importance of this discovery as it solved many controversies concerning the life cycle of the species. But this information could not be utilised as the department itself was abolished.

Jatkas

Long before the above discovery was made the Hindus of the Eastern Bengal would not eat the jatkas for the same socio-religious injunction which would thus give another chance of saving the progeny of the hilshas. But with the change of time, even that meagre protection that was thus offered has been withdrawn. Huge quantities of jatkas are trapped and sold at a cheap rate say 10 to 12 for a pice, while a single jatka if allowed to grow for 3 to 4 months more, would fetch four to five annas at least.

Surely the early Hindus knew that the jatkas were the young of hilshas and many people still take that to be so though they were not aware of this discovery. The meaning of the very word jatka is also "belonging to high class."

It has been stated in the departmental publications that the brood fishes swim up the rivers from the Bay of Bengal for liberating eggs but there was nothing known regarding their breeding ground or fry so long. Now this discovery that the jatkas are the young of hilshas not only has subverted many of the old ideas concerning the fish but also goes to prove that though the hilsha was originally a sea fish, has long been acclimatised to the condition of the inland rivers so as to grow fairly big and

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breed in them. There may not be any fixed breeding place for the fish but it is true that they breed in many suitable localities near about the places where the jatkas do invariably occur.

In the river Dhaleswari in the Dacca district, taken as an example, brood fish are caught in the months from July to November, crops of jatkas appear during the months of February to April and crops of new hilshas come in with the disappearance of the jatkas from the month of June onwards approximately. This would only make it clear that the hilshas breed in the river Dhaleswari. And this may be taken to be the case with many inland rivers of Bengal.

Hilsha of the Inland Rivers

By virtue of long standing acclimatisation, it seems that the hilshas that have migrated into the rivers have undergone some changes in their characteristics. Of these again there is a marked difference in the fish of muddy water like those of the river Padma and its estuaries as compared with those of clear waters like the rivers Meghna and Jumna. Any man of the Eastern Bengal is well aware of the fact that hilshas of the river Meghna are of very inferior quality in taste in comparison with those of the river Padma and the latter command a higher price in the market.

A fish of the river Padma is thicker in structure and of bright silvery colour. While that of the Meghna is a bit darker and the darkness becomes prominent in the flesh. When a type of each kind of fish is dissected the Padma fish looks much whiter than the other. Moreover, the fish from the Meghna is thinner in structure and a bit elongated in shape. There is difference in taste also between the hilshas of the rivers with those of the sea.

Winter Hilshas

In the coastal water of Bengal a crop of hilshas appear during the winter season, from the month of November to February. They are surely inferior in taste to those of the river Padma or Hooghly. The first catch of these winter hilshas correspond in size with the first crop of fish of the inland rivers caught in the month of May and June and this shows that they grow six months ahead of the inland hilshas.

Thus we have according to locality three types of hilshas those of the saline water of the sea, of the muddy fresh waters of the rivers like Padma or Hooghly and those of the clear fresh water like Meghna—though some may migrate from place to place with the flow of water. Enough, however, remain in the special tracts to breed and propagate true to their own types. And they may broadly be classified as follows :

	1st grade	2nd grade	3rd grade
Taste and oil contents of hilshas	Padma	Sea	Meghna

The deterioration in quality is not due to upward flight as is attributed by some. This can be gauged from the fact that the Meghna near Munshiganj of the Dacca district is much higher up the river than Padma near Goalundo of the Faridpur district, yet the difference in fish at these two places is very great as regards their taste and qualities.

Difference in Characteristics between the Carp Fry and the Jatkas

The carp liberate eggs in many a place in the rivers with the rise of water by early rains during the months from April to June. The fry all scatter about entering creeks and corners and even the paddy fields, and are killed in those places where they get stranded with the decrease of water later on. The inland hilshas on the other hand liberate their eggs generally when the rivers are on their ebb. And as the jatkas are never seen to haunt places where there is no current, there is no chance of their being destroyed like the carp fry, until they are themselves sought for.

If the statement "that the hilshas breed during the rains" (*vide* page 4 of the *Fisheries Department Bulletin* No. 11) be taken as true a question naturally arises as to why the hilsha brood fish would hold on their eggs till the month of November, when rain does practically cease. The fact that spent hilshas are rarely caught also goes to prove that the hilshas become mostly spent from the month of October onwards as the number of catches begin to decline thenceforward. Actually they begin to spawn by March-April in the coastal regions of the Bay of Bengal and finish in the inland rivers by the early winter. And it is perhaps a fact that they spawn in batches even in the same place, because fry of different sizes and lengths are obtainable at the same time and in the same place specially in the inland rivers.

Certain special Characteristics of the Coastal Hilshas

Though the hilshas of the inland rivers have never been marked to jump up into the sea

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is a distinctive quality with those of the eastern coast of the Bay. The people going in country boats hazard a risk if they chance to be in or near a shoal of hilshas as these may jump in and cause the boats to sink.

The surface moving habit is also another important feature of the sea-hilshas. The fishermen take advantage of this. In some places they are "skimmed off" the water by nets. In others they are driven to khals (branch rivers) and such means are improvised with nets to prevent their return to the sea. Thousands of hilshas are caught at a single "drive off." A cloudy day in the Dala time when water level is comparatively on the ebb (ebb in a fortnight) makes favourable conditions for the hilsha fishing during the winter months.

These are quite in contrast with those of the inland rivers, where they move at a depth sometimes of 30 to 40 cubits under water though on a cool or drizzling day they may come within 4 to 5 cubits from the surface.

Gobardi Tank Incident

It will be of interest to note that perhaps further change has come upon the life history of the hilshas so that they even grow in confined water as in a tank. On a report in the *Anda Bazar Patrika* of the 27th May, 1934, hilshas had been obtained in a tank in the village of Gobardi in Vikrampur, Dacca, the editor of this note made an enquiry into the matter. It was found that some 22 hilshas were caught in a tank not far from the river Meghneswari. The tank was not inundated during the rainy season so that no mature hilshas could have entered and remained in it. It is most likely that jatkas entered the tank through the pipes connecting the water inside the tank with the outside water or that jatkas have been put in it unknowingly by the owners of the tank while stocking the same with other fish from the river. The jatkas remained there to grow and mature in it. The tank was not a deep one. So susceptible to heat and pressure as the hilshas are, they were found dying on the morning of 20th May, 1934, as the effect of a storm that blew on the afternoon of the previous day.

There are other instances to show that the hilshas have been found to grow in tanks in the districts of Dacca and Faridpur. But the case of Gobardi has some peculiarity in it. In this instance fry have perhaps entered the tank during the month of October or November and have matured in it whereas in other cases grown up hilshas entered the tanks when they were flooded during the months of June and July and remained there for a certain period of time. But there is not a single instance to show that hilshas have been found to remain more than a season in any tank in Bengal.

Rearing of Jatkas in Tank

The fishermen of the village of Rohitpur, an important fishing colony in the district of Dacca, are of opinion that though the mature hilshas die shortly after they are caught the jatkas can live in water in nets for a considerable time. So, some experiments may well be tried in this direction to see if they can be grown in tanks.

The places where jatkas are available may be known by correspondence with the Thana and Sub-divisional Officers of the Province. And in some special portions of such areas arrangements may be made to collect hilsha eggs with nets of small meshes. They are most likely to be fertilized and can conveniently be put in hatching jars to conduct a hatching experiment.

By a study of the hilshas of the sea, inland rivers and of the confined water, the author is of opinion that the hilshas are generally fond of current, coolness and calmness of water. They may do even without the current but as the depth of water in the tanks of Bengal gets shallower and the water surface greatly agitated by the Nor'wester during the summer months there is every doubt if they can be made to grow as an economic success in tanks in contrast with the carps under such adverse conditions.

Hilsa Problem is Quite a Hopeful One

The life history and characteristics so far known, show that under certain protective measures only, the future of the hilshas in Bengal is more hopeful than is thought of generally. Not to speak of the hilshas, which have taken to the inland waters, those of the Bay of Bengal also invariably make a flight to liberate eggs in the fresh water region of the Province and even go further up for the purpose every year. This phenomenon will continue so long as the fresh water of the Himalayas and of the Assam Hills invite them from the sea through the innumerable estuaries extending over the southern portion of Bengal. They attain maturity in one year. The jatkas as previously stated, are quite safe in the hands of Nature, as they do not hazard their lives like the carp fry. Unfortunately, man has inter-

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vened and by the unwholesome methods of killing off fish fry the number of hilshas is gradually dwindling. The use of Kutchki nets (nets of very small meshes used to catch fish fry) has been abandoned to a certain extent by the fishermen at places in the Eastern Bengal through public pressure. Now if these jatkas could only be saved, be it by propaganda or legislative measures, the situation would improve. By introducing a close season to stop the destruction of the brood fishes, say, for two months, Aswin-Kartik (October-November) and stopping the destruction of the jatkas for three months from the month of Baisakh to Ashar (March to May) the desired standard of fish would be had within three years at most. Unless the fry and the brood fishes are saved, any amount of artificial culture of fry, even if that be feasible, cannot improve the situation as they would also be liable to destruction as at present. "Save the jatkas and the brood fishes for a period" should be the slogan and Nature will soon make good of the loss. It is true that there is a decrease in their supply in comparison to those of 60 or 70 years ago. The reason is simple. No one would then care to kill the jatkas and the brood fishes to the extent that they are being "sieved off" at the present day.

The only problem that, however, lies before us is that how their flight beyond Bengal can be checked as they are prone to move up the rivers and down to the sea.

Hilsha Glut of 1939

In this connection it may further be cited that during the last hilsha season, of 1938, on account of the sudden abnormally high flood the hilshas were so much diverted from their usual courses that they were found even to haunt the homestead areas as in the Magura Sub-division of the Jessore district. Consequently, the catches were very small in comparison with those of previous years. So there remained a larger number of fishes to breed. The result is that this year the hilshas are coming in good numbers even as early from the month of February. By June it is unprecedented of its kind. The fishermen had to throw away their catches as they neither got purchasers nor could they preserve these for want of salt near about their centres. Persons travelling by steamer from Goalundo to Narayanganj for some days during June 1939 have seen dead fishes floating on the surface of water thus thrown back into the water. In some localities Sanitary Inspectors enforced fishermen to make pits and throw these unsaleable stuff in them and covered them w[illegible] earth.

Last year not only the brood fishes w[illegible] saved by the flood as stated above but it a[illegible] facilitated an early big spawning. So [illegible] young hilshas got sufficient time to mature [illegible] the time when we get generally jatkas in [illegible] market. This is evidenced by the fact t[illegible] this year we have not practically got any jat[illegible] but hilshas instead from the very begin[illegible] This sort of thing is not likely to take pl[illegible] every year. It is sure to revert to its nor[illegible] again from the next season. A comparati[illegible] fewer number of hilshas would breed late in [illegible] season, affording the fishermen scope to [illegible] jatkas in their usual time of appearance an[illegible] consequent scanty supply of matured fish [illegible] on.

This year's hilsha glut is nothing but [illegible] result of an unusual natural protection an[illegible] goes to show that if the brood fishes and [illegible] jatkas could be saved the supply of hil[illegible] would be so huge as to cause throwing th[illegible] away for want of market. Nature has d[illegible] this with the help of a flood while man can [illegible] it by propaganda and legislation—just to s[illegible] the brood fishes for a limited period and [illegible] jatkas as a class—the results will be ident[illegible] in that case too.

Fishery Legislation

There are strict laws perhaps in ev[illegible] civilised country for the protection of fish [illegible] in Bengal there is no restriction to fishing o[illegible] of the fry and the destruction goes on all [illegible] year round. In America, as reported, the pe[illegible] of shad catching is very short, seldom exc[illegible] ing two months in the same river and dur[illegible] the rest of the year a strict "close season [illegible] observed. But the Fishery legislation, Act [illegible] of 1897, which is the only one of its kind in [illegible] country has become a dead letter since [illegible] enactment owing to the inadequacy of purp[illegible] The proposed Bengal Fish Fry Preserva[illegible] Bill of 1922, in which hilsha of course, [illegible] not included also did not mature althoug[illegible] had good ends in view.

The breeding time of the hilshas of th[illegible] land rivers differs much with that of the c[illegible] ophiocephalidae and others for which the [illegible] of 1922 was drafted. Yet the fry killing [illegible] of the hilshas wonderfully correspond with [illegible] period for other fishes *viz.*, the months of Bais[illegible] to Ashar. So by adding the jatkas along [illegible] the fry mentioned and with the inclusion [illegible] para for a close season of two months for [illegible] brood fishes this bill would serve the pur[illegible]

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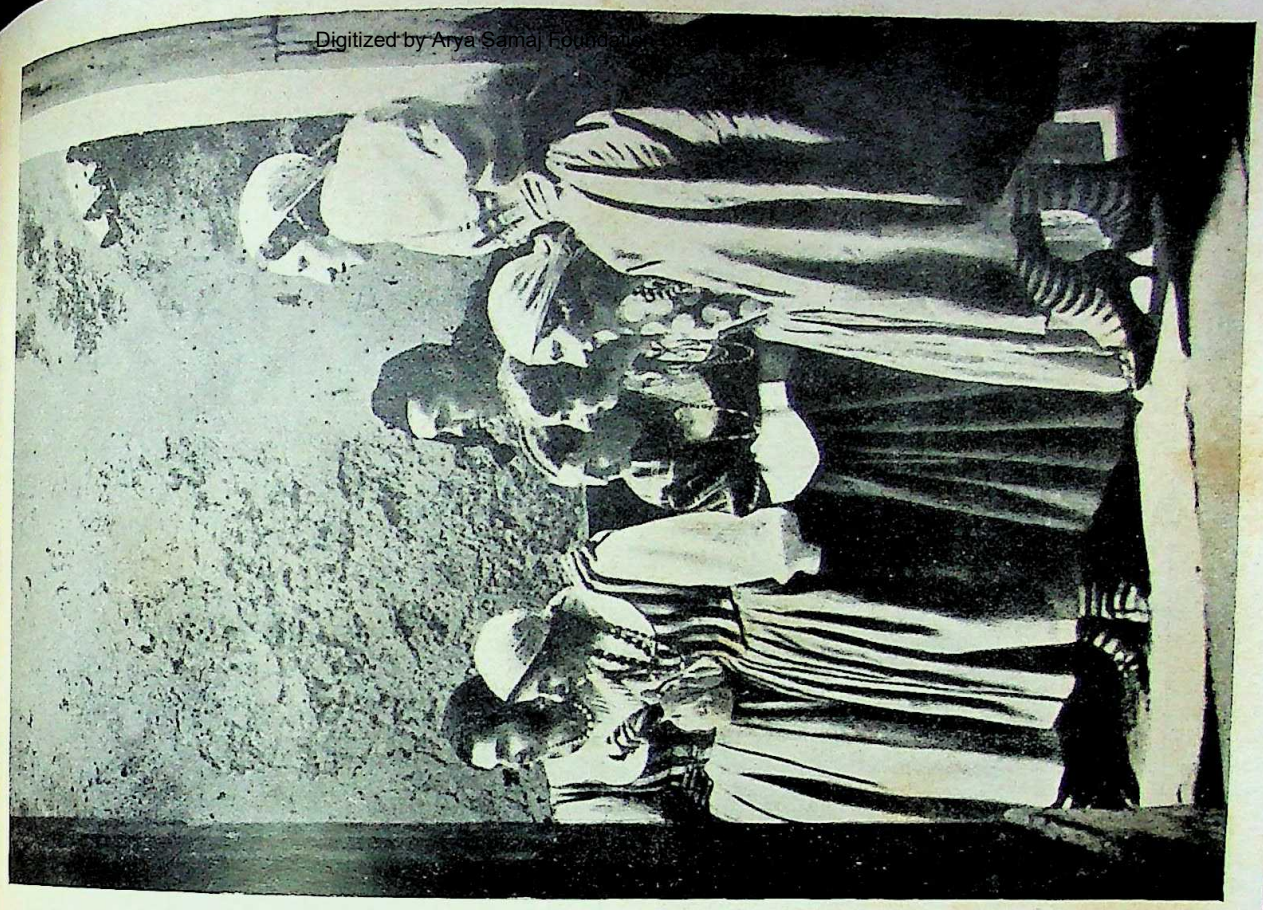

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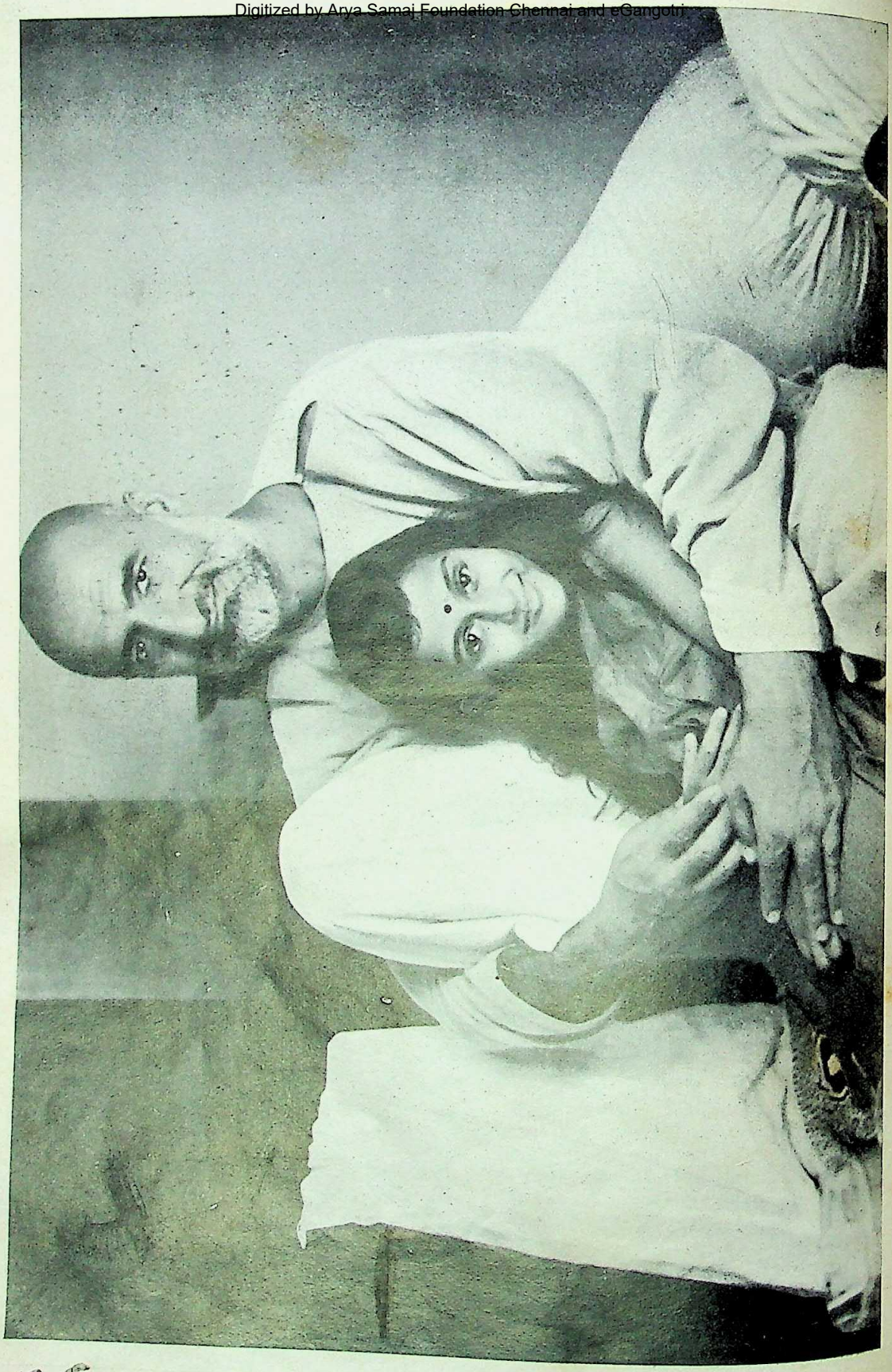

Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan [Photograph by Nirmal Kumar Bose

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giving the necessary protection to the hilshas is needless to say that an as well. And it is needless to say that an enactment which can add to the economic betterment of the people by the protection of an important commodity like fish in a riparian province like Bengal is a thing to be welcomed.

Conclusion

The future line of work regarding the hilshas should therefore be :

1. Places where the jatkas are available must be identified.

2. A propaganda must be made among fishermen fishing in such areas about the fact that the jatkas are the young ones of the hilshas and that they are making a great harm to their own business by destroying the hilshas in the fry stage which on the other hand would give them a much increased outturn if caught and sold 3 to 4 months later.

3. To resort to legislative measures if propaganda be not very successful, for the safety of the jatkas for 3 months *viz.*, Baisakh to Ashar and for the introduction of a close season for 2 months say the months of Aswin-Kartic for the protection of the brood fishes.

4. To stock confined water such as tanks with jatkas, to see if they can be grown in them and also to observe the suitability or otherwise in their taste or other marketable qualities.

KHAN ABDUL GHAFFAR KHAN

By DEWANE FULSAFI

STRANGELY enough the earliest thing that I remember about this great giant of non-violence was a singularly violent incident. I was passing in front of the group of huge houses where the Khan's family lived when I was given a thrashing by one of the *badmashes* of the village, a red-eyed, sharp-faced evil bit of ferocity called "Seekh Gunjea" ('bald-headed iron rod'). I went running to the huge big "Hujra" and with my fists in my eyes, rushed to the kindly-looking Bahram Khan, the Khan's father. "Come, come, you little bear," said the old man, "big Pathan boys don't cry, it is only little girls that do." I choked back my sobs and blurted out my story. Without a word, Abdul Ghaffar Khan got up and said, "Where is he?" "In front of the mosque by your house" I replied, and trotted happily behind the huge Khan, for I knew that Seekh would learn a lesson today that he would never forget. He certainly did. The Khan lifted 'Gunjea' like a pup seven feet above the ground and dashed him again and again until his bald head was covered with blood. And he did not stop until the bald-headed swine rubbed his nose on the ground and held his ear-holes and promised God and all the holy saints of the Pathans that he would never hurt a child again.

In those days the Khan was living the life of an ordinary Pathan farmer. He had four wives and two servants. He had taken a piece of land about 70 acres from his father, and this he cultivated himself. He would leave his home in Utmanzai at dawn like all the other farmers, take his bath in a canal a mile away and reach his fields an hour before sunrise. There he ploughed and irrigated, and tended his crops until noon, when his food used to come from the village. Then he would stop working, and with his bullocks go to the *jungai* (grove of mulberry trees) where the bullocks got a drink and fodder and the Khan and his men ate and rested for an hour or two and then went back to the plough and irrigation and weeding and the hundred other things that are the irksome routine of a farmer's life in the Frontier. It was in these days that the Khan acquired his remarkable knowledge of agriculture. Even now-a-days his happiest moments are spent on his land, when he goes out on long walks with the farmers and discusses the mysteries of long-rooted and short-rooted crops, the causes and cures of various plant-diseases and the cultivation of certain crops to improve some deficiencies in the soil. I have been on several of these trips with him. The young farmers look rather surprised when they hear the Khan speak their language and tackle their problems so efficiently but the old ones (and there are many grey-beards on the land) always bring him their problems and listen to and carry out his suggestions faithfully, for the Khan's family is well known for being very mild, fair-dealing and kind landlords.

The second incident that I remember about the Khan is the one to which the Khan's eyes

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his pet name among the Pathans 'Badshah Khan,' which means 'King Khan.'

It took place at the time of the Rowlatt Act agitation in a dilapidated old mosque. It was the mosque of the famous Haji of Turangzai. Along with a school, the mosque had been

Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan
Sketch by Nandalal Bose

built on a hill side about half a mile from Utmanzai by the Haji of Turangzai before he was made to flee for his life to the hills of the Mohmands along with the Khan and several followers. It is a matter of common knowledge amongst us Pathans how the Khan was brought back by his father on the persuasion of the then Governor of the Province.

It was in this deserted mosque that all the Khan of our tribes called a meeting. It may be siad to be the first political meeting of the Pathans. Haidar Khan, a big and famous Khan who was known among the Pathans as 'Hai-l-de Khan without eyelashes' got up, made a litt speech, put a garland round the rather reluctan neck of Abdul Ghaffar Khan and proclaimed hi *Zamung Badsh*—'Our King.' Thus he got his title, which he carries to this day.

The English, however, were not amused. A few days later, the village of Utmanzai woke up to find itself surrounded by British troops. There were huge guns all around the village and a long line of them on the road that goes through its middle. All the important men of the village were summoned and made to sit in front of these guns. The soldiers got up on their guns and got ready to fire, when a shrill whistle blew and the Chief Commissioner arrived as the rescuing hero. It was all beautifully arranged and cleverly timed with Anglo-Saxon thoroughness. The Chief Commissioner, Mr. Keen, I believe, then stood up on a cannon and delivered a speech which Obaidullah Khan, (son of Dr. Khan Sahib, well-known for his many and lengthy hunger-strikes) mimics. This is what he said: "O people of Utmanzai, do not imagine that because the Sirkar is busy elsewhere, it cannot attend to you. The arm of the Sirkar is very long. It can attend to Germany, side Russia and reach you also. Because of your villanous activities, I fine you people sixty thousand rupees, and take these eighty men as prisoners until the fine is realised." The suggestion of brave old Bahram Khan that only he should be taken to prison and all the other Khans released, because it was his son who was responsible for everything, was refused. The brave old man went to jail along with seventy nine others. The little village paid up its fine and several times over, before the Khans were released. I visited the Khans in jail in those days and spent many happy hours eating chickens and dates, because all my relatives were in that distinguished gathering.

During this siege, the village was also disarmed and the troops carried away three lorry loads of rifles, guns, pistols and daggers, all brought voluntarily by the owners as the authorities threatened to search their houses, a thing which the Pathan considers an insult to his womenfolk and hates more than anything else. It was precisely an incident of this sort that caused the notorious Afridi Ajab Khan to kidnap Miss Ellis as reprisal.

Some time after his imprisonment, the Khan started the first organisation for the social and moral uplift of the Pathans. It had a big

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sounding Arabic name, for the priests were very influential and their followers very ignorant. He started a small school in his village in a house given by a friend. (It is a flourishing high school now and I am very proud to have been one of the first students). To get funds for the little school and do publicity work, the Khan used to make extensive tours with a party of students and a respectable number of impressively-bearded propagandists, for we had to keep on the right side of the priests who were very jealous of their powers. We would go to a mosque in a village, some of us would sing patriotic and religious songs, others would make speeches, the theme always being—unity, the evil of feuds, the glory of education and utility of social reforms of several kinds. I was the little hero of these parties and though only eight years old, would deliver my carefully memorised speech with such a convincing amount of acting, that the simple-minded Pathans would gape at me, and usually at the end of the performances, some kindly Khan would send the little genius of his household along with us, hoping that he would, someday stand on the *mimber* (raised platform in the mosque for the use of the priest) and recite Arabic verses and Persian poems to the honour and glorification of the family.

But soon the Khan was arrested again and sentenced to three years' rigorous imprisonment. He was subjected to the most brutal treatment in these years. He was treated worse than the murderers and dacoits. He lost one hundred lbs. in weight, and six teeth. Being a huge giant of 220 lbs. the irons around his ankles were too small, so they cut into his flesh and caused festered wounds. But if his captors thought that they would break his spirit that way, they were sorely disappointed. As the Khan often said in his speeches, "With love you could persuade a Pathan to go to Hell with you, but by force you couldn't take him even to Heaven." It was with him. He suffered much but did not complain. It did not break the steel in him but tempered it.

Once, he having expressed a desire to that effect, I was taken to see him in jail. The Khan has always given me much undeserved honour. It was in the hot Mianwali Jail. He used invariably be sent either to Mianwali, or Dera Ismail Khan, where the jail-gate carried in bold letters the complementary title of "Hell Prison," both these places being unbearably hot in summer. Although I was a child, I was not allowed to go in, but had to wait outside a window with thick black bars. There was the tap-tap-tap of wooden sandals, and out came he, in short, ugly jail clothes, a ghost of his former self. It was too much for me, I burst into tears. The Khan Sahib made pathetic attempts to console me through the thick black bars. The jailors took pity on me, for even jailors are human at times, and allowed me to get inside. There on the Khan's lap I stopped sobbing after a while and ate some fruits, which he would always give to people who went to see him in jail. But I loathe Mianwali even to this day. Every time the train passes through it, a vision of the black bars, the wooden sandals, the ugly jail-clothes and the two pale, affectionate hands caressing me through the iron bars, at once rises up before my eyes.

After his release, he got busy again, more schools were opened, the organization extended and we made several tours of practically all parts of the province. With long practice and training, I had become by then a fairly good speaker and accompanied the Khan Sahib practically everywhere.

It was in the beginning of 1929 that I made my last tour with him, presumably in connection with a magazine which he had started, but actually to give a finishing touch to the ground which he had so patiently and laboriously prepared for the launching of his now-famous movement of the *Khudai Khidmatgars* (servants of God) or Red-Shirts, as they are generally called.

On July 15th, 1929, I was strolling on the Peshawar Cantonment platform. I had an English suit on which I wore for the first time, feeling extremely important and extremely uncomfortable. I was soon to be sent off to England, though I was then only fifteen. The Khan Sahib was also there. He wore a strange expression of sorrow mixed with happiness. "Go and learn what has made the Englishman a great conqueror and a great organiser," was his parting advice, "but do not forget what you are."

A few months after this, he started his movement, the history of whose growth and struggle is the one beautiful chapter of heroism and sacrifice in our recent history, otherwise so much lacking in anything notable, but that I will tell you some other time—perhaps.

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HISTORY OF BENGAL'S SALT INDUSTRY

By JITENDRA KUMAR NAG, M.SC., B.L.

THE history of Bengal bears ample testimony to the existence of a big industry in salt on the seacoast of Bengal and Orissa from the early days of the Islamic rule down to the 18th century. This industry and the country's own trade in salt, though virtually destroyed by the alien European merchants, survived as late as Queen Victoria's reign. The administrative reports and the records of the East India Company and the British Government of the 17th, 18th and 19th centuries and the books by contemporary authors on the political and economic condition of the country, refer in many places to the progress of this flourishing industry, and also to the incidents of repression and undue advantages forcibly taken by the local government in the 19th century which brought this industry, that had been one of the chief assets of our economic resources, to complete ruin.

For a long time salt was being prepared on an extensive scale along the vast seaboard of Bengal from Chittagong to Jaleswar, comprising a land of 700 sq. miles. The area acquired a reputation of being highly favourable to salt manufacture, as it is flooded by the waters of the Bay of Bengal from time to time according to its ebb and flow tides. As regards fuels the coast also supplied wood from the intervening jungles to the manufacturer without much labour being spent on it. The place was popularly known as "Noon-Dweep" (the Salt-Island).

Midnapore and Sunderban seaboards were the chief saline tracts that developed this industry to a great extent. Salt was manufactured along the coast-line on a commercial scale by the local merchants through the labour of the Molunghees (people who used to prepare salt in these areas were called Molunghees). The total output was considerable; it used to meet not only the entire demand of the eastern markets of India, *viz.*, of Assam, Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, but also those of the provinces of U. P. and the Punjab to some extent.

The transport service from the salt manufacturing centre was through the rivers or waterways of the land. Canals were also sometimes constructed by the state for easy communication on these natural and artificial watercourses, by country boats, the only conveyance of those days, merchants used to despatch salt bags to the distant markets of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa. A canal constructed in this pargana was known as 'Nimki-Khal,' the name being derived from the Hindi word *nimak* meaning salt. Mention had often been made of the salt area then popularly known as 'Nimak-Mahal,' in the revenue files of Sultan Suja, a governor of Bengal, in the 17th century.

The local zamindars were generally placed in charge of the supervision of the salt *chars* as representative of the Government. The supreme control was, however, vested in the hands of the Dewan, the financial chief of the province (*Fifth Report on East India Affairs*, Vol. II, Firminger).

From salt the provincial government used to draw big revenue at the period. This fact corroborates the story of Bengal producing from its seacoasts an immense quantity of salt for the consumption of the natives. Not only that, there are in contemporary books references to many rich trading merchants and *saudagars* coming down from the Punjab, Multan, Gujerat, etc., to this province to buy salt for importing it to their respective provinces and districts.

PREPARATION OF SALT

As the coastal area remains excessively humid and there is heavy rainfall there during summer and rainy seasons, the salt was, at that time too, prepared during winter, *i.e.*, from the months of October to April, when the atmosphere remained dry. The sandy lowland on the seaboard of the Bay is now and then flooded by the high tides; the sea water impregnates the soil with its saline material, sometimes appreciably, on account of repeated ebbs. The molunghees used to scrape the surface earth of such soil and collect it in mounds. After this they used to lixiviate it on filterbeds. Clear brines were thus obtained on its being charged on ovens. The fuel came from the wooded region of the sea-coast.

By this crude process of lixiviation and boiling the brine on open hearths, thousands of molunghees had been preparing salt for a long time along the seacoast of Bengal and Orissa

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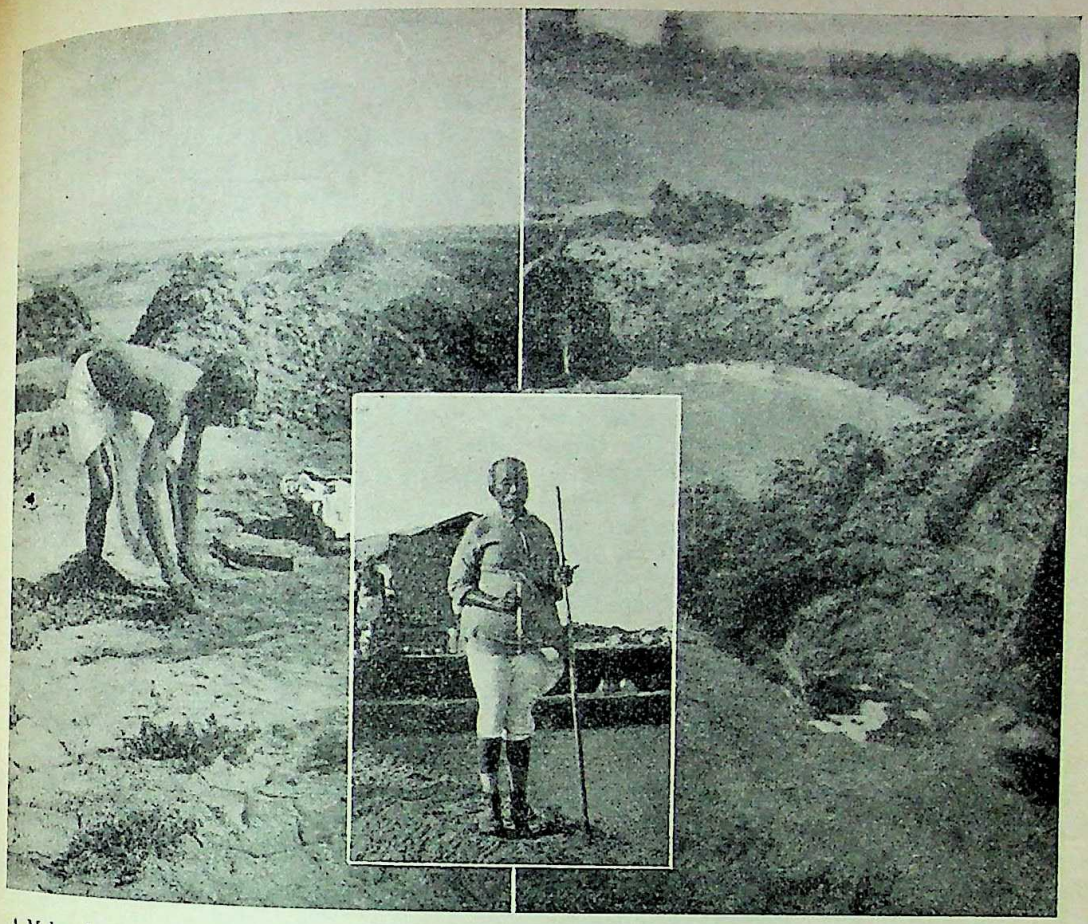

A Molunghee scraping saline earth

Mr. P. Choudhury, pioneer of present salt industry of Bengal

Lixiviation of saline earth

the entire demand of consumers living in the ...nces of eastern India. It is mentioned ... Bengali book by Pandit Haraprasad ...stri that even in the Hindu period about ...thousand labourers (molunghees) worked ... the particular salt district, afterwards ...wn as Nimakmahal under the management ... the supervising zamindars. The saltbeds, ...lly caller *chars*, were divided into small ...ons—the *khalaris* : in each khalari about ...n molunghees were to work. Their wages ... a contract basis were fixed on the production ...ery 100 mds. of salt. From each khalari an ...ge yield of 250 maunds of salt by a group ...even molunghees is recorded.

The controlling zamindars were also ...orised to sell the salt thus manufactured ... collected, to the merchants who in their ... distributed it to different markets. ...ter's *Statistical Account of Bengal* (Vol. ... Midnapore) refers to these zamindars, and ... they were honoured by the rulers during ... Moslem regime with titles like Bakar-Ul-...jab, Mali-Ul-Tajjab, etc., etc.

The Decay of the Salt Industry

The repressive policy adopted by the East India Company for the purpose of capturing local markets, affecting practically all the industries of the country, was also the chief cause of the ultimate ruin of the salt industry, narrated above. The Company persuaded the puppet Nawab to impose a law on the dealers of salt, betelnut, tobacco and other useful commodities to sell first all their produce to the Company in retail. An agreement was forcibly reached in favour of the Company with all the zamindars of the salt area, who became owners as a result of the weakening of control by the local government, to sell the entire produce to the Company at the fixed rate and to the salt traders. It was a mischief done by the Trading Association, formed then by Clive and the members of his council. In spite of strong disapproval by the Court of Directors in England, the said assosiation enforced this arbitrary legislation and was successful in depriving the zamindars and salt merchants of their reasonable profit and in establishing their monopoly in the salt trade of

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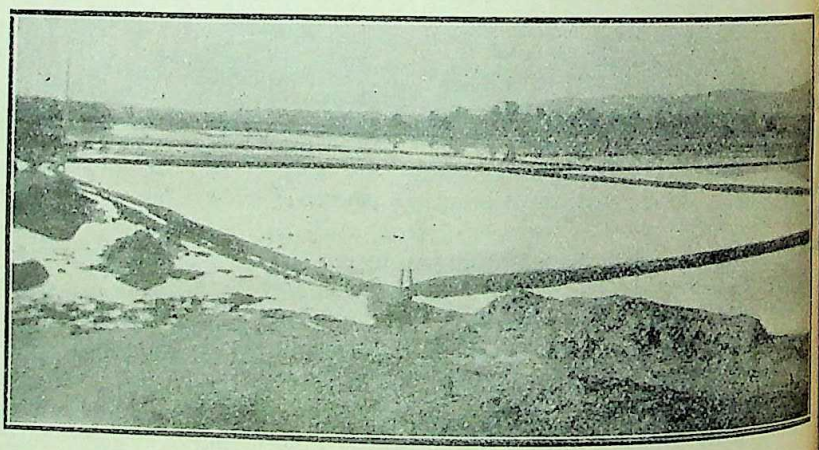
the land. The price of salt consequently went up at the expense of the labouring molunghees and the land-owning zamindars. Cheaper salt came from abroad, the Company was not keen on the disposal of the country-made salt, and consequently the zamindars closed down their industry, for it finally became rather impossible to run the trade (*Nanda Kumar* by Chandi Charan Sen). The stringent circumstances, in which the zamindars were placed, may be understood from the following, which is a specimen of the parwanas sent to them :

"Be it understood that a request has been made by the Government and the gentlemen of the committee and council to this purport that until the contracts for salt of the said gentlemen are settled, no salt shall be made or got ready in any district, that a gomasta be sent to attend on the said gentlemen and having given a bond, he may proceed to his business and make salt but till the bond be given to the governor. Without delay give your bond and settle your business and then proceed to the making of salt . . . . .

There could be no justification on the part of the Company to force the salt-owing gentlemen to give bond to them for selling salt only to them. They were for a long time exploiting the local molunghees and meeting the demamnd of the country. The Company arbitrarily chucked them out and began to control the salt trade and gave an wide scope to the European, specially the British, salt manufacturers. This was only made possible by the extraordinary high price of the salt raised as a consequence of the intervention of the Company to establish their monopoly. The salt duty was raised to Rs. 3-8 as. on every maund of salt, the sale price was, in proportion to the cost price of this local prduction, so high that it became very hard for the Company to dispose of the Bengal salt, secured by their monopoly. On the other hand, besides the import from Cheshire and Hamburg, salt of lower price was available from the seacoasts of Bombay and Madras where the dry climate favours the solar evaporation method of preparing salt as a low expense. The Company for sometimes imported this cheaper salt, as the production of Bengal was falling year after year.



Condenser : the Burma process of preparing salt

British Exports

The year 1835, an unfortunate year to Bengal, saw the beginning of the import of salt to the port of Calcutta from Cheshire. British and foreign salt gradually began to capture Indian markets, and met about 90 per cent of the entire demand of the Bengal market. This was the case for a considerable period, down to the last decade of the 19th century, when the invasion of Aden salt followed. The East India Company and even Her Majesty's government went very far to facilitate this European dumping of salt, in levying another extra duty on the local manufacture, to meet their financial estimate of the salt department. The price of Bengal's own salt became unnaturally high and this was rather a death-blow to the existing producers.

". . . . In working out the principle the company went too far and gave an undue advantage to the British manufacturers. For they included the expenses of securing and protecting revenues in the cost price and added to the selling price of Bengal salt. The British manufacturers obtained the full advantage of this blunder, and the sale of British salt went up by leaps and bounds." *Victorian Age*, R. C. Dutt.

Finally, a general prohibitory order was issued by the Government upon the local producers, whose condition had grown from bad to worse, to stop their business before they were completely ruined. The following table shows the figures of British salt exported from Cheshire and Liverpool :

1845-'46.	1847-'48.	1848-'49.	1851-'52.
502,616	752,998	1,092,698	1,850,762 mds.

The Government's revenue also increased on account of the duty imposed on indigenous salt. A maximum revenue of 67 lacs sold

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salt in 1870-71 is recorded to have been collected.

In 1871, a separate department of salt was created by the Government, which appointed special agents to collect the duty.

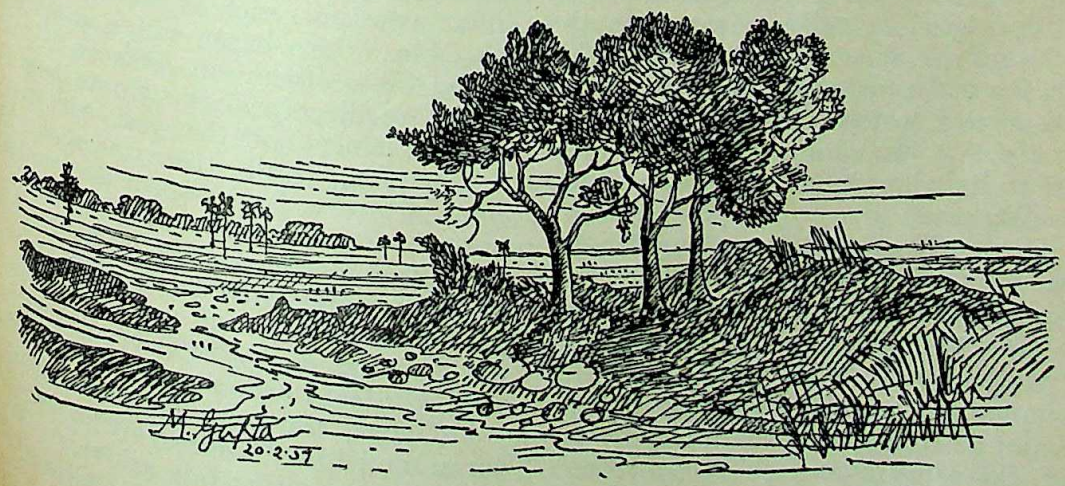
Aden Salt

During the later part of the last century, salt from Hamburg, Salif, Aden and Rumania reached the ports of Calcutta and Chittagong. British exports were already on the decline owing to the introduction of the cheaper foreign salt but when the very cheap Aden salt made its appearance, all had to make way for it. Along with it Bombay and Karachi also joined the competition. Fortunately the world war came and Europe's salt export almost ceased. Aden and Bombay not only monopolised the Indian salt trade between themselves but also began to make enormous profits by raising the price. It went upto Rs. 80 per 100 mds. of salt exclusive of the Government duty. The consumption became so low and the revenue from the salt duty dropped so much that the Government had to contemplate a possibility of the revival of the salt industry. But then what would become of the revenue drived from the salt tax? The Central government, howver, withdrew the long-standing prohibitionary order of 1918 and instructed the provincial governments to issue licence to individuals or grouped organizations, that would like to manufacture salt.

The people of Bengal at that time did not like to take the risk as they were long maintaining an idea that salt could not be produced in Bengal with profit. They also believed that salt cannot be manufactured here on a commercial scale. Messrs. Andrew Yule & Co. first availed themselves of this opportunity and taking licence from the government started a factory at Contai on the seaboard of South Midnapore, near which now the Bengal Salt Company have established a factory to work out on the Burmah process. Though Messrs. Andrew Yule & Co. spent a good deal on machinery, manufactured salt as good as the Cheshire salt and though their efforts were praiseworthy, they were not successful in preventing the hoarding of dusty Aden salts in the local ports. As they could not make any appreciable amount of profit this British firm closed down their factory at (Purushottampur) Contai. It would have been wise on the part of the Government if they had retained the factory by purchase.

The coastal people of Bengal and Orissa revived the process of the molunghees and began to prepare salt after the general ban on them had been lifted in 1931 on account of the Gandhi-Irwin Pact.

It is gratifying to note that Bengal has now got about twenty national companies dealing in salt, of which about a dozen have built factories at Contai, Sunderban, Noakhali and Chittagong. Some of them are producing and selling the countrymade salt in the market of Bengal. An illustrated account may be obtained from the latest reports of the Bengal government.



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SIGNIFICANCE OF DURGA, SIVA AND KALEE

By Prof. SUKUMAR RANJAN DAS, M.A., Ph.D.

It is interesting to note that the Durga festival which is regarded as the greatest festival among most of the Hindus has an astronomical background. The birth, marriage and death of Durga are different representations of Hindu Ecliptic. The mythological legends about Durga have been invented by learned men of the Pauranic age only to impress the common people, but the astronomical significance of the Durga festival is almost forgotten among the general public. It will, therefore, be of great interest to trace the origin of the Durga festival in the light of astronomical phenomena observed in ancient India.

The basis of the science of astronomy in India was in the religious aspirations of the ancient votaries, in times when each heavenly body represented a Divinity. With the ancient Indians, the study of astronomy became a sacred duty, at least amongst the more educated classes, inasmuch as the celestial bodies were viewed as gods, and the worship of them was enjoined by the Vedas, the earliest religious books of the Hindus. Thus the piety of the ancient Indians in primitive ages led them to watch with care all the phenomena of the heavens and to perfect their calendar of festivals and holidays in the light of their observations. To this particular end the first Indian astronomers must have directed their attention. It is clear, therefore, that the early religion of the Hindus had a close intimacy with times and seasons, and thus in connection with their rites and ceremonies there was a well-regulated calendar to set forth the order in which these should be observed. This calendar in the early periods, had naturally an imperfect character, which led to methods afterwards adopted for its improvement, generally with a view to its adaptation to religious rather than to secular uses.

From the very beginning the ancient Hindus were the worshippers of different manifestations of nature round which, in later years, mythological legends grew up. They were specially interested in the motions of the sun whom they regarded with awe and reverence. Thus many of their ceremonies and festivals were regulated by the positions of the sun in the ecliptic. It can, therefore, be assumed that every festival that has come down from the ancient times has some relation to a natural phenomena and the Durga festival, their greatest festival, has also got an astronomical significance.

The difficulties experienced by the Hindus in adjusting their calendar, in which errors were so liable to spring up and increase, occasioned repeated changes of their system. At one period the motion of the moon was taken as its foundation, and the lunar month was formed to agree with the phases of the moon. Then a change took place, and a solar month was formed, constituted so as to be reckoned by the time the sun, in its progress, remained in each sign of the solar Zodiac. Another change followed, efforts being made to reconcile the two previous systems, in which each kind of month preserved its original character, the solar month being reckoned in ordinary civil days, and the lunar month measured by *tithis* or lunar days, each being one thirtieth part of a synodic period, the time elapsing between two conjunctions of the sun and the moon. The result of these efforts was the formation of the luni-solar year, reckoned either in civil days or in *tithis*.

Now the arrangement of the twelve Hindu months, as they now stand, has, at different times been made the subject of diligent enquiry. Bentley, in his *Hindu Astronomy*, states that the months were formed about the year 1181 B.C. when the sun and the moon were in conjunction at the Winter Solstice, and that with reference to this epoch, the Hindu astronomers had then made many improvements in their system. The lunar asterisms, such as, Asvini, Bharani, Krittika, etc., which began with a month were then called wives of the sun, although they had been all before allegorically married to the moon. The commencement of the year with the month Asvina was, of all others, the most celebrated. That is to say, it was about the year 1181 B.C. after several attempts that a final seal was given to the year-beginning and the year was announced to commence with the month of Asvina. This particular arrangement was then so popular that it was proclaimed with due pomp by the general public to celebrate the new year beginning.

Durga, the year personified in a female form, and the Goddess of Nature, was then acclaimed to spring into existence. In the year 1181 B.C., the first of Asvina coincided with

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sixth day of the moon; and on that day the festival of Durga was celebrated with the utmost pomp and grandeur. The solemnity of the festival shows that the new arrangement was extremely popular and to mark the general approbation it was made an occasion of worship and festivity. In the year 945 B.C. some further observations were made, by which the ancient Hindu determined that in 247 years and one month Solstice fell back 3° 20′ in respect of the fixed stars. In consequence of these observations, they threw back the epoch of the commencement of the year with Asvina in 1181 B.C. to the year 1192 B.C., in which year the commencement of Asvina fell on the sixth day of the moon; and the Durga festival was ever after made to commence with the sixth lunar day of Asvina.

The fable of the marriage of Durga with Siva has an allegorical meaning. Siva is a personification of eternal time, and Durga is one of many representations of the Ecliptic. That is to say, the year was fixed in the wheel of eternal time and from that particular point a new start was made in the regulation of the calendar. The union of Durga with Siva was considered necessary for the welfare of the people, as the improved calendar correctly set forth the order in which the rites and ceremonies should be observed.

In the institutes of Manu the twenty-seven lunar Asterisms (Asvini, Bharani, etc.) are called the daughters of Prajapati, Daksha, a representation of the Ecliptic, and also the consorts of Soma, the moon. This apparently indicates that the calendar was first regulated by the motion of the moon. Bentley urges that the ancient astronomers feigned the birth of four of the planets from the union of these daughters of Daksha and the moon; the observations are supposed to be occulations by the moon, which occurred nearly at the same time in the Lunar Mansions, from which, as mothers, the planets received their names. In this system of reckoning errors crept up and finally after diligent inquiry the solar year was fixed. Durga, the eldest daughter of Daksha, was then supposed to spring into existence, indicating the point from which the year was to begin.

In the history of the development of Hindu astronomy the period of about five centuries before the birth of Christ is regarded as the dark age of Hindu astronomy. There is an unaccountable dearth of information regarding the astronomy of that period. Bentley suspected that there had been a great destruction of astronomical manuscripts. According to Bentley, during this period improvements were made in astronomy, new and more accurate tables of the planetary motions and positions were formed, and equations introduced. At this period of Hindu astronomy a vigorous search was made for manuscripts at the instance of the learned men of the time, for the purpose of restoring their ancient literature and science. The death of Durga allegorically refers to the temporary collapse of the astronomical science during this period. It is probable that about 200 B.C. when the revival of the Hindu astronomy began, the allegory of the death of Durga was invented by the learned men for the purpose of keeping in remembrance the decadence of their favourite science, and its subsequent revival.

The death of Durga is still sometimes represented in private spectacles wherein large figures are constructed to take part in tableaux illustrating some of the scenes described in the Ramayana, such as Rama's lament over the loss of Lakshmi, and others of a like nature. This represents the calamity which overtook Hindu astronomy at this eventful period. The popular belief that Rama performed the Durga Puja in the month of Asvina has, no doubt, some bearing in this tableaux. This popular belief may be due to the fact that Rama, as the ruling prince of that period, set his seal of authority on that point in time when Durga, the year personified, sprang into existence to avert the calamity that befell the astronomical calculations of his time.

It is believed that before this period the Durga festival was celebrated in Spring and still now there is a reminiscence of that fact in the Basanti Puja performed in the month of Chaitra. There is a tradition that King Suratha of the Solar Dynasty was the first man to perform the Durga Puja. This might indicate that this ancient festival came into vogue when the year was supposed to begin with the sun in Chaitra and Suratha was then the ruling prince. Hence Rama who shifted the time of worship of the Goddess is said to have invoked the goddess not in proper time, but as there was the seal of greater authority the time fixed by Rama has since then been regarded as the proper time of worship.

The great importance given to time as a mighty worker of events was well understood in its personification as Siva. Years were personified as his wives, one of whom, Kalee was described as insatiably devastating whole countries, which was in earlier times but a figurative way of expressing that such and such years had been calamitous in famines, pestilence

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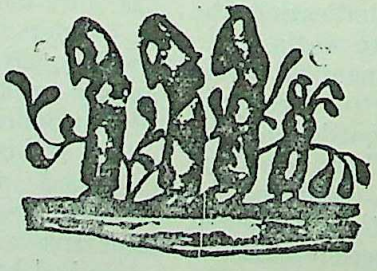
and wars, which would have depopulated the world, had not Brahma, the Creator of the Universe, personally intervened and induced Siva to keep his wife in order. Siva, bewildered, had no other means of stopping her madness than by throwing himself at her feet, and only when stepping on his body, did she become aware of the disrespect she was showing to her husband, and from shame, she then ceased from her devastations. The pestilential years lapsed in eternal time, and peace and happiness reappeared.

The tradition is that Durga, an astronomical representation of the year, being the daughter of Daksha (a representation of the Ecliptic) belonged to a higher caste than Siva who was regarded as a god with snakes and other reptiles crawling over him, alluding to his worshippers, the Nagas, who were devoted to the worship of Nature. The marriage of Durga with Siva, therefore, did not please Daksha who gave his consent to this union with great reluctance. Daksha, Siva's father-in-law, once arranged a great feast to which he invited all the gods, celestial and terrestrial, the planets, stars, Rishis, and Munis, with their worshippers. But Siva was excluded from the feast. The feast, as a figure, was intended to shew the importance attached to astronomy, but without reference to time, which was, as it were, an insult to Siva. This gave great pain to Durga, who, after much entreaty, was permitted to present herself at her father's house, and to appear in the feast; but such was her distress at witnessing the contemptuous treatment shown towards her husband that she died of grief. In other words, the year, which in the ancient astronomy, had been derived from the Ecliptic, by means of a long series of observations on the sun, moon, and stars, and had become so exact in length that predictions and calculations having reference to the times of the year could be depended upon to agree with the events, had been lost. Through disregarding the effects produced by time, and neglecting to apply the necessary corrections to their calculations, so many errors had crept into the predictions of the calendar, that even the length of the year itself became unknown; thus Durga died.

To revenge Durga's death, Siva, from his own body, created a numerous army, by means of which all the gods who had assembled at the feast of Daksha were destroyed. This means that a multiplicity of errors arose in computations regarding the planets, seasons and months, causing thereby the greatest confusion in periods of religious observances, until at length no regard was paid to astronomical observations and all knowledge of the celestial sphere of the Ecliptic, and of the planetary motions was lost. Astronomy was no longer correctly studied. Thus Daksha was slain and along with him the other deities assembled were destroyed.

To continue the legend, Siva was appeased by Brahma and was caused to relent. A search was made for the bodies of the dead; and a restoration of nearly all the gods to life was effected. But when it came to the turn of Daksha, his body was found without a head. A goat was however found near; its head was cut off, and Daksha was restored to life with the head of a goat. This part of the legend, no doubt, alludes to a serious attempt to revive the study of astronomy; the confusion regarding planetary motions and some other computations was removed, but the knowledge of the Ecliptic still remained defective. Durga had to be re-born and this time in the Himalayas in Northern India. After several years of penance she was re-united with Siva. Thus the correct knowledge of the Ecliptic and the year was gained and the revival took place in Northern India, probably alluding to the more systematic study of astronomy at Ujjain.

Thus the ingenuity of the learned men of Ancient India was responsible for the linking of astronomical facts with an interesting legend to capture the imagination of the common people. This is, in shout, the astronomical significance of the Durga festival observed in India.



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THE HERD-HALLUCINATIONS

By Prof. Dr. KRISHNA PRASANNA MUKERJI, M.A. (Cal), D.Phil. (Heidelberg)
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Mere force of habit and lack of spirit of questioning have caused the average man in society to accept a code of morals with regard to certain aspects of his social life which, though unable to stand the test of logical criticism, has got so well-established as an ethically sound standard of social behaviour that a man challenging them with his rational criticism, instead of being considered a servant of society and social science, runs the risk of being suspected as an evil genius preaching "immoral" and "objectionable" things. The danger and liability of quiet submission to things traditional are still greater in a society like ours which has long forgotten the use of the sign of interrogation on the path of social advance. It is with this idea of re-introducing this sign of rational questioning as mile-stones of our social progress that I have entered into the discussion of some of the usually accepted rules of social behaviour which are taken for granted as sound because we are afraid to disturb the apparent core of our social existence, mistaking our mental inertia and intellectual morbidity for blessings of peaceful life. I have preferred to call these accepted axioms of society "herd-hallucinations" and not "herd-ignorance", because I believe that they are there, not because society (or at least the educated class) is ignorant of their ethical unsoundness, but because their intellectual inertia has created a hallucinatory belief under the spell of which we are unwilling to discard them and even want to hug them as just and true. It is obvious that the nature of the task before me is such that it may prove shocking to the "tender-hearted" and the "soft-cushioned" but knowing that these effects are unavoidable adjuncts of an undertaking like this I hope to be excused by the gentle and the genteel. The list is by no means exhaustive.

(a). *What is unjust and ignoble to acquire by force is permissible (and even praiseworthy) if acquired with the help of money.*

Such a proposition appears perfectly just and correct with regard to acquiring things belonging to others (provided of course, there is no coercion involved in the transaction). According to popular notion the former (the user of force) is a criminal and a robber and the latter a lawful purchaser. But laws are not always morally sound and the apparent justness of the "lawful purchaser's" position may under special circumstances prove to be an utter fiction under the garb of which he might be perpetrating highly immoral acts more dangerous than the acts of a thief or a robber, because it is not possible to deal with him or correct him armed with the sanction of law in the same manner or with the same ease as the robber. An apt illustration is afforded by the attempt of the monied class to buy up at fancy price huge quantities of butter and other food stuffs (for private consumption) in times of war or scarcity.

Leaving aside the question of acquiring material things, if we turn to the acquiring of a different type of objects, namely posts, through the help of money, we will find the position to be morally still more untenable. Here I am not merely trying to emphasise the objections involved in selling out public posts to the donor of the highest bribe (which is such an apparent injustice that no decent society will tolerate it openly) but I am referring to the vast number of cases in which responsible posts are offered to candidates having "high connections" in preference to those who have no such connections (even though the latter are more qualified). Seemingly there is no offer of money or bribe in this, yet the substance of corruption involved in such a social transaction cannot escape the notice of the accurate observer of soial phenomena. May not the expectations on the part of the powers that be (which allot the posts) of returns in the shape of parties, dinners, loans and political support from these people with high connections be classed as a type of bribe no less real than the direct offer of money ?

The element of injustice involved in the acquisition of another class of objects (by purchase or more correctly through bribe), namely the acquisition of a rich or beautiful spouse is still greater and perhaps just for that reason still more overlooked by the ever-busy-

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body, the public. It is a well-known fact that prospects of lucrative jobs are daily being held out to young men for marrying the daughters of highly placed fathers, and a father's pension and palatial house is diverting the love(?) of many a maiden from the more desirable poor to the son of a father with a pension and a palace, with the result that beautiful girls and earning young men have become the monopolies of the pampered youths of both the sexes. This is an example of the exercise of monopolistic proprietary right which, as I have remarked elsewhere, is unsupportable by any decent standard of social ethics.

Any one who carries away a beautiful girl by force is surely to be condemned by the society as a "goonda" but the dissipated and debauched son of a landed or business aristocrat who carries away one or more of them with the help of his money is, on the contrary, supposed to occupy a specially higher position in society, though the difference between him and the goonda is that he has replaced the goonda's *muscle* by his *money*. On principle the difference, if any, is slight, but luckily for him the human herd does not think: it lives in its own hallucination and sings hallelujah of the monied goonda despising the comparatively less harmful type—the strong man—who can at least boast of his physical prowess and put that forward as a recommendation for deserving the fair. Under changed modern conditions the medieval maxim, "None but the brave deserves the fair," is to be replaced by "None but the rich deserves the fair." It is ridiculous but under the spell of a hallucination we have acquiesced in this ridiculous state of things.

(b). *Sex-relationship in wedlock is at all events pure and justifiable; outside it absolutely shameful and wrong.*

The psychological explanation of this attitude of mind, I believe, lies in the existence of a sub-conscious sense in our minds of the superiority of our own selves or the spirit of the *glorification of the ego*. The average person in society is the married person; he or she is steeped in sex associations. He or she is not apparently erotic because he or she is saturated with eroticism. To most of us sexual thoughts are sinful and their absence from our minds is considered as a great virtue. We are taught this from childhood and most of us come to accept it without argument. Keeping now in view the eternal urge of the ego to glorify itself, it is not at all difficult to see that the married person (that is the average person in society) who is bound to get satiated with eroticism (for the very reason of his or her being married and who therefore is bound to be comparatively freer from sexual thoughts) accounts for his (or her) absence of eroticism not to satiation but to his (or her) realisation of higher and nobler ideals of life—a hallucination which materially helps in the glorification of the ego.

Once this gets established in the social mind everything done (including grossly inhuman acts) by persons in wedlock gets current as morally correct and blameless. In a case quoted, I believe, by Bertrand Russell (in one of his books), he tells us that a religious Roman Catholic gentleman who had already eigtht children consulted a physician in connection with his wife's health and was told by the doctor that in view of his wife's alarming and delicate state of health every precaution to prevent her from getting the ninth child was to be taken, otherwise the wife was sure to die. No step was taken to arrest the free play of the holy and natural force and in due course the ninth child was born and the wife died. I am sure the man did not lose a grain of respectability in society for committing the "amorous" murder because, for all I know, it was committed in holy wedlock. India abounds with the prototype of this Catholic gentleman.

On the other hand, much lesser and more innocent follies committed under the influence of amorous emotions *outside wedlock* receive deadly disapprobation and sharp strictures from society (*i.e.*, the average married people). It is amusing, in this connection, to note the disgust expressed by the Burra Memsahebs (native and foreign) at the amorous behaviour of, say, the Madrasi Aya and the Nepali servant, both condemned by some cruel and strange decree to an eternal single existence.

"It is just like them"—we are told with a smile of cruel sarcasm. Indeed it is just like a strong-built Nepali youth and a gay young Madrasi lass to allow to pass away their youth in doing household drudgery and endless errands for the well-to-do masters and it is just like them to receive admonitions (in silence) if by chance the unschooled South Indian girl is detected taking some amorous interest in the equally unsophisticated Nepali lad. Day in and day out they are to witness quietly the varied paraphernalia (with all its colour and suggestiveness) of their masters' unhampered sex-life, unmoved and unaffected like Stoics and get rebuked by the same masters if any signs of eroticism are detected in their behaviour, for, is not the holy sanction lacking

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ing in their case ? Sex appeal can never get a recognition as a natural phenomenon so long as the human herd is determined to live under the hallucination of matrimonial sanctity, irrespective of emotional dishonesty and spiritual embezzlement.

(c). *The religious man is a morally good man.*

That often the contrary is the case does not require much effort to prove. The reason also is not far to seek. Religions sprang up in human society at a more or less primitive stage of social evolution. Even the youngest of the world's great religions was born some thirteen centuries ago. The purely moral idea is still very little developed in man and only a small section in a civilised community can discuss ethical principles shorn of religious dogmatism and superstitious jugglery. No ethical principle, however, could be inculcated to the ancient peoples without using the medium of religious and mythological hocus-pocus. The heritage of that pre-moral unreason is the residual religious beliefs of today.

The religious man of today (so far as his morals are concerned) is nothing but the timal projection of our ancient credulous ancestors on our present ethical plane : historical shadows whose presence blurs our moral vision. It is impossible for him to understand the catholic universalism of modern humanitarianism. No wonder one religious sect breaks the heads of the members of another religious sect for defending no other precious patrimony than a temple or the silence of the mosque.

(d). *The atheist is a morally bad man.*

To deny God is not necessarily to deny good conduct and he who insists on just conduct must be a man of extremely sound morals, his absence of faith in God notwithstanding. As a matter of fact it is the absence of just conduct in this world (as he finds it) that drives him to doubt or disbelieve in the existence of God or a moral order. He is at least an honest seeker after a moral order in this world and laments its absence.

An honest atheist must be credited at least with being an honest searcher after the noble right path and therefore is of much better morals than the "believer" who sins and offers his daily salams and donations to the church so that his sins may be forgiven, fresh sins may be granted for committing fresher sins and a seat may be reserved in Heaven. His moral depravity extends so far as to try to corrupt by bribery the Incorruptible.

(e). *It is virtuous (meritorious) to ostracise the atheist or the agnostic.*

This is another instance of sub-conscious self-glorification. We (average men) who believe (or rather believe that we believe) in God are not satisfied by merely imagining ourselves as exceptionally wise and virtuous persons but our vanity of being His chosen ones goes to the extent of imagining ourselves to be competent enough to correct (failing which to punish) the non-believer.

The atheist or the agnostic by the fact of his atheism or agnosticism gives at least proof of his genuine desire to seek a moral order and perhaps repents its non-existence : the so-called believer gives proof of his total disregard for a moral order or God by arrogating to himself the right to sit in judgment over the convictions of others. And yet it is these "god-fearing" people who pass off as respectable members of the society and the atheist (more often than not) leads an excommunicated life. Sometimes he is even denied the company of children and youngmen lest he spoils them by his disbelieving gospel. Such is the anxiety of the worldly-wise men to retain the moral tone of the society ! No wonder God visits this planet in the form of cyclones and earthquakes, plague, pestilence, floods, famines and war.

(f). *We can continue to remain economically primitive and yet avoid intellectual degradation and economic slavery.*

The panegyric on India's bullock-cart civilization (I am not referring here to India's cultural attainments) is an opiate which has successfully kept generations of Indians in industrial slumber and commercial inertia giving free scope to such spiritual (?) improvements of the nation as physical dissipation and intellectual morbidity. This eulogy of simple wantless life (which to the popular mind means much the same thing as wretched living) reached its high water-mark with the advent of Gandhism in Indian politics.

The doctrine of economic primitivism is understandable in a society of men who are sincerely disgusted with the worldly life and have turned their face from worldly comforts. The fact however is that the average man is very much interested in the worldly life and has no intention to renounce it willingly not only because he is so worldly-minded as to love only the material life but because he is unable to secure the ordinary amenities of life without putting in his entire energy in pursuit of earning a living.

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Apart from disgust of worldly life the success of this economic doctrine in a given society requires the fulfilment of another pre-requisite, *viz.*, the members of that society (one and all) must possess absolutely wooden brains, *i.e.*, absolutely static brains which will never even feel the intellectual curiosity of inventing a labour-saving machine more efficient than the hand-spinning wheel or the bullock-cart. The fact about healthy human intellect, however, is that it is constantly working, planning, constructing new things in which it finds its only fulfilment.

The human intellect is a dynamic force and unless it is harnessed into such fruitful channels as artistic creation (for the gifted few) and progressively finer mechanical inventions for economic and social improvement of the community (for the rest), the intellectual energy of that society is bound to find expression in theft, robbery, beggary, swindling, sorcery, and communal riots. The self-complacency of interpreting some of these criminal instincts and activities as a manifestation of fuller spiritual life (as opposed to the material life of inventing societies) is a type of self-glorification which, to say the least, is stupid and ridiculous.

But even supposing it were possible for a hermit nation to work just enough to meet the needs of their pastoral life and devote the rest of their time to spiritual communion *en masse*, will they be allowed to do so under the present world-conditions? In these days of swift transport and easy communication the world is too closely knit together to allow a single nation to meditate over the eternal verities of life under the balmy shade of a primitive pastoral social system, while the other nations are vying with each other for industrial supremacy and colonial expansion. The hermit nation under these circumstances cannot check the onrush of industrialism (even if it were desirable to do so) by refusing to develop its industries on modern lines; it can, however, by so doing help to reduce its nationals to the position of exploited labourers and suppliers of raw materials. The malaria-stricken jute-growers of Bengal are virtually responsible for the palaces of Dundee merchants. The Dundee merchants are not to be blamed for this state of affairs; it is the doctrine of economic primitivism so repeatedly preached as a better way of life which is really responsible for this. Certainly it cannot be argued that the material poverty of the jute-growers of Bengal has added to their spiritual richness of life.

AN EXAMPLE OF AMERICAN UNIVERSITY MEN

By Prof. Dr. H. L. ROY, M.I. Chem.E., A.B. (*Harvard*), Dr. Ing. (*Berlin*)

The loyalty of the American students to their Alma Mater is proverbial. This feeling is more in evidence in the case of private schools and universities than in the state-aided ones, because in the former case the institutions are governed absolutely by the alumni. The expenditure of money to equip the universities has been done and even now being carried out on a lavish scale and all from private endowments. Generally the famous private universities like Harvard, Yale, Princeton, Chicago, Columbia, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, the recently established California Institute of Technology at Pasadena, etc., are much richer than the state universities. The fees paid by the students form a negligible part of the total income. All being unitary institutions generally located in one place the university life of the students centres round the university town as at Oxford and Cambridge in England. So the students in their most impressionable age become attached to an institution, and the affection and loyalty thus cultivated lasts throughout their life.

In every university there is a regular organization called the Alumni Association which keeps every alumnus well informed of the activities of the university. On the Convocation days all alumni, who can afford, attend the functions and there are reunions of different classes. The biggest reunion of a class takes place on the twenty-fifth year after graduation.

A class is composed of all students who entered the university and graduated or would have normally graduated in a certain year, if they continued in the university. The class of 1913 is composed of students who entered the university as freshmen (*i.e.*, First Year students) in 1909 or in a higher class in 1910 or later

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but graduated or would have graduated in 1913. The twenty-fifth reunion of the class of 1913 took place in 1938. In the convocation of 1938, the class of 1913 took a prominent part in all functions connected therewith. It has become a custom and tradition for every Harvard class at its twenty-fifth Anniversary to make a free unconditional gift of a sum of $100,000 (about three lacs of rupees) to the University from contributions collected from the members of the class. The Harvard Class of 1913 observed this tradition in 1938.

The class of 1913 of Harvard University (founded in 1636) published a report of about 1000 pages containing short biographies and autobiographies and photographs of the members at the time of graduation and in 1938.

The following extracts are taken from the preface to the report written by the Secretary of the Class :

"On the records of the College 670 men are officially listed as members of the class of whom 91 have died. Of the 579 living members, 541 sent in material for the report. Two men are lost (*i.e.*, could not be traced). We have been in touch in most cases with the remaining 38 who did not reply, and their addresses are considered correct. Some of them who did not reply are invalids. Most of the rest (10 or 15) were members of the class for only a short time, and never developed an interest in our affairs.

"The persuit of lost men became a fascinating sport. Indeed some of our classmates developed a technique and skill that would do credit to a detective agency. . . .

"The class is now scattered over thirty-eight States, Hawaii, the Canal Zone, and eleven foreign countries. All the men living abroad reported except those in China and Japan, whose normal existence has probably been disrupted by the war. We were particularly happy to hear from all four men in India and both in Siam. In addition to those living abroad, an extraordinary member made of travels to Eastern Turkistan and Inner Mongolia. We suggest the formation of Marco Polo Club. . . . .

"Men still not located are John Levy, not heard from since 1917, and Chen-Fuh Wang. Five or six years ago Wang was President of the Salt College in Peiping. He has apparently been closed by the Japanese. We have not heard directly from the other two Chinese, Loy Wang and Kang-Fuh Hu, but their addresses continued to be, at least until very lately. A friend has written us about these three as follows :

"Japanese occupation of both Peiping and Shanghai seems that such men could only remain at their posts at the price of being willing to serve the invaders, a price I believe no fellow class-mate will care to pay. The alternative, if they remain, is to run the risk of assassination. If they are still in their respective cities they are probably hiding their identity in some humble capacity. It is more likely that they are now in some altogether different parts of China, serving their country in its bitter struggle for independence."

More than 60% of the students of this class entered the University between the ages 18 and 19. Hundred members of the class left the University before graduation, 358 just after graduation, 206 went in for post-graduate studies at Harvard or other Universities, of these, 26 for medicine and 68 for law and the remaining 112 for general academic studies. Of the 664, 376 enlisted themselves for military service during the Great War, and 15 were killed. By the year 1938, 76 members of the class died of illness. Therefore, there were 91 deaths before they reached the appropriate age of 43 or 44. Of the whole class of 664, 552 entered into matrimony and 112 have remained single. Bachelor life is considered a great virtue in India because it is somewhat rare, but in America where it is not so uncommon it is not given any place of honour. Eighty one per cent of the marriages took place between the ages 23 and 34. Of all the 552 brave men who ventured into married life 50 broke the nuptial knot by divorce. The cases of divorces are mentioned by the members themselves in their autobiographies, of course without giving any reasons for the same. Some had special predilection for marriage and there are members who married twice or thrice. Five hundred and fifty-two persons contracted 606 marriages. Issues of these marriages are 614 sons and 505 daughters, and only 39 of these 1,119 children are dead. There are now 1,080 children living. So on the average there have been born less than two children to every member of the class. The honour of having the largest number of children has been won by one of our countrymen who graduated in 1913 from Harvard.

More interesting from our point of view is the nature of employments held by these Americans in 1938 who graduated or would have graduated from the University in 1913. Definite informations were obtained from 623 men and their distributions in different professions are as follows :

Teaching	.. 66
Medical Practice	.. 26
Legal Practice	.. 68
Farming and Fruit-growing	.. 21
Church	.. 16
Banks and Business Offices	.. 175
Stock-Exchange, Agency, Canvassing, and other kinds of Middlemen's jobs	.. 78
Independent Manufacturing Profession	.. 42
Engineers and Chemists	.. 55
Government Service (State and Federal)	.. 39
Journalism	.. 27
Art and Music	.. 10

It is seen that the largest number (175 + 78) are engaged in middleman's profession. As long as the present capitalistic economic system continues, a large number of educated persons will always be engaged in such lines.

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Harvard does not offer professional undergraduate courses. Courses like law, medicine, engineering, etc., all belong to post-graduate studies. It will be an interesting study if some one collects materials to find the nature of employments of Indian graduates.

From the autobiographies it is found that the graduates are not all in affluent circumstances, neither have they been able to turn their academic training into economic profits but all have expressed their gratitude to the University for the training received and the pleasant life lived during the undergraduate days. The general tone is one of optimism and there are almost no grumblers. They take life in a sporting spirit.

COMMENT & CRITICISM

"Burma as I saw it"

In order to clear the misunderstanding by readers of the article, "Burma As I Saw It" by Mr. C. B. Kapur, M.A., LL.B., in your July number, I shall thank you to publish the following:

On page 57, column 2, under the caption "City of Rangoon" the author writes, "Burmese hate to do any menial or manual work," which while betraying his complete ignorance of Burmese life, denounces the Burmese as a race. In order to prove that the author is wrong, I would mention firstly, that Burma being an agricultural country, the chief occupation is undoubtedly agriculture. In this connection I would mention that, as agriculturists, the Burmese predominate, which definitely proves that they are not antagonistic towards hard work inasmuch as this occupation is well-known to be of an extremely toilsome nature. Secondly, the dock-labourers in Rongoon are largely Burmans and as such they have shown themselves to be hardworking and quite fond of their job. There are other obvious examples which will contradict the author's allegation. For instance, in Upper Burma, especially in the town of Mandalay, one could see not only Burmese men but also Burmese women working for the municipality there. They sweep the drain and streets but never complain for their lot. They are quite cheerful and after the day's work, they dress themselves in gaudy loongyies and enjoy their bazaar visit or evening walk.

At another place the author has evidently made a complete somersault, when he writes:

"But times are changed. The separation of Burma and the depression in trade have brought these easy-going men out of their homes, and made them conscious of their political rights and they cry 'Do Bama' (Burma for Burmese) everywhere."

Why not say the Burmese have become conscious of their economic rights as well? The interpretation of the phrase, *Do Bama*, is also incorrect. The only meaning of the phrase is "We Burmans" and covers Karens, Chins, Kachins, Shans, Arakanese, and other nationalities who have made Burma their home and join hands with the sons of the soil (Burmese) in their fight for freedom. On the other hand, the term 'Burmese' covers only Burmese Buddhists and is obviously a narrow term.

The author on page 61, first para, again writes:

"The Burmese have no word of greeting nor they wish time when they meet."

Here again the author errs in representing the Burmans. The Burmese phrase, *Mar-Yai-La*, the meaning in English of which is "How Do You Do" is commonly used when two Burmans meet. There are other phrases also which are frequently used by the Burmans when they meet, such as *Kyan-mar-bar-sa* (Sir, are you well?), *Bai-thwar-ma-lo-lai* (Where are you going?), *Bai-ga-pyan-lar-tha-lai* (From where have you come?), etc. These phrases literally may sound ridiculous, but they serve the same purpose of greetings and good wishes as "How do you do," "Good Morning," etc.

The author further writers on the same page:

"People of Burma are not very religious, and because they do not quarrel among themselves about religious matters."

Does this mean that quarreling is an indispensable qualification of being religious? This is evidently an insult to Burmans, especially the Burmese Buddhists. The author says that he has visited several Burmese homes during his Burma tour. It is a pity that he was not able to observe that in each Burmese home (I mean, in each Burmese Buddhist home) an image of Lord Buddha made of gold, silver or brass is kept and worshipped with great reverence and regularity. In another instance under caption "Monks and Monastic Institutions" the author writes contradicting himself. He writes:

"Every town, even the smallest village in Burma had at least half-a-dozen, if not more of Pagodas in it. Inside these Pagodas are huge statues of Buddha. Sitting before the statues on the marble floor with folded hands in a devotional posture, every day the Burmans pray for an hour or so. Close to these Pagodas are 'Phoongi Chaung' (correct spelling is Phoongyi Kyaung) or Monasteries, in which every Burmese youth spends a part of his youth, and lives the life of renunciation and religious discipline."

What a pity? Any casual reader will observe that the author at one place makes such accusation as "Burmese are not very religious" and at another place makes a complete somersault and not only admits the Burmese' extreme piousness but adds:

"Every Burmese youth spends a part of his life in complete renunciation and religious discipline."

The author should have given the matter his thought before displaying his childishness.

In order to promote or at least assist in the process of Indo-Burman goodwill, it would have been wise for the author to refrain from publishing the above baseless remarks about the Burmans. My purpose of writing this corrective, is to dispell any misunderstanding that might exist in the mind of the readers, and should not be construed to be a personal attack on the author. The Burmans are quite hospitable people and will appreciate constructive criticism. But will certainly not allow unfounded and baseless remarks, which might ruin the reputation of the Burmans as a race, to go unchallenged.

S. M. A. Gaffar
A Burman

142, 37th Street,
Rangoon, July 26, 1939

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HIS HIGHNESS THE MAHARAJA JOODHA SHUMSERE JUNG BAHADUR RANA,
G.C.L.H., G.C.L., G.C.S.I., G.C.S.S.M.L., G.C.I.E.
Prime Minister and Supreme Marshal of Nepal

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ON MUSEUMS

By S. N. SEN,
Keeper, Nepal Museum

The future is an unknown country, the past is mapped. We can only judge the direction we are taking from the landmarks behind us, and a museum is a treasury casket for the precious things of the past and a testing-shop for the invention of the day.

A museum should not be a miscellaneous pot-pot of unrelated objects, trying to do everything and doing nothing well; not a chance accumulation of curiosities disgorged by people who wish to clear their houses of things that do not interest them; but an ordered series, each part of which embodies a definite thought and has a definite purpose, which the visitor can see without fatigue and from which he can carry away some clear ideas, without confusion through being forced into contact with objects of a totally different kind.

A museum is an experiment. Life is an experiment. The whole world is an experiment. To the experimenter the thing he is doing is an experiment if he does not know how it is coming out. And none of us know how the Museum, Life, or the World is going to evolve. It is this element of uncertainty that stimulates curiosity, exercises imagination and sustains faith in ourselves and in others,—in short, that keeps us living. We speculate, we observe, we experiment, we discover some truths and accomplish some tasks; yet there always remain problems to solve over, experiments to perform, truths to discover and tasks to do. It is the "one thing more" in our existence that actuates investigation. We are glad we are experimenters of a similar sort, museum experiments, with dreams and visions of what we hope to accomplish as our part in the great experiment.

A museum is a place for rational amusement and a centre for the diffusion of knowledge. It is essentially a popular university—full of wonders. Socrates says, "knowledge begins in wonder."

The definition of "Museum" according to Goode is

"institution for the preservation of those objects which best illustrate the phenomena of nature and the works of man, and the utilization of these for the increase of knowledge and for the culture and enlightenment of people."

That is to say, a museum is the place where we can study the progress or evolution of human civilisation in one or more of its aspects, the curiosity of knowing the purpose of creation, or the ultimate of human imagination and of the organisms. It is a warehouse or a historical hunting ground for a creative genius. It may be called the custodian of elements of knowledge.

In these popular education times a public museum is as necessary an element in the life of a city as a public newspaper or public library.

A museum whose sole purpose is to acquire and store material, forfeits its rights to exist today. It must be a live institution,—not a store-house. It must study, exhibit, and interpret its possessions.

The Museum must be a living element in a living society.

It is perhaps one of the most serious defects in the organisation of modern scientific study that the fundamental information for research is rarely to be found systematically arranged in one place. All earnest research students must waste much initial time in gathering together their working materials from every side whither chance or special circumstances have scattered them. For this reason it is always of value to have a complete survey in one field of study —a resumé of everything related to this field that is to be found in any private collection or museum, in any town or city, in any country. This in short is the necessity of a museum. To trace the development of civilisation and the laws by which it is governed, nothing is so valuable as the possession of material objects properly housed and arranged in a museum. Its necessity is in educating the people of the city in which it is situated, because it

"is more closely in touch with the masses than the university and learned society, and quite as much so as the public Library."

It is a national social service institution and an international home of knowledge. So the public museum may well be considered a necessity in any highly civilised community. It is important and necessary, because it is a factor in fostering scientific progress and the

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spread of learning and culture, and it is a place of inspiration and ideas. By steady advancement along progressive lines, the museum of a country might become the greatest factor in the enlightenment of the population in the arts and general knowledge about the world. As time goes on their contents should become, even more than now, the inspiration for those who produce, for those who consume, and for those who, doing neither, yet live on a higher or lower plane in proportion to the development of their appreciation of the beautiful.

Not long ago, a museum was regarded as a collection of curiosities and not as an engine of research and of popular education.

In Stacpooles, "Pools of Silence," Dr. Adams returned from the Belgian Congo determined to rouse the world to action against the atrocities which he had seen. But no one was interested. It was all too far away. Distance in time and in space is a mighty factor in healing wounds and in screening crime. As an element in healing the wounds of sorrow and of misunderstanding we cherish it. But for the part it plays in dulling our sense of justice, and in delaying the action of legislative bodies until grim necessity knocks at their Council Chambers we loathe it. It has one antidote—education—education in ideals and in broad vision. To eliminate distance, to bring the truth home, through science, art and history is the part museums have to play in making this demoralised world a fitter place to live in.

It is a pity that the necessity of museums has yet to be impressed on peoples as well as upon Governments. I shall be failing in my duty if I do not say a few words on that point thus making it quite relevant to this paper.

One of our main objectives is to look to the museum for the inspiration which will quicken the entire community into an organism in which art shall be the guide and predominant quality. The sooner we arrive at this point of education and refinement, the better off we shall be both as individuals and as a nation.

Today, our publications are filled with academic discussions on methods of tuition. It is asserted that as a nation, we have the talent, but that we have allowed it to remain untrained; that though schools have existed for many years, yet we as a nation have not gained that general degree of competence and culture which should be ours at the present time; that we lack, to a woeful degree, appreciation of the beautiful. No one, in truth, can deny these statements. But for this condition must we entirely blame poor teaching methods and other causes which are so often mentioned? Is there not some deeper reason for our lack of development in art?

What makes an individual or a nation artistic and art-loving? Not pedantic talk of what art is; not the teaching of the mechanical methods by which art is produced. Is it not rather inspirational; the effect of beauty on the receptive mind? The nations of Europe are admittedly more artistic than we Indians; their individuals more appreciative. Is it because they have more brains? May it not be rather because they are more familiar with beauty and have, from infancy, been in close contact with it?

May it not be that we as a nation must advance in accordance with our familiarity with the works of art of our own and other countries?

And if this be so, how best may we learn to know these works? Is not the answer to be found in and by the museums?

It is easy to say that our art could be much benefited by frequent visits of artists and artisans to museums, and no one can deny this. As a matter of fact, art is advancing by reason of study given within the museums by those who have chosen art for their life work. But the progress is slow and while we are taking steps towards this goal, other countries have covered the road by leaps and bounds. We must hurry if we do not wish to be left any further behind.

How may we best speed up the coming of the era of good taste and good design? We may go far towards this goal by the production of fine paintings and sculpture and architecture. But a year's production of paintings, statues and buildings in which art is a governing factor, is not equal to a week's production of those articles which are classed as industrial or industrial arts. Therefore, it would seem that for a general elevation of popular taste we might well study and improve the industrial arts at their source and let them become teachers of arts to the multitude. The so-called "fine arts" will then be more appreciated.

If the house contains beautiful articles of use and its walls call for and in time be hung with beautiful paintings, public places will and without our buildings will be decorated with fine sculpture, and our streets will be lined with beautiful edifices. All the arts will flourish and with them commercial success far exceeding that which we dream of will be attained.

Our average of production of beauty is very

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So we should now turn to the museums with their inspirational value.

There is a practically untouched field, and that is the broad field of artisanship. Manufacturers have not yet awakened to the fact that it is not alone to the young student—the apprentice—that they should look for their craftsmen. They have not sought the real way to improve their product which is at the factory itself. They have not brought art and its inspiration into the factory where the fully developed technical workers wear themselves out doggedly producing their commonplace wares. Nor have the museums themselves, with all their desire to advance art, yet evolved the scheme of showing the products of past ages to those who, by the thousand, are producing the articles of the present time, which might be made beautiful. Here then lies the greatest field for improving conditions; to offer to the factories special exhibitions of those things which would act as inspirations to the craftsman, for it is the craftsman in the factory who is occupied eight hours a day and has insufficient leisure to visit the museums.

The craftsmen in the trade constitute the most fertile field in which to plant the seed of art. Therefore, let us send our art inspiration to him in whatever way wisdom points, and then we shall see the marriage of art and the commercial, and throughout our land beautiful objects will spring into existence and grow as profusely as the weeds of bad art now do.

If our artists cannot go to museums, let the contents of museums go to the artisan.

The tendency to collect is the psychological basis of the museum—that desire to own and cherish which has its chief basis in the fact that by its gratification others are prevented from possession. The spirit of exclusive possession, widely indulged in in some degree, is the mind tendency underlying the creation of the museum. Dr. Bather, the English Museum expert, notes that several of the most famous museums of the world, as those of Paris and London, were begun as collections of "curios," brought from distant places during the period of colonial expansion.

The modern conception of the museum as a laboratory of the student followed next after the conception of it as a casual collection of objects of beauty or curiosity, and was the result of the spread of archaeological discovery and scientific research, exemplified by the excavations of Layard and Scheimann and the publication of Darwin's *Origin of Species* in the 19th century. The third conception of it, as an instrument for the education of the general public, is of still later growth.

The "Propylaea Museum" (5th century B.C.) may be called the oldest of all the museums in the world. The first recorded institution which bore the name of museum, 'temple or haunt of the Muses,' was that founded by Ptolemy Soter at Alexandria about 300 B.C., but this was not a museum in our sense of the word, but rather, in accordance with its etymology, a place appropriated to the cultivation of learning, or which was frequented by a society or Academy of learned men devoting themslves to philosophical studies and the improvement of knowledge.

The first reference to museums in India is found during the period of the "Imperial Guptas"—4th to 7th century A.D.—the classical age of Indian History.

In modern times museums have developed from the ecclesiastical or princely treasures collected in the middle ages; sometimes by the church as in the "Royal Abbey of Saint Denis" in France dating from the 12th century A.D., sometimes by princes, as in the tower of Nara in Japan dating from the 8th century A.D.

From the end of the middle ages and during the Renaissance these treasures underwent a transformation and gave place more and more to collections which were assembled at first on a private basis by Princes or Kings. Such collections are as follows :

In Italy

Vatican Museum—Pope Sixtus IV (1471), at Rome,

Galerie des offices—Cosimo I (Medici) Grand Duke of Toscany (1537-1574), at Florence.

Pinacoteca Estense—Alphonse I, Duke of Este (1505-1534), at Modena.

In France

Cabinet des Tableaux—Francis I (1515-1547), at Paris.

In England

Tower of London—Queen Elizabeth of England (1558-1603), at London.

In Germany

Staatliche Gemaldegalerie—Elector Augustus, Duke of Saxony (1553-1589), at Dresden

Cabinet des Medailles—Duke Albert III of Bavaria, (1571), at Munich.

Towards the middle of the 18th century certain of the princely collections became public collections and accessible to visitors as did also private collections given to colleges or acquired by them. In this way the following collections of art or antiquities were thrown open.

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AT OXFORD

Ashmolean Museum (1687)—Collection of John Tradescot, given to the university.

AT LONDON

British Museum (Montagu House) (1753)—Collection of Sir Robert Cotton.

AT PARIS

Palais du Luxembourg (1750)—Royal Collection.

AT VIENNA

Belvedere (1778)—Collection of Duke Leopold.

From the end of the 18th century museums became official institutions in every country. A great number of collections founded by private society were transferred to public ownership.

Between 1791-94 during the revolution the National Convention erected the following Museums in France :

Musee National (*Art Museum*),
Musee des Monuments Fracais (*History Museum*),
Musee de Histoire Naturelle (*Science Museum*),
Musee des Arts et Metiers (*Technical Museum*).

"The first museum collection in India was founded as long ago as 1796—only forty years after the inception of the British Museum. It was not until 1814 that a proper museum was established. But it is a matter of deep regret that nowhere are museums more neglected than in Modern India. They may be called *Dead Museums*, with very few exceptions."

Museums are divided by Goode into two groups :

(1) By their contents, including art, historical, anthropological, natural history, industrial or technological and commercial museums.
(2) By the purposes for which they were founded, including national, local or city, college or school, professional or class, and private museums or cabinets.

The administrative problems related to each are individual, and influenced by many factors. Among these might be mentioned conditions of origin, limitations by or because of gifts, political influence, state or public support, source of revenue, location, nature of the collection, and realization of educational possibilities.

The functions of a museum may be summed up as follows :

EDUCATION AND THE ADVANCEMENT OF LEARNING

(1) Popular education, by easily intelligible and attractive arrangement of objects and explanation of them;
(2) education of popular taste by selection of "beautiful" objects;
(3) education of the producers;
(4) assistance to students and researchers, by preservation of evidence and *arrangement of it in easily accessible form.*

In short education, including the elements of recreation, is the prime function. This can be further described as service to the public. The service of the museum to the public is threefold. First, it stimulates curiosity, the gratification of which increases knowledge. It makes a man more aware of the world in which he lives; of its extension in time and space, of the materials of which it is composed, of the trees and plants with which it is covered, of the animals that have inhabited it from the remotest ages until now, of the activities of man, of the history of his development, of his achievements in craftsmanship and art. It illustrates written history and enlarges a man's conception of the possibilities of his race; and so it plays its part in enlarging his mind, in multiplying his interests, and ultimately in making him a better citizen. Secondly, in some of its departments it ministers to the sense of beauty. It places before him the beautiful products of nature and of art. It shows him what man has been able to create out of clay or stone or metal, or by the use of tools and pigments, and so gives him the means of training his taste and developing a cultivated appreciation of the Beautiful. This service, in a world where so many live in the midst of man-created ugliness, cannot be underestimated. And thirdly, it provides a freshing recreation together with intellectual and aesthetic enjoyment.

Museums offer to the public, not a collection of pots and pans of primeval natives, but the potentiality of enlarging the individual mind, of multiplying the individual interest, and of enabling the rising generation to make themselves more fit to be good citizens. They are inspirations to the public.

Each Museum has its own problem and no universal solution can be prescribed.

The main problem arises from the fact that every visitor must be given an opportunity to learn something. Proper execution of the functions of the museum is the problem. Hence arises the question of administration.

Administration involves various items such as, acquisition, preservation, arrangement, labelling, exhibition, finance, office routine, etc.

Flower says :

"A museum is like a livng organism—it requires continual and tender care. It must grow or it perish."

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He further says :

"The value of a museum will be tested not only by its contents, but by the treatment of those contents as a means of the advancement of knowledge."

The whole administration of a museum centres round this point of "treatment of the contents." Here the problem is very complicated again. In a well administered museum the main problem is to persuade visitors to come in and gently induce them to go round the galleries and learn something by way of recreation. With the serious students the problem is how to give them access to the materials they need, in which they may work without unnecessary loss of time; with the public the problem is the problem of teaching an unwilling student. The solution of the problems lies in making the people museum-minded—in creating an interest in the public for the museum.

This depends entirely on the curator—the head of the institution, the cheif-engineer of its most complicated machinery. A real curator is a versatile genius full of ideas, sympathy and respect and an honest and dutiful person.

The museum visitor, speaking in terms of the average, is a sight-seer; more than that, he is pretty apt to be a sensation-seeker. For this he is not to be blamed. He is not to be ignored by the more enlightened minority, for in the last analysis, it is to him that the public museum owes its support. Accordingly, to attract, to interest, and finally to instruct the average sensation-seeking sight-seer is at once the function and the problem of the public museum.

The basis of appeal is visual, and the worth of an exhibit varies in inverse proportion to the descriptive labelling it requires.

The value of museum materials as a factor in reinforcing school instructions has, no doubt, been recognised generally enough, but the difficulty lying in the way of its wider utilization has been the failure to find the museum material organised that it would appeal to the dynamic interests of children and at the same time to display the life that it was collected to represent.

It is through the children that the future of the museum is to be assured.

For whom is science, art and history, if not for the people ? Who but the children of today are the people of to-morrow ?

So museums should co-operate with other educational forces in the community. Of course the most important educational agency in any community must be the schools.

A curator is a teacher. A teacher is an educator. To educate is to lead out, to develop the mind of the pupil. Uuless the pupil is taught, unless he assimilates the instruction, the effort is in vain. The principle of course will apply to any sort of museum instruction. What is the trouble ? The trouble is that the true teacher is born, not made, and when a pedagogical training is of great advantage to such a person, no amount of it will make a true educator out of a person without natural aptitude for teaching. In the case of the museum, instruction is of a special nature, and the qualificatios, I think, that should he sought in a museum curator as in any other teacher, are four. In the first place, a thorough knowledge of the subject, enthusiasm, tact and personality,—these are the four essentials. A person must have a thorough knowledge of the subject, even though he is teaching the simplest principles to the general public, that is, he must have richness of knowledge and the background which it gives, in order to make those selections that are necessary to drive the subject home.

He must have enthusiasm for the subject. Enthusiasm is the mother of education. Enthusiasm brings forth response and independent effort, and inheres not in pedagogical training.

Tact is another quality that is not a gift of pedagogical training. Tact may be developed—a person may be educated in that, speaking loosely; nevertheless, such training must be sown in fallow ground. It must have for its field a person who has a natural sympathy for his fellow beings, who can appreciate the point of view of the pupil who is to be taught, who can get behind this exterior and burrow into the abstruse recess of the student mind and the various turns and twistings in the grey matter of the public, and who can project his separate individuality into many and diverse cases.

Then lastly, personality. Personality is partly presence. It is absence of conspicuous defects. It is a complex combination of qualities which we all recognize, but which is very difficult to analyse. We know when it is present, and we realise when it is absent, but it is not the result of pedagogical training.

Of all institutions that man establishes and cultivates, none presents a greater interest in the matter of growth and development; none that embodies—when properly directed and encouraged—a wider educational value, and a centre of public interest and entertainment, than does a well equipped modern museum, in

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whatever part of the world we may find it. As in the case of everything else, be it in nature or man's invention or creation, we have long realised that a museum has its birth, its period of existence, and its death. Its period of existence may extend far down into history, or it may, through adverse and unfavourable circumstances, first become stationary and then gradually disappear. In fact, a museum has its evolution and its eventual death along its own particular developmental lines, just as surely as has a tribe of living forms in the world of Biology, and it goes without saying that it must, ultimately, cease to exist, as have all museums in history; the length of its career is governed by the kind of care, cultivation, and encouragement it has received during its existence as a museum.

The life term of a museum may extend over several centuries, and it may terminate more or less gradually, and in some instances quite abruptly. Culture and management have everything to do with this, as those who have studied the question, or enjoyed the necessary experience, surely know. The life of a museum depends on variety, in bringing new things, and new aspects of things, before the public, and letting them know that there is something new to be seen and learnt. One of the various ways of making a museum alive is the installation of special exhibits, frequently changed and, if possible, of topical interest.

To be successful as well as useful—for usefulness in this world means everything—a museum must, during its entire period of existence, from first to last, be a living, teaching factor, not only in the community wherein it is found, but also with respect to all those who visit and consult it from other parts of the world.

When a museum first comes into existence —be it of whatever kind it may—its beginnings are often of a very modest nature; on the the other hand, through more or less generous financial aid, the start may be on a foundation of much broader proportions. However, a museum may even be a perfect type as regards its collection of specimens and exhibits, yet may dwindle, in a brief space of time, to a miserable, dwarfed concern, eventually becoming a veritable travesty of anything worthy of the name; or the reverse of this may be the outcome. In any case it will depned upon its management, and this dependence will rest upon the mind that controls its healthy growth and development—or leads to its abrogation, its decadence, ultimate stagnation, and disappearance. Thus we see that the modern museum administrators are facing a thousand and one problems. There has been no clear policy to regulate the growth of each; and yet it is evident that the conditions vary so much between different towns and different districts that to be of real service the museum should adapt itself to the needs of its locality.

Owing to continued modification and extension of functions, museums have achieved no logical formula of design. There is such a diversity of purpose in museums that there can be no rules in regard to the installation, and every museum is obliged to work out its own problems.

Let us not be disheartened. Rome was not built in a day, but it was started in a minute. The start was modest, but in time a city stood where empty land had been before. With all humility we take courage. The task is a great one; there is a small beginning.

An educated man is one who has his mind equipped for understanding and taking his part in the life of the community in which he is to pass his days. To do this, he should understand the world of the natural life in which he is placed, the nature of mankind with which he has to deal. The more he knows of Natural History, of the physical sciences, of the mind of man and how it reacts to its surroundings, of the action of the man in the past, of the play of political and economic forces, the better is he able to understand and sympathise with his fellow creatures, the better is he able to guide his own life and that of others—in short, the better citizen will he be.

The Natural History museum widens our knowledge of the world in which we live. The Historical and Antiquarian museum widens our knowledge of the life of man. Neither will take the place of the sound and thorough knowledge that comes from books, and for which we have provision in our public and private libraries; but both provide the illustrations to the knowledge that comes from books. They stimulate curiosity, and lay the foundation of knowledge. Are we not daily realising more and more the power and value of visual education? They minister, too, to that sense of beauty, which is one of the most refreshing influences in life. It is asserted that individuals acquire more than ten times as much information through the eye than through any other of the sense organs.

If a man looks out over a lake across the tops of trees into the distance beyond from the window of his room, he does not know just what

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is over there; sometimes it is hazy and out of focus, sometimes it is blue and sharp, sometimes it is a sunset with an after-glow of changing colours. Always it is restful to the eyes, and to the brain and soul.

Sometimes it suggests the past, sometimes the future, against which the near things of the present stand in their proper setting and in their true values.

To choose the worthwhile thing and give them their actual value demands a background. And that background comes to us through science, art, and history. The background of science is one of actual objects and actual facts, the background of art is one of legend, tradition, idealism and beauty, the background of history is the struggle of right against might down through ages. Without such backgrounds life is meaningless and truths cannot endure.

The service museums are to render in the reconstruction days now at hand, and in the unknown future, must have the qualities of true science and true art, because one is dependant on the other and no service can be lasting without both.

In a museum there are two kinds of teaching which we carry on. One is distinctly informative, and the other may be called interpretative.

If a museum becomes only a storehouse, the tendency is to become a huge sepulchure, filled with the remains of the antiquities of all ages, and frequented only by the mourners for the dead past, and the deeply conscientious student.

In so far as a museum caters to the needs of scholars does it fill a great need. For students and research workers form a group which must be encouraged and cultivated if we are to secure the fullest knowledge of the glorious heritage of the ages, not only as a joy in itself, but as a basis for the better understanding and appreciation of the work of the present. But here the class which it is possible to reach is small and, moreover, many of that class have a tendency to delve only for their own personal joy and never to communicate the results of their work to others. And when they get it down on paper, it is frequently done in such a way that only others as scholarly as themselves can understand it; while for the great mass of people, it is too technical and even to arouse interest, much less convey information.

If on the other hand, a museum chooses to become an educational institution, and shapes its policy along the broadest lines, it may have the entire community, and many surrounding communities as its field. It may teach not only the scholar, whose interest will induce him to go to the ends of the earth, if need be, in search for information, but also the amateur, the young student, the labourer, the man of education and culture, and even the wealthy, who in times of peace are able to travel abroad to see and perhaps study in their own peculiar atmosphere the greatest artistic creations of all times and countries. In this way it may become one of the most important educational institutions in the city, and a great power in directing the lives of the people along the most wholesome, beautiful and productive lines.

The modern museum no longer restricts its activities to interesting the casual visitor who comes to its doors but organises a constructive educational programme extending to the schools and many types of civic organisations. It supplies loan collections of specimens, sends out lecturers, furnishes motion pictures and other lecture materials for outside use. It organises and conducts excursions to nearby points where nature may be closely studied, and it even permits the public to engage in certain collecting and excavating projects. Within its own building it maintains an efficient guide service to its collections, appointing certain hours for chlidren and young people. Its lecture halls and auditoriums furnish opportunities for talks illustrated by the surrounding museum material. Chamber music, organ recitals, radio and theatrical productions have all been provided by museums. Organizations working along similar lines are encouraged to use museum facilities and many types of nature, art and hobby clubs, have been prompted by museums. The active modern museum presents to its public a constantly changing phenomena of exhibits drawn from its own collections and many types of loan materials which are circulated nationally.

The educational service of a museum is or should be, not merely passive, but active. It is not enough to build and stock a museum, and to leave the public to find out its value for themselves. That was the older policy or lack of policy. A live museum now endeavours actively to attract the public and to interest it. The principal means are by labels, by guide-books, by photographs (including the popular picture post-cards), by special exhibitions, by articles in the press, and by lectures and the galleries.

The museum is a social service institution, or in other words, the main function of museum

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is to serve the public who maintains it. On the other hand the public ought to be generous and sympathetic towards the museum. Without a happy co-operation between them it is impossible to make a museum really successful. Hence there ought to be a cordial relation between the museum and the public.

Co-operation means working together, working together requires getting together for some purpose. Co-operation in a systematic way is, therefore, to be expected among the museums situated in the same region or city where each is working under much the same conditions with many things in common. This co-operation can well be achieved through a central organization, *i.e.*, a Museums Association.

Through co-operation, exchange of materials is possible and thus small and poor museums are benefited. Also the surplus materials in a big collection are well utilised instead of being packed in cases unknown and buried in dust.

Goode has well summed up the position in his paper on "museums administration" in the following words :

> "The degree of civilization to which any nation, city or province has attained is best shown by the character of its public museums and the liberality with which they are maintained."

Khatmandu, Nepal.

RECONSTRUCTION OF INDIA'S NATIONAL FUTURE

By SWAMI NIKHILANANDA

During this critical time in India's history, the country is being faced with many problems. Some of these may be temporary, incidental to a period of transition. But there are others which are certain to affect her for many years to come. Though India has not yet achieved political freedom from British imperialism, still many are concerned with the future reconstruction of her national life. The Indian National Congress is busy with many details of this reconstruction.

Indian political leaders of all sections are agreed that one of the most momentous of our problems is that relating to the Hindus and Mussalmans. It seems to be the prevailing view of the Congress High Command, led by Mahatma Gandhi, that these two large sections of India must be united at any cost, no matter how much one community may have to yield to the other. Mahatma Gandhi thinks that Swaraj will be impossible without Hindu-Moslem unity, and that if India attains her freedom without this unity, it will be meaningless. In the Round Table Conference, held in London, the Mahatma, as the sole representative of the Indian National Congress, virtually gave a blank cheque to the recalcitrant Mussalman leaders to dictate their own terms for this much desired Hindu-Moslem unity. During the past few years, it has been the policy of the Indian National Congress, under the leadership of the Mahatma, to placate the Mussalmans by concessions wrested from the Hindus. The Communal Award in Bengal is an instance of great significance, which is having its effect on the political, educational, social and cultural life of the Hindu inhabitants of Bengal. The Indian National Congress has not openly repudiated the Communal Award. The national anthem, *Bande Mataram*, has to be mutilated because the Mussalmans scent idolatry therein. It has been the national song of India for more than three decades. Sung every year at the meetings of the Indian National Congress and at thousands of other meetings it has always conjured up before the listeners the august image of Mother India. How many sweet sentiments, acts of martyrdom and loving sacrifices, and sufferings and agonies of the Indian political struggle are associated with this great song ! Yet most of its strength-giving lines are to be omitted in order to please the Mussalmans ! The seal of the Calcutta University must drop its symbols because they wound the hyper-sensitive religious feelings of the Mussalmans. The efficiency of many administrative posts is to be sacrificed at the altar of this communal deity. The claims of the better qualified Hindus must go to the wall because Mussalmans, though much less qualified, must be pitch-forked to various administrative positions. The Indian National Congress, in its very enthusiasm to create Hindu-Moslem unity, seems to have forgotten the very soul of India, which represents an ideal that has kept Indian life and culture alive from time out of mind.

The Moslem League has its own idea of

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solving this knotty problem. In the provinces where the Mussalmans are in the majority, they must control the administration. In the provinces where they are in the minority, they must be accorded special rights and privileges. The Moslem League further considers it to be within the realm of practical politics to create a Moslem federation of states including Sindh, Kashmere, the Punjab, the North-Western Frontier Provinces and Bengal, and affiliate it to the Mussalman states outside India. They are not yet awakened from the dream of a Pan-Islamic Empire extending from the Rock of Gibraltar to Burma.

The Hindu Mahasabha, in sheer self-defence, has promulgated a programme for the safeguarding of Hindu culture. Its avowed opponent is the Moslem League which has the tacit support of a large number of Mussalmans in addition to the active support of its own members. Naturally, the Hindu Mahasabha has also a militant programme and believes that India can achieve her freedom by ignoring the Mussalmans if necessary. After all, India has been the country of the Hindus and even now they form three-fourths of her population.

In this welter of conflicting parties, the real issue is likely to be forgotten. What is the meaning of the present unrest in India? Is the political ideal an end in itself or a means to an end? Are cause and effect dissimilar, or are they the same thing in two forms?

India, with the possible exception of China, represents the oldest civilization on earth. The civilizations evolved by the Greeks, Romans, Egyptians, Babylonians and Assyrians have disappeared after leaving their legacies for the benefit of humanity. Indian culture has not only survived the unyielding course of time, but still producing creative thinkers in the realms of religion, philosophy, art and science. This very fact should convince one that the virility of the Hindu race is not exhausted, and that it has its share to contribute to the evolution and enrichment of the future civilization of the world. Like the individual, a nation also has a soul which expresses itself in the different activities of national life. When the soul ceases to function, the nation dies. The soul of India is not dead.

What does the soul of India represent? It emphasizes the spiritual value of life. It has developed Hindu art, science, philosophy, religion, statecraft, sociology and literature in keeping with this ideal. The mission of India has always been spiritual. The message of the great leaders of Indian thought is the divinity of soul, the harmony of religions, the oneness of existence and the unity of God. Hindu culture in its infinite ramifications has centred itself around these ideals. Each soul is potentially divine. The goal of evolution is to manifest this divinity. The methods of achieving this ideal are various, suited to different temperaments. All religions are but so many pathways to reach the same goal. Therefore, all religions are true to their respective adherents. Hindus have never believed in the ideal of 'the only true religion.' The oneness of existence, realized by the Hindu seers, is the basis of the Hindu moral and ethical injunctions. Love or kindness is not based upon the precept of a man or a book, but it is rooted in the fundamental verity that all are one and therefore indissolubly interrelated. Believing in the unity of God, the Hindus have shown a unique spirit of toleration to all religious forms. Jews and Christians found shelter in India during the very early period of the Christian era and have been accorded fullest religious freedom. The Parsis, after being driven from home, took refuge in India where no one has ever interfered with their social, economic or religious life. Even in recent times, the Hindus have built mosques for the Mussalmans and churches for the Christians. Manu is the only great law-giver to say that perfect man can be found even outside the pale of his own society—in Manu's case, Hindu society.

The secret of the universalism of the Hindus lies in the fact that they never emphasized the earthly ideal over the spiritual. Our actions and achievements in this relative world are only symbols of the transcendental Reality in which diversity does not exist.

The social life of the Hindus reflects their spiritual ideal. The most striking feature of Hindu society is the respect accorded to womanhood. With it is closely associated the Hindu concept of the Motherhood of God which has given its depth and beauty to the Christian Madonnahood. The ideal of the caste-system has been to eliminate friction and competition among members of the same guild and to emphasize that the spirit of consecration is nobler than that of co-operation and competition. The members of a high caste are called upon to make sacrifices for those of the lower ones. Life itself, denoting a journey to a cherished goal, is divided into four stages, each of which has its own responsibility and duty. The student (Brahmachari) must conserve his physical and mental powers for the future realization of a higher ideal. The householder (Grihastha) must

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participate in various civic duties of life and fulfil biological cravings by perpetuation of the race, which alone ensures the continuity of a culture. During the third stage (Vanaprastha) the husband and wife together should lead a contemplative life. During the fourth stage (Sannyasa) each person should walk in single file. He or she, then, should enjoy the freedom of spirit and help others by setting before them the shining example of detachment. In the same spirit the Hindu thinkers have evolved four ideals to be sought by each man with his own efforts (Purushartha). Fundamental and basic is *Dharma,* the law of righteousness, unique for each individual, the law of his inner being and growth, which functions in unison with the *Dharmas* of other beings. It strengthens the outlook of charity to all. *Artha,* or economic security, is a means of self-expression. *Kama* is the satisfaction of the artistic and aesthetic desires innate in all men. *Moksha,* or liberation, is the culmination of the three aforesaid ideals wherein a man finds his true fufilment.

This, in short, is the true spirit of the Hindu culture that has been evolved through the labour and efforts of centuries. The Hindu race is rooted in this spirit. The leaders of Hindu thought have in the past borrowed freely from other cultures in order to strengthen their fundamental ideal. In the future reconstruction of India, our modern leaders must not lose sight of this Hindu tradition. We may accept ideas from Moscow or Berlin, London or Washington, only in order to revivify our own racial ideal.

The present Indian unrest is not merely political. The soul of India is trying to rouse itself from its age-long slumber. And for the reawakening of India, political freedom is absolutely necessary. Without this freedom India cannot fulfil her destiny. A slave nation cannot have its voice heard in the comity of nations. Political dependence has paralyzed our national existence. It has been drying up the very sap of our life. But mere political freedom, achieved *somehow,* will not solve India's problem. Political freedom is a means to an end. The end is the revivification of India's spiritual ideal itself.

The means determines the end. The end will defeat itself if the means loses sight of what India stands for. Hence, the compromise with the Mussalmans at every step, to attain freedom *somehow,* will have a destructive effect upon the future of India. In all phases of India's national struggle, the leaders must remember that free India will proclaim to the world the great ideals of her people. That is what the world eagerly expects from India. The western countries are becoming disillusioned with uninspired materialism. Anxious eyes have already been turned to India for light. Lovers of truth all over the world eagerly pray that India may not fail them.

The education given in Indian universities must be attuned to the fundamentals of Hindu religion and philosophy. We have no quarrel if the Mussalman and the Christian institutions impart their respective ideals to their students. But what a pity that Hindu boys and girls complete their education in the schools and colleges without learning anything of Hinduism! It is all the more tragic because the Hindus boast of their spirituality. On the plea of religious neutrality, the universities controlled by the government have been depriving the Hindu students of their birthright and heritage. But the Bible is taught with impunity in the colleges under the control of Christian missionaries. In the eminent Universities of England and the United States, under State control, religious services are held in the college chapels. The Government of India, whether Congress or British, must recognise that the primary duty of the administration is to safeguard and intensify the great Indian tradition. It is very sad to think that many of the Indian public leaders have only a vague idea of India's mission.

I know I have touched upon a very delicate subject. The Mussalmans will at once raise the cry of communalism. No question of communalism is involved here. From time immemorial, the Hindus have been living in India. They are solely responsible for its culture. India's destiny is in their keeping. But the universal catholicity and universalism of Hinduism precludes the remotest possibility of the Hindus being unjust or unkind to the other races living in India. The Hindus have helped and will help other races in the fulfilment of their respective ideals. Mussalmans and Christians have even fulfil very important functions in Indian national life. But they must recognise the ideals of the Indian national culture.

May we offer a word of advice to the Mussalmans? The root cause of the Hindu-Moslem trouble lies in the fact that while the Hindus by their sacrifice and suffering are about to free India from foreign control, the Mussalmans, who have heretofore kept themselves aloof from this fight, are now coming forward to share the result of the battle. They want to monopolize the lion's share. Since the beginning of the twentieth century, the Hindus have courted death, exile, imprisonment and untold suffer-

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for India's freedom. The Mussalmans, as a class, not only held themselves aloof, but even offered positive opposition. There have been, of course, some Mussalmans who suffered with the Hindus. But their number has been negligible. Let the Mussalmans now wholeheartedly join the Hindus in this struggle for freedom and they will, in the end, have their share of glory. In the light of past history and present events, the Hindus have every right to be suspicious of the Mussalmans. It is for the Mussalmans to remove this suspicion.

Every country has an ideal, and the people inhabiting the country must be loyal to it, otherwise anarchy and confusion reign. The United States of America contain people from many nations of Europe. The Atlantic seaboard is influenced by English tradition. But the French, German and Italian ideals are professed by other communities. Still all these ideals are subordinated to the American Ideal. Every American, irrespective of his origin, is loyal to Americanism.

Americanism is an abiding faith in the correctness and justice of the principles of the Declaration of Independence, the Constitution of the United States, and the Bill of Rights. Americanism is a way of life based on this abiding faith. It is a willingness to live in peace and harmony with one's fellowmen, regardless of political and religious differences. Americanism is a willingness to apply to others the principles of free speech, free press and freedom to worship God. It is a willingness to live for the principles of America in peace, as well as to die for them in war. Americanism brings to each American that liberty under law and regard for law which means liberty and happiness for each American citizen.

In this period of our national life when the leaders of Indian thought are thinking in terms of future reconstruction, it is imperative that there should be a clear understanding of what Indian culture stands for. All efforts should be made and all energies harnessed to the fulfilment of that ideal. Nothing retards progress more than confusion of the goal. Nothing is more dangerous in battle than the inability of the leaders to face the stark reality. And nothing so much instils courage and faith in the soldiers as the vision of the promised land to which the captain is to guide them.

New York.

EMERSON AND NATHANIEL HAWTHORNE

By J. T. SUNDERLAND

In Emerson's sketch of Brook Farm, he wrote: "In and around Brook Farm, whether as members, boarders, or visitors, were many persons remarkable for character, intellect or accomplishments"; and, after mentioning some of them, he added: "There, too, was Hawthorne, with his cold, yet gentle, genius."

Though for many years Emerson and Hawthorne were neighbors in Concord, yet, strangely, they never became intimate. Hawthorne was a recluse and, while he enjoyed occasional walks with Emerson, he would not pay visits to his home. Emerson's son, Dr. Edward Emerson, tells this story: "Hawthorne once broke through his hermit usage and honored Miss Ellen Emerson, the friend of his daughter, with a formal call on a Sunday evening. It was the only time, I think, that he ever came to the Emerson house except when persuaded to come for a few moments on the rare occasions when he walked with my father. On this occasion he did not ask for either Mr. or Mrs. Emerson but announced that his call was on Miss Ellen. Unfortunately, she had gone to bed; but he remained for a time talking with my sister Edith and me, the schoolmaster of his children. To cover his shyness he took up a stereoscope on the center-table and began to look at the pictures. After looking at them for a time he asked where these views were taken. We told him they were pictures of Concord houses, the Concord Common and the mill-dam; on hearing of which, he expressed surprise and interest; but evidently he was as unfamiliar with the center of the village where he had lived for years, as a deer or a wood-thrush would be. He walked through it often on his way to the cars, but was too shy or too rapt in his own thought to know what was there."

Of one of the long walks the two men took together, Emerson writes in his Journal: "September 27 (1842) was a fine day, and

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Hawthorne and I set forth on a walk. The days of September are so rich that it seems natural to tramp to the end of one's strength. Fringed gentians, a thorn-bush with red fruit, wild apple-trees whose fruit hung like berries, and grape-vines, were the decorations of our path.

"Our walk had no incidents. It needed none, for we were in excellent spirits and had much conversation.....We, sober men, easily pleased, kept on the outside of the land and did not by so much as a request of a cup of milk, creep into any farm-house.....

"Afternoon, we reached Stowe, and dined, and then continued our journey toward the village of Harvard, making our day's walk, according to our best computation, about twenty miles. The last miles, however, we rode in a wagon, having been challenged by a friendly, fatherly gentleman who knew my name and my father's name and history. Next morning, we began our walk at six-thirty o'clock, for the Shaker Village,—distance three and a half miles. Whilst the good Shakers were getting ready our breakfast, we had conversation with two of the brethren who gave us an honest account, by yea and by nay, of their faith and practice. From the Shaker Village we came to Littleton and thence to Acton, still in the same redundance of splendor, finishing the nineteen miles of our second day before four in the afternoon."

Moncure Conway begins one of the chapters of his book, "Emerson at Home and Abroad," with this striking picture of the contrast between Hawthorne and Emerson :

"On a day in Concord I saw the two men whom Michael Angelo might have chosen as emblems of Morning and Evening, to be carved over the gates of the New World. Emerson emerged from his modern home, with 'shining morning face,' his eye beaming with its newest vision of the golden year. Hawthorne, at the other extreme of the village, came slowly out of the "Old Manse,"—the grey-gabled mansion made famous by his genius—and stepped along the avenue of ancient ash-trees, which constituted a fit frame around him. A superb man he was—this Hawthorne! His erect, full and shapely figure might have belonged to an athlete, were it not for the grace and reserve. The massive forehead and brow, with dark locks on either side, the strong nose and mouth, might be the physiognomy of a military man or political leader—some men impelled by powerful public passions; but with this man there came through the soft eyes a gentle glow which suffused the face and spiritualized the form. No wonder such fascination held Hawthorne's college fellows to him! Longfellow used to talk in poetry when his early days at Bowdoin (college) with Hawthorne were his theme: As Hawthorne came down the avenue, unconscious of any curious or admiring eye, every step a leap, what were the trees whispering to him? Perhaps secrets of that "Old Manse"! It is almost a solemn reflection that in the same historic mansion and perhaps in the same room were written two books so famous, yet so strangely different, as Hawthorne's 'Mosses from an Old Manse' and Emerson's 'Nature'."

Emerson esteemed Hawthorne, the man, but for Hawthorne, the author, he had no praise. "I do not think any of Hawthorne's books worthy of his genius," he said. "I admire the man, who is simple, amiable, truth-loving and frank in conversation, but I never read his books with pleasure; they are too young." He even went so far as to confide to his Journal,—"Nathaniel Hawthorne's reputation as a writer is a very pleasing fact, because his writing is not good for anything and this is a tribute to the man." Again he wrote,—"Hawthorne invites his readers too much into his study, opens the process before them. As if the confectioner should say to his customers, 'Now let us make the cake.'"

In the following comment by Emerson's son regarding his father's feeling toward Hawthorne, there is a hint at the explanation of Emerson's inability to appreciate Hawthorne's writings : "Mr. Hawthorne always interested my father by his fine personality, but the gloomy and uncanny twilight of his books was one in which Mr. Emerson could not breathe, and he never could read in them far."

That Hawthorne had great admiration for Emerson is testified by these words of his in "Mosses from an Old Manse," which are a very appreciative tribute to his distinguished neighbor : "It was good to meet him in the wood paths or sometimes in our avenue, with that pure intellectual gleam diffusing about his presence like the garment of a shining one; and he so quiet, so simple, so without pretention, encountering each man alive as if expecting to receive more than he would impart.....It was impossible to dwell in his vicinity without imbibing more or less the mountain atmosphere of his lofty thought."

In May 1864, Hawthorne died in the middle of his work, leaving a book half written. Longfellow expressed in verse what all the novelist's friends doubtless felt :

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The lovely town was white with apple bloom
And the great elms o'erhead,
Dark shadows wove on their etherial looms,
Shot through with golden thread.

But the one face I looked for was not there,
The one low voice was mute;
Only an unseen presence filled the air,
And baffled my pursuit.

Here, in seclusion and remote from men,
The wizard hand lies cold,
Which at its topmost speed let fall the pen,
And left the tale half told.

Ah! who shall lift that wand of magic power,
And the lost clue regain?
The unfinished window in Aladdin's tower,
Unfinished must remain."

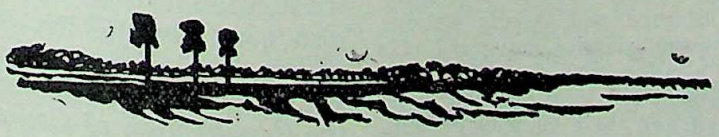
In a letter to Mrs. Hawthorne soon after her husband's death, Emerson wrote: "I have felt my own pain in the loss of your husband. He was always a mine of hope to me, and I promised myself a rich future some day, when we should both be less engaged in tyranical duties and habitudes, and therefore when I could have unreserved intercourse with him. I thought I could well wait his time and mine for what was so well worth waiting. And, as he always appeared to me superior to his performances, I counted this yet untold force an assurance of a long life."

In his Journal he thus expressed his feelings: "I have found in Hawthorne's death a surprise and a disappointment. I thought him a greater man than any of his works betray, and that there was still a great deal of work in him, and that he might one day show a purer power. Moreover, I have felt sure—that I could wait his time—his unwillingness and caprice would might one day conquer a friendship. It would have been a happiness, doubtless to both of us, to have come into habits of unreserved intercourse. It was easy to talk with him,—there were no barriers,—only he said so little that I talked too much and stopped only because, he gave no indication, I feared to exceed. He showed no egotism or self-assertion,—rather a humility, and, at one time, a fear that he had written himself out. One day, when I found him on the top of his hill in the woods, he paced back the path to his house and said, 'This path is the only remembrance of me that will remain.' Now it appears that I waited too long."

The day after Hawthorne's funeral, Emerson wrote in his Journal: "Yesterday, May 23 (1864), we buried Hawthorne in Sleepy Hollow, in a pomp of sunshine and verdure and gentle winds. James Freeman Clarke read the service in the church and at the grave. Longfellow, Holmes, Agassiz, Hoar, Dwight, Whipple, Norton, Alcott, Hillard, Fields, Judge Thomas and I attended the hearse as pall-bearers. The church was copiously decorated with white flowers delicately arranged. The corpse was unwillingly shown,—only a few moments, to this company of his friends. But it was noble and serene in its aspects,—a calm and powerful head. A large company filled the church and the grounds of the cemetery. All was so bright and quiet that pain or mourning was hardly suggested and Holmes said to me that it looked like a happy meeting. Clarke, in the church said that Hawthorne had done more justice than any other to the shades of life, shown a sympathy with the crime in our nature, and, like Jesus, was the friend of sinners. I thought there was a tragic element in the event that might be more fully rendered,—in the painful solitude of the man, which, I suppose, could not longer be endured, and he died of it."

On May 9, 1929, a bust of Hawthorne was unveiled in the New York University Hall of Fame. Professor William Lyon Phelps of Yale, giving the address for the occasion, thus summed up the view American letters have come to hold of Hawthorne's literary rank:

"Hawthorne is our foremost creative literary artist; he stands alone on the heights, with no one to challenge his pre-eminence. He is not relatively but absolutely great, and has an unassailable place in the front rank of the novelists of the world. His reputation was never noisy, but it has steadily widened, and increases with the increase of years."



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JEREMY BENTHAM AND RAMMOHUN ROY

By Prof. KALIDAS NAG, D.Litt. (Paris)

In the month of September, the name of the illustrious Raja Rammohun Roy will be remembered by many in connection with his death anniversary meetings. I may be permitted to draw the attention of the public to a very important letter addressed to the Raja by the great British philosopher-jurist Jeremy Bentham (1748-1832). The letter was originally published by Dr. J. Bowring, Editor of the collected works of J. Bentham, in Vol. 10, pp. 589-92. For a copy of this valuable letter I thank Dr. Jatindra Kumar Majumdar, M.A., Ph.D. (London) who, with his collaborator Mr. Ramāprasād Chanda, has opened a new chapter in the study of Rammohun literature by his and Mr. Chanda's "Selections from Official Letters and Documents," 1938, and who is publishing another important volume on "Rammohun Roy and the Last Mughals," now in the press.

Bentham's letter to Rammohun bears no date; but the year of the correspondence may be accepted as 1828, for Bentham writes: "If I live seven days longer, I shall be four score," and Bentham was born in 1748. Before addressing this his first letter to Rammohun, Bentham admits that his character was made known to him "by our excellent friends Colonel Young, Colonel Stanhope and Mr. Buckingham." Of the three, Mr. James Silk Buckingham, Editor of the *Calcutta Journal* (founded 2nd October, 1818), as we know, was introduced to Rammohun as early as June, 1818, when Buckingham was "surprised at the unparalleled accuracy of his language." In 1823, Buckingham's *Journal* was suppressed and he was ordered to leave India for England, which provoked Rammohun to draft that famous memorial against the press ordinance which was characterised by Miss Collet as "the Ariopagitica of Indian history." During this period of his activities, the Raja was taking keen interest in the freedom movements of the world. In a letter to Mr. Buckingham, dated August 11, 1821, the Raja wrote:

"From the late unhappy news I am obliged to conclude that I shall not live to see liberty universally restored to the nations of Europe and Asiatic nations, specially those that are European colonies, possessed of a greater degree of the same blessing than what they now enjoy. Under these circumstances, I consider the cause of the Neapolitans as my own and their enemies as ours. Enemies to liberty and friends of despotism have never been and never will be ultimately successful."

In 1823, as reported in the *Edinburgh Magazine*, the Raja gave a public dinner at the Town Hall of Calcutta on receipt of the news of the successful rising of the Spanish Colonies in South America against the despotic authority of Spain.

In the light of these facts, we may see new meanings in some parts of the letter of Bentham as well as in the recently discovered presentation copy to Rammohun of the original Spanish edition of the *Constitution of Cadiz* which is now deposited in the Rammohun Library.

With regard to Bentham-Rammohun relationship I find it significant that in 1828 Bentham, while drawing the attention of Rammohun to his Codification Proposal, institutes a significant comparison between Rammohun and Del Valle, the renowned leader of Guatemala, Central America:

"I hear him spoken of, from various quarters, as far the most estimable man that late Spanish America has produced. If there be anything that you could to transmit to him, it would be a sincere pleasure to to receive it and transmit it to him accordingly. You and his are kindred souls."

This proves beyond doubt that Rammohun was not only sympathetic in a general sense with the freedom movement of Latin America but that he was possibly carrying on correspondence with some of its patriots and thought leaders like Del Valle. The future alone may reveal more relevent facts, but in the meantime we understand why a special copy of the *Constitution of Cadiz* was presented to "Liberalismo del Noble, Sabio y Virtuoso Brama Ram-mohan Roy." The above dedication was written, in beautiful hand script, on behalf of *La Compania de Filipinas* or the Company of the Philippines, a Spanish group which, in some unknown date, presented Rammohun with a copy of the printed text of the *Constitution of Cadiz* promulgated on the 19th of March, 1812. The date of presentation of the book to Rammohun must be later than 19th March, 1812. I have examined carefully the *printed* text (badly damaged, alas!) and the dedicatory page written and decorated *by hand*. I examined also carefully the list of the various members of the deputation who presented to the Spanish King, the Reform Decrees, emerging finally in the *Constitution of Cadiz*.* Guatemala was

* On the 18th of March, 1812, with Vicente Pasqual

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presented there not by Del Valle but by Deputy Antonio Larranzabal, who may belong to the another generation of patriots, for we get a clear interval of 16 years between the *Constitution of Cadiz* and the letter of Bentham to Rammohun.

Bentham was one of the pioneers of Penal Law Reforms and he was barely 27 years of age when he published his "Rationale of Punishment and Reward" (1775). Ten years after, in 1785, while staying for a while with his brother, an officer in White Russia, Bentham developed his idea of *Panopticon* or inspection house, about which he writes in detail to Rammohun seeking his co-operation. After the fall of the Bastille we find Bentham honoured with the status of a "French citizen" and as such he wrote a memorable appeal to the French people urging them to "emancipate the Colonies." With the opening of the 19th century we find Bentham establishing intimate relations with Mr. James Mill, the famous historian of British India and the father of John Stuart Mill. After the fall of Napoleon we find Bentham corresponding with Wellington, Quincy Adams and Bolivar, the Liberator of Latin America. In 1823, Bentham helped substantially the cause of radicalism by establishing the *Westminster Review* with Dr. John Bowring as the Editor. In 1828, when he was addressing his first letter to Rammohun, he was writing a letter in French, to Mehomet Ali, the Khedive of Egypt, urging him to give a Constitution to Egypt and to declare independence from Turkey. When the Raja landed in England in April, 1831, the first man to call on him at the Adelphi Hotel, London, was the venerable British Philosopher Jeremy Bentham, 83 years of age. In June, 1831, Dr. Bowring in welcoming the Raja at the reception of the British Unitarian Association made that memorable speech in which he classed Rammohun with "a Plato or a Socrates, a Milton or a Newton." † Within a few months of his arrival we find Bentham establishing the Parliamentary Candidate Society to help returning to Parliament, among others, "Rammohun Roy a Hindoo." We hope that these facts would stimulate further researches into the career of this great son of India and champion of human freedom.

President, a deputation of Spaniards presented to the King the Reform Decrees with a view to circulating them to all the official authorities and nations under the Spanish Monarchy (*a todas las auto-ridades y pueblos de la Monarquia*). The very next day (19 March, 1812) the *Constitution of Cadiz* was formally accepted.

† "I am sure that it is impossible to give expression to those sentiments of interest and anticipation with which his advent here is associated in all our minds. I recollect some writers have indulged themselves with enquiring what they should feel if any of those time-honoured men whose names have lived through the vicissitudes of ages, sould appear among them. They have endeavoured to imagine what would be their sensations if a Plato or a Socrates, a Milton or a Newton, were unexpectedly to honour them with their presence. I recollect that a Poet, who has well been called divine, has drawn a beautiful picture of the feelings of those who first visited the southern hemisphere, and saw, for the first time, that beautiful constellation, the Golden Cross. It was with feelings such as they underwent, that I was overwhelmed when I stretched out in your name the hand of welcome to the Raja Rammohun Roy."

TO RAMMOHUN ROY: A LETTER

By JEREMY BENTHAM

1828.

Intensely Admired and Dearly Beloved Collaborator in the Service of Mankind! Your character is made known to me by our excellent friends, Col. Young, Col. Stanhope, and Mr. Buckingham. Your works, by a book in which I read, a style which, but for the name of an Hindoo, I should have ascribed to the pen of a superiorly well-educated and instructed Englishman. A just-now-finished work of mine, which I send by favour of Col. Young, exhibits my view of the foundations of human belief, specially applied to the practice of this country in matters of law.

Now at the brink of the grave, (for I want but a month or two of fourscore,) among the most delightful of my reflections, is the hope, I am notwithstanding feeding myself with, of rendering my labours of some considerable use to the hundred millions, or thereabouts, of whom I understand that part of your population which is under British governance or influence is composed.

With Mr. Mill's work of British India you can scarcely fail to be more or less acquainted. For these three or three-and-twenty years he has numbered himself among my disciples; for upwards of twenty years he has been receiving my instructions; for about the half of each of five years, he and his family have been my guests. If not adequately known already, his situation in the East India Company's service can be explained to you by Col. Young. My papers on *Evidence*,—those papers which you now see in print—were in his hands, and read through by him, while occupied in his abovenoticed great work; a work from which more practically applicable information on the subject of government and policy may be derived (I think I can venture to say) than from any other as yet extant; though, as to style, I wish I could, with truth and sincerity, pronounce it equal to yours.

For these many years a grand object of his ambition has been to provide for British India, in the room of the abominable existing system, a good system of judicial procedure, with a judicial establishment adequate to the administration of it; and for the composition of it his reliance has all along been, and continues to be, on me. What I have written on these subjects wants little of being complete; so little that, were I to die to-morrow, there are those that would be able to put it in order and carry it through the press.

What he aims at above all things is,—the giving:

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stability and security to landed property in the hands of the greatest number throughout British India; and, for this purpose, to ascertain by judicial inquiry, the state of the *customs* of the people in that respect. For this same purpose, a great *increase* in the number of *judicatories*, together with the *oral examination* of all parties concerned, and *recordation* of the result will be absolutely necessary; the mode of proceeding as simple as possible, unexpensive and prompt, forming in these respects as complete a contrast as possible with the abominable system of the great Calcutta Judicatory; nations of unmixed blood and half-caste, both of whom could serve on moderate salaries, being, on my system, as much employed as possible.

Though but very lately known to your new Governor-General, Mr. Mill is in high favour with him; and (I have reason to believe) will have a good deal of influence, which, in that case, he will employ for the purpose above-mentioned.

He has assured his lordship that there can be no good penal judicature without an apt *prison* and prison-management; and no apt prison or prison-management, without the plan which we call the *Panopticon* plan,—an account of which is in a work of mine, a copy of which, if I can find one, will accompany this letter. At any rate, Col. Young can explain it to you, with the cause why it was not five-and-thirty years ago, established here; and all the prisoners, as well as all the paupers of England, put under my care: all the persons being, at all times, under the eye of the keepers, and the keepers as well as they, under the eyes of as many people as do not grudge the trouble of walking up a few steps for the purpose.

For I know not how many years—a dozen or fifteen, perhaps—I have never paid a single visit to anybody, except during about three months, when a complaint I was troubled with forced me to bathing places, and at length to Paris. Thus it is that Lord William and I have never come together; and now there is not time enough. Half jest, half earnest, Mr. Mill promised him a meeting with me on his return from India; for, old as I am, I am in good health and spirits, and have as yet lost but little of the very little strength I had in my youth. Though the *influence* of my writings is said to be something, of anything that can be called *power* I have not had any the least atom. I have some reason for expecting that, ere long, more or less use will be made of my work on Judicial Procedure by Government here. But, from the influence possessed by Mr. Mill, and the intense anxiety he has been manifesting for some years past for the completion of it, my hopes have in relation to your country been rather sanguine. Of the characters of it I cannot find time to say anything, except that, by the regard shown in it to the interests of the subject many, and by its simplicity, which I have endeavoured to maximize, I have little fear of its not recommending itself to your affections.

What regards the Judiciary Establishment, will form about half of the second of two volumes, a copy of the first of which (with the exception of six introductory parts) being already in print, is designed to form part of the contents of this packet.

While writing, it has occurred to me to add a copy of a work called Panopticon; the rather because, at the desire of Mr. Mill, it is in the hands of your new Governor-General, Lord William Bentinck, to whom Mr. Mill has been recommending, and, as he flatters himself, not altogether without success, the erection of a place of confinement, upon the principles therein displayed: More than thirty years ago, but for a personal pique taken against me by the late King, George the Third, all the prisoners in the kingdom, and all the paupers, were under my care, have been provided for by me upon the same principle. To the Prime Minister of the time (from 1792 to 1802), with his colleagues, it was an object of enthusiastic and persevering admiration; and not only was an act of the Legislature, which (you know) could not have been enacted without the King's consent, obtained for the purpose, but so much as related to the experimental prison carried into effect as the purchase of a large spot of ground for the purpose, and the greatest part put into my possession; but when the last step came to be taken, George the Third could not be prevailed upon to take it; and so the affair ended.

In my Codification Proposal, you will see letter to Del Valle of Gautemala, *alias* Central America, in Spanish America. He is the instructor of his country such an one as you of yours. I thus mention him to you. I shall mention you to him. Several papers he has sent me have made known to me his history, his occupations, and his designs. I hear him spoken of from various quarters, as by far the most estimable man that late Spanish American has produced. If there be anything that you could like to transmit to him, it would be a sincere pleasure to me to receive it, and transmit it to him accordingly. Yours and his are kindred souls. Though in his country highest in estimation, it is still uncertain whether he is so in power, there being another man whose party is at war with that to which Del Valle wishes best; but, as far as I can learn, that of Del Valle is most likely to be ultimately prevailing.

Bowring, with whom you have corresponded, is now living with me. He is the most intimate friend I have, the most influential, as well as ardent man I know, in the endeavour at everything that is most serviceable to mankind.

Farewell, illustrious friend! You may imagine from what is above, with what pleasure I should hear from you. Information from you might perhaps be made use with reference to the above objects. But you should in that case, send me two letters—one confidential, another ostensible. If I live seven days longer, I shall be fourscore. To make provision for the event of my death you should do by your letters to me, as Col. Young has done by his: send it open, enclosed in one to Bowring.

We have high hopes of Lord William's good intentions: so much better than from so high an aristocratic family as his could have been expected.

I have been asking our common friends here, over and over again, for their assurance that there is some chance of your paying a visit to this strange country. I can get little better from them, than a shake of the head.

P. S. Panoptican. Should this plan, and the reasoning, meet your approbation, you will see that nearly the business as to which it is applicable, could be carried on well otherwise than by contract. What say you to the making singly, or in conjunction with other enlightened philanthropists, an offer to Government for the purpose? Professors of all religions might join in the contract; and appropriate classification and separation for the persons under management: provision correspondent to their several religions, and their respective castes; or other allocations under their respective religions. How it would delight me to see you and Col. Young engaged in a partnership for a purpose of that sort.

(J. Bowring: Works of J. Bentham, Vol. X, pp. 589-9

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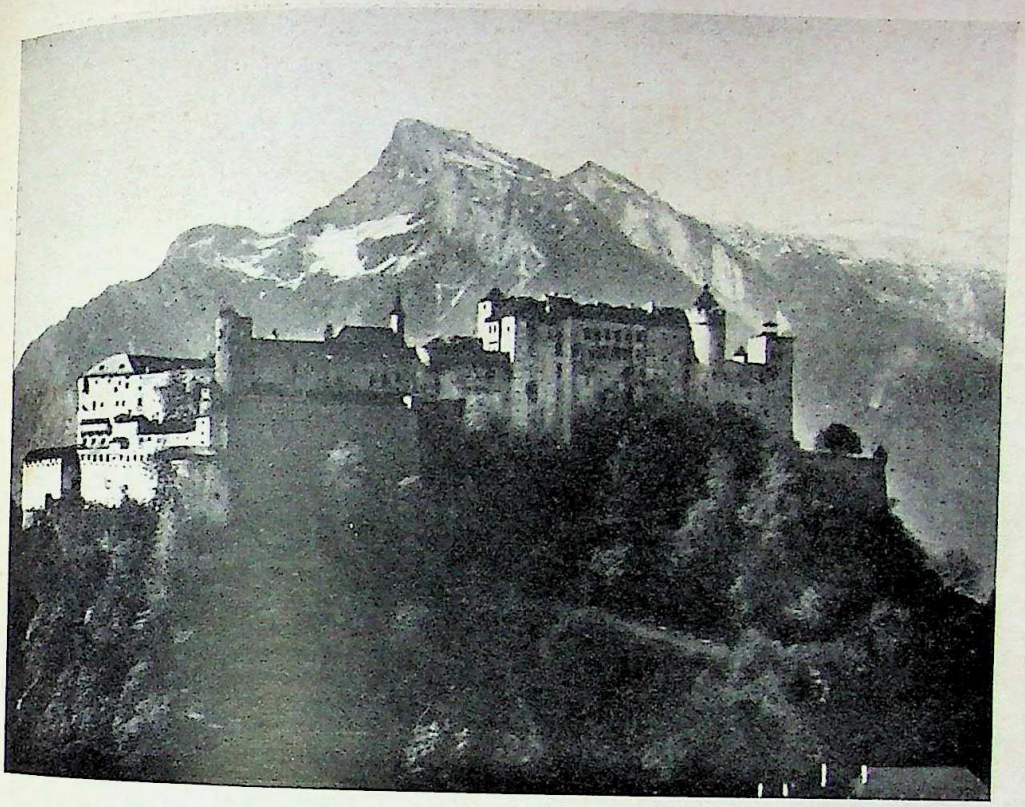
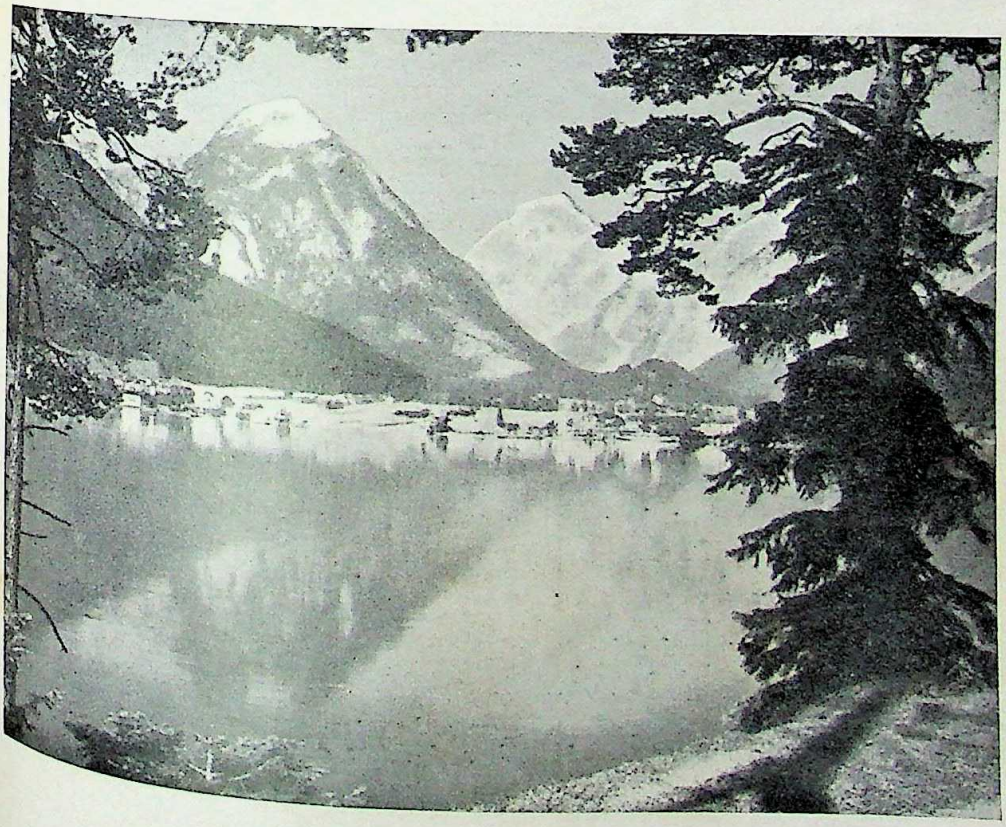


Hohensalzburg Castle and Untersberg, Salzburg



Achensee with Pertisau, Tirol

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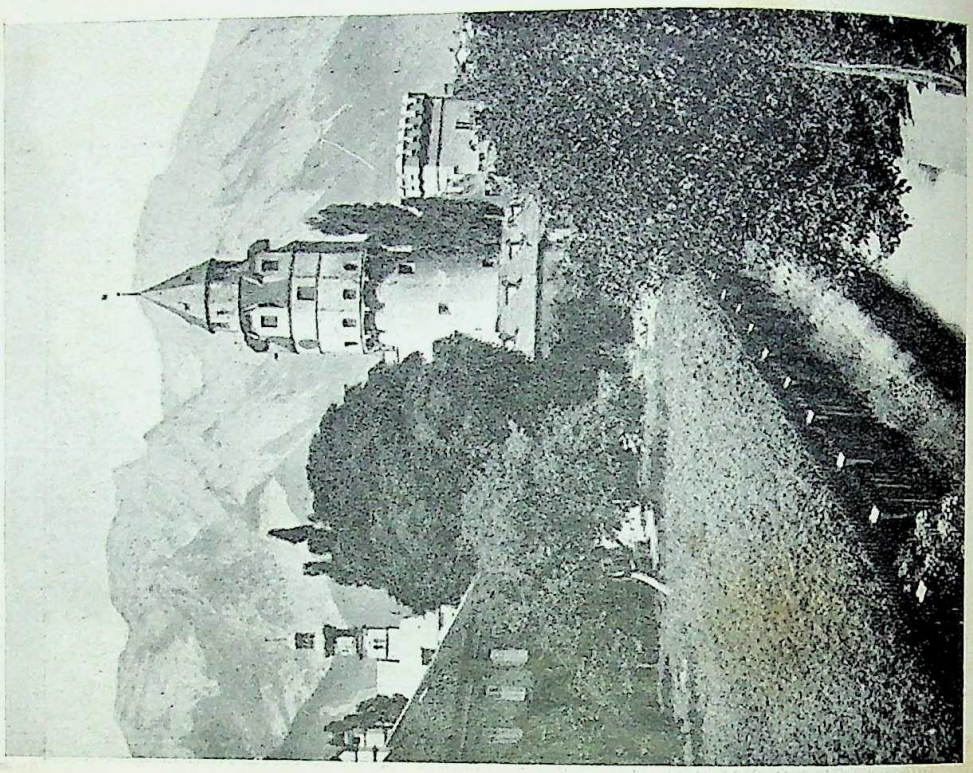

Munzturm and Bettelwurf at Hall, Tirol

Melk Monastery on the Danube, Lower-Austria

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Book Reviews

BOOKS in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in THE MODERN REVIEW. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.—Editor, THE MODERN REVIEW.

ENGLISH

CHANGING INDIA: *An Anthology of Writings from Raja Rammohun Roy to Jawaharlal Nehru. Edited by Raja Rao and Iqbal Singh. George Allen & Unwin Ltd. London. Price 5 shillings net.*

This book contains selections from the writings of Raja Rammohun Roy, Maharshi Devendranath Tagore (in translation), Syed Ahmed Khan (in translation), Bal Gangadhar Tilak, Jagdish Chunder Bose, Rabindranath Tagore, Swami Vivekananda, G. K. Gokhale, M. K. Gandhi, Chittaranjan Das, Aurobindo Ghose, R. P. Paranjpye, Ananda K. Coomaraswamy, Mohammad Iqbal, C. Rajagopalachari, S. Radha Krishnan, J. Krishnamurti, and Jawaharlal Nehru.

As the aim of this anthology, according to the authors, is to give a comprehensive idea of the evolution of Indian thought in social, political and philosophical spheres during the past hundred years, the pieces selected are all in prose. The persons whose writings have been drawn upon are all important men. So it cannot be suggested that the writings of any one of them should have been omitted. But every thinking reader may suggest the names of some more persons from whose writings some selections could have been made. It is in that spirit that we suggest that some extracts could have been made from the speeches and writings of Ananda Mohan Bose and Surendranath Banerjea, as without an acquaintance with their views the passage from "Liberalism" to "Extremism" in politics in Bengal cannot be understood. For that reason Bepin Chandra Pal also could have been included.

The authors rightly observe that "Raja Rammohun Roy is the first of our moderns. Though the India of his time was decadent it could still boast of a culture, and that Raja Rammohun Roy was able with dignity to absorb and assimilate the new values brought over by the European trader. He was also born at a time when, despite the internal disorders of the country, India was a nation which could treat the newcomers with a sense of equality, so sadly lacking in the generation after him, and not to be found again till the advent of Contemporary India.' This gives a fuller view of Raja Rammohun Roy's personality than the following sentences: 'Of the two tendencies that dominate the Indian scene since her contact with Europe, there is one looking forward to the West, and the other going back to our past for inspiration; Raja Rammohun Roy represents the . . . ."

But the fact is that he represented "the other" also. The publication of this anthology is entirely welcome.

DADABHAI NAOROJI: THE GRAND OLD MAN OF INDIA: *By R. P. Masani. With a Foreword by Mahatma Gandhi. Eight Illustrations. George Allen and Unwin Ltd., London. Price 16 shillings.*

This very brief notice of this full biography of Dadabhai Naoroji must not lead the reader to infer from its brevity either that its subject is unimportant or that the book is unimportant. Both in fact are important—the hero being, of course, much more important than any book about him.

Indian politics cannot be fully understood without a comprehensive view of Dadabhai Naoroji's political activites. These activities give an idea of the earlier phases of India's struggle for freedom in modern times, the earliest phase being what Raja Rammohun Roy (with some of his co-workers under his leadership) did.

But Dadabhai Naoroji was not a mere political reformer. He raised the standard of reform in all directions—social, religious and political. Mahatma Gandhi concludes his Foreword with the words:

"The story of a life so noble and yet so simple needs no introduction from me or anybody else."

That is perfectly true. To that remark is added his wish, "May it be an inspiration to the reader even as Dadabhai living was to me!" We are sure it will be an inspiration to all earnest readers.

A full index adds to the usefulness of the volume.

TESTAMENT OF INDIA: *By Mrs. Ela Sen. George Allen and Unwin Ltd., London. Price 7s. 6d. net.*

This book gives an account of contemporary movements in India, partly directly and partly through vivid pen pictures of some of the leading personages of the present day. Besides an introduction it contains 15 chapters, treating of Gandhi, Jawaharlal Nehru, Tagore, Subhas Bose, Jinnah, Sarojini Naidu, Abdul Ghaffar Khan, Malaviya, Rajendra Prasad, The Younger Socialists, Terrorism, Communalism, Women's Movements, The Peasant Movement, and The Future. The facts stated are generally correct, though, here and there, there are statements which are only partially true. For example, when the authoress writes, "it is at Gandhi's insistent demand that even the terrible and invincible barriers of caste have fallen apart," she gives an incorrect idea of the object and achievement of the anti-untouchability movement and ignores what the Brahmo Samaj has done to break the shackles of caste. Her account of terrorism is courageous and outspoken. As to its cause or causes, she gives greater importance to Macaulay's calumny of the Bengali people than perhaps it deserves *as a historical cause of terrorism* and gives less importance to the partition of Bengal and its attendant circumstances.

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The book is thoroughly readable throughout and is written in vigorous journalese.

STATISTICAL YEAR-BOOK OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS, 1938-39 : *Price in wrappers 10/-, $2.50, bound in cloth 12/6, $30.50.*

In the 1938-39 edition of the Statistical Year-Book of the League of Nations the Economic Intelligence Service provides a large and very varied amount of statistical information of interest both to specialists and to the general public.

The Year-Book deals with a large number of subjects. The statistical tables, carefully kept up to date, relating to the territories and populations of all countries in the world and to the natural trend of those populations, are of very general interest. The statistics of production, consumption, trade, exchange rates, and public finance—to mention only a few subjects—will be of special interest to commercial, industrial, and financial circles. The Year-Book as a whole is a very useful work of reference for anyone wishing to study many of the serious problems which are at present disturbing the world.

The 1938-39 edition is in several respects an improvement on previous editions. It contains new tables relating to the number of survivors as shown by life tables, and to the changes which have occurred in the structure of the population according to the main age-groups, *i. e.*, of four main categories of the population, namely, the young (under 15), persons of productive age (15-64), old people (65 and over), and women of child-bearing age (15-49). A large amount of information, part of it hitherto unpublished, is provided concerning mortality rates according to age, the fertility of women, and gross and net rates of reproduction. This information throws light on the probable future trend of the population of each country.

The chapter on production and consumption covers a vast field, extending from agricultural production in each country to a synthesis of industrial production throughout the world.

In view of the growing complexity of monetary and exchange conditions, special interest attaches to the key table showing the monetary history of a large number of countries during the last ten years.

It will also be seen that Government expenditure continued to increase, reaching record figures. In many cases expenditure on armaments appears in special accounts not included in the general budget. It may be noted that in the United Kingdom expenditure on armaments at present amounts to roughly 44 per cent of the total expenditure.

In some cases, such accounts are not completely divulged. That is so, for instance, in the case of Germany, and also of Italy so far as the budget estimates are concerned.

In view of the above facts, it is not astonishing to find that the national debt of many countries is steadily increasing. This heavy national expenditure is also reflected in the money market, where there is a marked decrease in private investment.

In the demographic sphere, it will be noted with interest that the population of the U.S.S.R. amounts, according to the census of January 1939, to 170.5 millions, and that the German Reich (including Austria, the Sudeten territories, and Memel) had a population of 79.8 millions in May 1939. In Germany the birth-rate continued to recover, and in 1938 reached 19.7 per thousand (as compared with 14.7 in 1933). Austria is coming into line, and its marriage-rate, which nearly doubled in 1938, and with 12.7 per thousand may have set up a world record, points to a new rise in the birth-rate. At the same time, another interesting fact will be noted: in several other countries where the birth-rate had dropped the decline was checked in 1938, and in certain cases it actually started to rise again for the first time for a number of years. That was so, for instance, in the British States, the Scandinavian countries, Belgium, the United States, New Zealand, etc. It will be most interesting to follow this trend.

D.

SIKHISM : ITS IDEALS AND INSTITUTIONS : *By Prof. Teja Singh, M.A., Khalsa College, Amritsar. Longmans, Green & Co., 1938.*

This book is a collection of nine essays on different aspects of Sikhism written by Prof. Teja Singh, who has taken up the hazardous task of interpreting the tenets of Sikh religion from a liberal standpoint. All the essays are readable and instructive. The author has succeeded in his attempt "to present Sikhism in its idealist as well as practical aspects" in an attractive garb to the Sikh intelligentsia as well as to outsiders with any curiosity to know the essentials of Sikh religion.

Hindu India sorely needed religious reforms in the fifteenth century when the rise of provincial Muslim monarchies threatened to complete the political conquest by attempting also a social and spiritual conquest of Hinduism. But for the rise of Sri Chaitanya and Guru Nanak, it is doubtful whether the Hindu population would have today maintained its present ratio in the Panjab and Bengal. The success of Sikhism as a conquering force during one hundred years from 1740-1840 is in itself a miracle to demonstrate the inherent strength—and therefore the truth also—of the new cult and its social organisation. Prof. Teja Singh has very ably dealt with this aspect of Sikhism in Chapters IV and V of his book. It is said that "a learned Hindu named Partap Mal, seeing that his son was inclined towards Islam, said to him 'There is no need for you to turn Mohammedan. If you want to get freedom in eating and drinking, you had better join Sikhism'" (p. 92). Thus Sikhism since its inception proved a great political, religious and social necessity for India in the Middle Ages. The author very aptly remarks that the forms and symbols of Sikhism were so designed as to make the Sikh inwardly and outwardly look and behave like a saint and soldier. It was unfortunate that no Monastic Order like that of the Knights Templars arose among millions of sturdy *sadhus* of India to reinforce the Sikh Commonwealth and other secular Hindu powers in their struggle for political emancipation in the eighteenth century.

Prof. Teja Singh mentions some of the notable Muslim converts to Sikhism; we may add to his list the name of Zabita Khan, son of Najibuddaula, who under political necessity became a convert to Sikhism and was given the name of Dharam Singh (Sarkar's *Fall of the Mughal Empire*, Vol. 3). The Sikh community recognised the absolute social equality of such converts and some of them became *Mohants* of Sikh Gurudwaras (p. 96). The author very frankly avows that the Sikh prayer is communal, not only in the composition of its language but also in the nature of its subject-matter (p. 131). Yet nowhere is there shown any sign of bitterness or revenge" (p. 136). But what about "He is of the Khalsa who fights in the van and who slays a Khan"? However, this is not peculiar to Sikhism. Every form of religious prayer among a people in the tribal stage of social evolution had always been communal. So were

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Vedic hymns praying for the aid of gods against non-Aryan *dasyus*.

Prof. Teja Singh's book will serve a very useful purpose as a readable and authentic introduction to Sikh religion and its institutions, particularly for those who are outside the fraternity. We wish this volume wide publicity and sympathetic attention.

K. R. QANUNGO

THE INDIAN STATES IN THE FEDERATION OF INDIA: *By D. N. Naravane, Karnatak Publishing House, 1939.*

Here is another analytical survey of the position of Indian States under the Government of India Act, 1935. The book is divided into two parts: the first, devoted to a general discussion of the position of a unit state in the existing federal constitutions of the world, is meant to serve as a background for the second, which purposes to give an analysis of the implications and the possible repercussions of the new Federation upon the internal and external politics of the Indian States. The author, however, has not considered the financial aspect of the federal scheme at all.

A subject and employee in the Political Department of Baroda, the author can claim to understand the viewpoint of the States, and he has clearly stated it in the last chapter. He has, for instance, explained that the hope that had prompted the Princes to declare their warm support for the idea of Indian Federation was that it might limit Paramountcy and yet succeed in maintaining the notion of sovereignty of the Indian States against the Federal Government. This the Princes have failed to secure, and that is why Federation, which was heartily agreed to by the Princes at the Round Table Conference, now 'knocks at the door of the States as an unwelcome guest and intruder.' Mr. Naravane proceeds to analyse how the scheme creates a Legislature wherein the representatives of the States are in a perpetual minority and where the individual State is merely a drop in the ocean; the Executive, in the formation and the policy of which the States are not likely to have any effective voice; and the Judiciary which is impotent not only to prevent the States from the pressure of Paramountcy outside the federal sphere but even the interference of Paramountcy within it.

All this would be very sound criticism of the new constitutional scheme, if we can only assume that the Indian States are going to perpetually maintain their isolation of interests from British India, or even that the Indian States are going to perpetually remain the five hundred odd feudal and semi-feudal chieftainships that they are today without any regard to the rights or wishes of their people. But our belief is that the future developments in India would inevitably obliterate the group consciousness between populations of the British Indian Provinces and the populations of the Indian States and drown it in the abyss of national solidarity; so that an emphasis on the group rights of Indian States as against British Indian Provinces seems to us anachronistic and inevitably

One particular argument in the book needs to be specifically contradicted. Mr. Naravane argues, and Sir Chimanbhai Mehta supports the argument in his Foreword, that there is nothing in the federal theory to warrant that a federal union should be indissoluble and that if the protected clause of the Act is at any time in the future amended, the Instruments of Accession of the States would, in the words of the Secretary of State, be 'voidable, though not void.' That there is absolutely no substance in such a plea was conclusively stated by Professor Morgan in his advice to the Chamber of Princes, and the Indian States need to be reminded of that advice again. Professor Morgan said, "The States acceding to the Federation have no right of secession. Secession is only possible if the British Parliament, at the request of the States, amends the Act to that effect. This, it may be taken as certain, the Imperial Parliament will, as a matter of constitutional practice, never consent to do. To do so would be to negative the pledge of the ultimate grant of Dominion Status made by the Secretary of State during the passage of the Bill through the House of Commons. The failure of the Petition of the State of Western Australia for secession from the Commonwealth may be regarded as a precedent fatal to any chances of such a petition by the Indian States being granted and implemented by the Imperial Parliament. In that case, of which I can speak with particular knowledge as Counsel for the State of Western Australia, the Judicial Committee not only rejected the Petition but decided that it could not even go into the merits of the case. The ground for their decision was that the established constitutional conventions of the Empire put it outside the competence of Parliament to give effect to such a Petition."

On the whole, Mr. Naravane's treatment of the subject is careful and serious and deserves study.

BOOL CHAND

THE TOWN AND A CHANGING CIVILIZATION: *By David V. Glass. John Lane, London. Price 3s. 6d.*

This little book gives a most interesting conspectus of the various features of urban life—physical, economic and moral, and of the problems connected with them. Mr. Glass is a well-known student of the subject, and in this book he summarizes not only the conclusions arrived at by other investigations but also his own diagnosis. It will be found useful and suggestive by all who are interested in the growth and development of urbanism—a phenomenon which has become very pronounced even in India which Mr. Glass does not include among the countries in which urban influence is pre-eminent.

After defining the scope of his subject in the introductory chapter Mr. Glass goes on to trace the evolution of urbanism from the age of the Sumerian civilization to the present time. This historical account is followed by two of the most interesting chapters of the book, in which the demographic, economic and psychological characteristics of towns and of town-dwellers are described. They give in brief the essential features of the urban physiognomy. The analysis is rounded off by some anticipations of the future while Mr. Glass points out that the first and the most obvious trend is the increasing urbanization not only of the Western world but of large parts of the East too, he also realizes that certain forces, such as the falling birth-rate or a war might not only check the movement but cause a breakdown. Apart from this possibility, there is room for developments which will better integrate the town with the general scheme of society. In regard to this urgent need Mr. Glass advocates planned town-building as well as the building of a Socialist State.

LOOKING BACKWARDS—AND FORWARDS: *By George Lansbury. Blackie and Son. Price 8s. 6d.*

Mr. Lansbury is one of the best loved men of his country and times, and this is due above all to his character, his humanity, his faith, and also that activism which has made the ideals he has dreamed of a matter of daily toil for him.

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Mr. Lansbury has already written an autobiography. This book which consists, as he says, of a series of uncoordinated reminiscences, supplements it with a number of sketches in which he recalls the various facts of the environment in which he has lived and worked and the men and women he has known. Among the latter are Lenin and Charles Bradlaugh. In reading these reminiscences one comes to feel something of the spirit of the men who pioneered the Socialist movement in England. There it assumed a special quality, on which again Mr. Lansbury has impressed a particular stamp. He is a man who has set his face resolutely to the sun, and is awaiting with hope for reaction, bloody terrorism, and hatred to end and give place to socialism as a creed of love.

N. C. C.

SYMBOLISM AND BELIEF: (Gifford Lectures): *By Edwyn Bevan. George Allen and Unwin, Ltd. 1938. Pages 391. Price 15s. net.*

Symbolism in some form or other runs through the whole of life. Every moment elements in the field of our immediate experience, sight, sound, smell, etc., call up in the imagination objects other than themselves. What Mr. Bevan is out to enquire in this volume is the part that symbolism plays in the formulation of our religious experience and the general relation of symbolic representation to truth and belief.

It is commonplace that all expressions of human experience of any Being beyond the everyday world of sense perception are largely symbolical. In these lectures Mr. Bevan chiefly concerns himself with that particular kind of symbols that 'purport to give information about the things they symbolise, to convey knowledge of their nature, which those who see or hear the symbols have not had before or have not otherwise.' The first six lectures consider the three symbols which sprung from men's everyday experience, permeated all religious thoughts and got inextricably woven into all patterns of language expressing ideas of religion, namely, that of 'special height,' 'eternity' and 'light.' The fourth symbol dealt with is that of spirit, breath, air in motion and the fifth "wrath" of God is taken from the inner life of man.

It is no mean a task to trace issues that are fundamental in a sphere so beset with dogmas, bigotry and confusions. The field of enquiry is strictly confined to the facts of the world so far as they are accessible to the reason common to mankind. The author boldly admits that 'beliefs entertained by the Christian Church, or by Theists, are, as psychological facts, among the indisputable facts of the world.' It is likely that here the author may find many parting company with him. Still, it is to be admitted that Bevan has succeeded in throwing an abundance of light in a region of controversy where so much darkness and confusion prevailed and as such this volume is to be welcome as a valuable contribution in modern times to the philosophical enquiries into the religious experience of mankind. The main task for all philosophy of anthropomorphism, which is impossible if man is going to have any idea of God at all, is but to make a distinction between right and wrong anthropomorphism where it ought to be made. It is hardly possible that the existence of God can be demonstrated by rational inference from visible phenomena. "What actually causes any one to believe in God is direct perception of the Divine."

D. M. SEN

THE ACTIVITY SCHOOL: *By Adolph Ferriere. Edited by K. B. Saiyidain, Kitabistan, Allahabad. Price Rs. 6.*

Adolph Ferriere is one of the founders and earliest exponents of the new education and activity school movement in Europe. In his now classical work *L'Ecole Active* he gives a brief history of the movement and a clear exposition of the basic principles underlying it. He also discusses the practical applications of these principles. It is indeed one of the most thought-provoking and stimulating books on education that have appeared in the last twenty years.

The principles underlying the Basic National Education of Gandhiji are very much similar to those of the Activity School of Ferriere. So Indian readers interested in education will be grateful to the editor for the Indian edition of Ferriere's classic. It is in the fitness of things that Prof. K. G. Saiyidain, who was not a little responsible for drawing up the syllabus for Basic Education should have edited this book.

The Indian edition contains besides the text based on the American translation of the French original valuable interpretations of the new ideal in education by Rabindranath, Gandhiji, Bhagawan Das and Zakir Hossain.

No one who is interested in the latest educational movement in this country can do without this book.

The publishers are to be congratulated for their excellent production. I only wish the book were not so expensive.

TWENTY-ONE WEEKS IN EUROPE: *By the Raja of Bhor. Published by the Darbar Vakil from Poona.*

A prince of India spent twenty-one weeks in Europe and he has embodied the story of his travels, his impressions and experiences in the form of a profusely illustrated and finely printed volume of more than five hundred pages priced at Rupees Twenty.

These facts speak for themselves.

A. N. BASU

INDIAN SUGAR INDUSTRY—PROBLEMS BEFORE IT: *By Mr. M. N. Mitra, M.Sc., with a foreword by Sir P. C. Ray, 1939. Pages 200. Price Rs. 3.*

Mr. M. N. Mitra has discussed very ably the various problems confronting the Indian Sugar Industry in this book. He has made very useful suggestions in regard to the future development of the Indian Sugar Industry which deserves the attention of all concerned. A chapter in the book gives very relevant information in regard to the organization of the Industry in Java, the method in which they carry on research, its agricultural system, the method of sales, etc. A chapter also has been devoted to the necessity of production of Power Alcohol from molasses and has dwelt on the effects of the Excise Duty on the Industry.

Mr. Mitra's book is replete with a mass of statistics and data which are fully authoritative, and taken from the various excellent "Annuals" on sugar published by Mr. M. P. Gandhi, an acknowledged authority of all-India repute. An appreciative Foreward by Sir P. C. Ray adds considerably to the value of the publication.

SURESH DESAI

WISDOM FROM THE EAST: *By Hari Prasad Shastri. Published by Frederick Muller Ltd. 29, Great James Street, W.C. 1, London. Pp. 192. Price Rs. 5 net.*

The book arose, as we are told by the author himself in his Note, out of lectures delivered by him to the students in various universities of China and Japan. The

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an index, nor even any table of contents. The contents of each chapter, of course, can be understood by reading and the subject-matter of the book is apparent from its title. It is mainly an exposition of the teachings of the Upanishads. The special feature of this exposition is that the author had the "great privilege of sitting at the feet of" "a God-realized teacher;" and he hopes, therefore, that seekers of the holy path may find help and inspiration in it.

The transliteration of the Sanskrit words leaves much to be desired. Obviously the author does not follow the rules usually accepted. For instance, he writes 'Ishwara' and 'Iswara' and so on. For *Brahman*, he writes Brhaman (p. 30, etc.)—a manifest mistake. The '*h*' must go with 'r'.

The book is easy reading and will certainly have a circulation.

THE OCEAN OF THEOSOPHY: *By William Q. Judge. Published by the Theosophy Company Ltd. Esplanade Road, Bombay, India. Pages 153. Price Rs. 2 only.*

This is a brief but erudite exposition of the general tenets of Theosophy. In the Contents, a lucid synopsis of each chapter is given. We shall not do any injustice to the author by attempting to summarise him.

Chapter XIII of the book speaks of what is called Devachan. "Devachan," we are told, is "a Sanskrit word meaning literally the place of the gods," "where the soul enjoys felicity" (p. 109). But is there a Sanskrit word like this at all? '*Place* of the gods' would be translated by *Devasthan*. Another word used in the Upanishads is 'Devayana,' which means literally the path (and place) of the gods.

The author has complete grasp of his subject and his style is simple, lucid and attractive. We recommend the book to all those who would like to have a knowledge of Theosophy.

U. C. BHATTACHARJEE

FOR NECESSARY ACTION—SPEECHES AND JUDGMENTS OF SIR DOUGLAS YOUNG, CHIEF JUSTICE OF THE LAHORE HIGH COURT: *Edited by Shri Ram and V. M. Tarkunde. Pages v+306. Publishers: Indian Cases Ltd., Lahore. Price not mentioned.*

Sir Douglas Young came to India as a Puisne Judge of the Allahabad High Court, and is now the Chief Judge of the Lahore High Court. Both in his speeches and judgements Sir Douglas has pointed out boldly and strongly the weak spots in our social and civic life. Whether one agrees with him or not in his conclusions, one must agree that he has made out a strong case "for necessary action" in every case. For example, while referring to his Welcome at the Lahore High Court he pointed out: "Delay in the hearing of appeals is common and unfortunately to all the High Courts in this country . . . . In this Court the period is seven months . . . . Two kinds of remedy for this kind of evil are available, one which may merely mitigate the evil, the other radical. The first is to increase the number of Judges and make the Courts work longer. There is a limit to this, but the necessity for the many isolated holidays scattered throughout the year is difficult to understand. Moharam and Id for Mohammedans; Dasehra and Diwali for Hindus; Easter and Christmas; are surely meant to satisfy religious sentiment. The others ought to be cancelled. The business world does not indulge in such a deluge of holidays. Tatas, for instance, allow three holidays a year for religous purposes and no more. It is not noticeable that lawyers and litigants are more pious than those engaged in industry or commerce."

In many of his judgments Sir Douglas has pointed out the weakness of the machinery for bringing offenders to justice, and how often 'padding' by police may result in murder by judicial process; how often a severe and brutal sentence is passed by the subordinate magistracy; how in civil cases pleadings are made the vehicle for personal abuse; how under the Indian Companies Act the public does not receive adequate protection, &c. &c.

The Editors have done a public service in collecting the thought-provoking speeches and judgments of Sir Douglas Young, and styling it "For Necessary Action"—for every one of them calls for necessary action on the part of the intelligent and honest citizen.

J. M. DATTA

HORIZONS: *By V. N. Bhushan. The Ananda Academy, Masulipatam, Madras. Price Re. 1.*

Mr. Bhushan has already won recognition and admiration from reputed poets and critics for his contributions to the altar of the Muse of Poetry. His *Horizons*, though it contains only a few poems will keep up his reputation. Inspired by the lofty heights of poetry, the ambitious poet declares—

"O, I shall a shaper be of my times and tendencies,
Of darling dreams and daring deeds—"
('So-Ham').

And it will not be idle to expect richer and finer poems from the young poet.

THE LOVE OF DUST: *By Shanker Ram. Published by A. N. Purnah & Co., 6, First Street, Abhiramapuram, Bheemannapet, Mylapore, Madras. Price Rs. 3.*

The picture of Indian peasant life that the author has drawn in *The Love of Dust* creates a sustaining interest in the mind of the reader. This is a remarkable achievement on the part of Mr. Shankar Ram, who has ably presented an Indian story in a foreign language. The author should carefully revise the book to correct a few linguistic mistakes that appear glaring to the eyes.

J. C. BHATTACHARYYA

ENGLISH-SANSKRIT

UPANISHADS FOR THE LAY READER: *By C. Rajagopalachari. Published by the Hindustan Times Ltd., New Delhi. Pages viii+85. Price (paper cover) annas six; cloth bound Re. one.*

This booklet contains about 125 best verses and prose-pieces of Katha, Kena, Isha, Svetasvatara, Taittiriya, Chhandogya and Mundaka Upanishads with free and flowing translations, prefaced with short contextual sketches.

The author, who is none other than the veteran Congress-leader and distinguished Premier of the Southern Presidency, makes, in the introduction, some pertinent remarks about the value and importance of the Upanishads in modern religious life. He rightly holds that the Upanishads are the best scripture for a sceptical age as they display the most scientific spirit in connection with spiritual enquiry. "We cannot have" reiterates the thoughtful author, "a better book of religion for modern times than the Upanishads which are most ancient, still the most modern."

True Indian patriots are characterized by religious-mindedness. How we wish all Congressmen emulate this

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trait of the Indian ideal of patriotism, like Gandhi, Aurovindo, Tilak, Subhas Chandra and the present author. The Upanishads will be very useful to those who want to combine religion and politics in their practical life. We confidently hope that this work like the author's Gita will prove equally popular with the busy readers, particularly the Congress-workers.

VEDIC PRAYERS: *By Swami Sambuddhananda. Published by the author from Sri Rama Krishna Ashrama, Khar, Bombay, 21. Pp. 94. Cloth bound. Price 8as. Foreign 1sh.*

The beautiful brochure contains more than sixty prayers and peace-chants from the Upanishads and other parts of the four Vedas with word-for-word meanings, literal translations as well as short explanatory notes on difficult philosophical terms, besides a learned introduction. It is to the credit of the author, who is a leading scholar-monk of the Ramakrishna Mission that his English rendering of the Vedic Prayers carries much fervour and grace of the original verses.

The Vedic Prayers are the most ancient, universal and inspiring of all religious prayers, hence they are best-suited for daily recital by spiritual aspirants of all creeds.

SWAMI JAGADISWARANANDA

SANSKRIT

THE MAHABHARATA: *UDYOGAPARVAN I. Edited by Prof. Dr. S. K. De, M.A., D.Litt. (London), University of Dacca, and published by the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, under the general editorship of Dr. Vishnu S. Sukhthankar.*

This is fascicule No. 9 of the Mahabharata consisting of 100 out of a total of 197 adhyayas of the Udyogaparvan. Like Prof. Edgerton of the Yale University, Dr. S. K. De of Dacca was invited by the general editor to co-operate with him in collating some portions of the Great Epic. Dr. De observes in his editorial note: "The textual problems, as well as the scope and method of the present critical reconstruction, are generally of the same character as those of the already published Adiparvan; and the general principle laid down in the Prolegomena of that volume have, *mutatis mutandis*, been observed in the making of this volume also." Thus Dr. De having full scope of testing the critical method of Dr. Sukhthankar, pays him a great compliment while he affirms that to be the only method applicable in the reconstruction of Mahabharata text. The most significant item in the textual criticism of this Parvan under review is the analysis of the Sanatsujata sub-Parvan (Adhy. 42-45) which was commented upon by Samkaracharya. He may or may not be the great commentator on Brahma-Sutra for while the author of the Sariraka Bhasya is reputed to be a son of Kerala, the commentator of the Sanatsujata, strangely enough, overlooked the more reliable Malayalam version of the text and accepted the more chaotic Telugu-Grantha version. A sound basis for critical reconstruction was discovered by the learned editor through the happy agreement of the Malayalam version with those of the Bengali and Sarada-Kashmiri MSS. We congratulate the editors on their signal success in the difficult task and look forward to the publication of the 10th fascicule, which will complete the Udyogaparvan with a special appendix on the Sanskrit excerpts found in the Javanese adaptation of 11th century A.D. It is a relief to learn from the editors that the Udyoga, which is fairly bulky, is nevertheless comparatively free from lengthy insertions of later periods.

KALIDAS NAG

BENGALI

MANUS RABINDRANATH (RABINDRANATH THE MAN): *By Kananbihari Mukerji, Calcutta Prakashani Niketan, 12, Dhurrumtola Street, Calcutta. Pages iii+1[illegible]. Cloth bound. Price 1-8.*

A poet's personality is always elusive. It [illegible] analysis. It is like a many-faceted diamond [illegible] brilliance is in-describable. Thus to differentiate be[illegible] the poet and the person is almost an impossible [illegible] for the man's poetry is influenced by his personal[illegible] while his poetic temperament reacts on his deeds. [illegible] specially so with a great poet and a great man [illegible] Rabindranath, whose mind is always yearning to exp[illegible] the inexpressible. He is with us and beyond us. [illegible] analyse such a complex character would req[illegible] as the writer observes, the genius of another Rabindra[illegible] Tagore is interested in all departments of life. His e[illegible] active mind tries to spread itself in all directions. [illegible] manifests itself not only in his poetry but also in [illegible] action. He does not belong to the band of medita[illegible] poets who are immersed in their own thoughts. [illegible] create their own world and live in it, but Rabindran[illegible] is not an imaginative and imaginary universe, he [illegible] in and with the world of humanity. He sings: [illegible] salvation lies not in the renunciation of the world.

The book is concerned with Rabindranath the man [illegible] with Rabindranath the poet. It is an impression of [illegible] great man as the writer has found him in this every[illegible] world of ours. He has also tried to analyse the great[illegible] and complexity of his character. In a certain way, [illegible] book may be said to be a psychological study of [illegible] Poet's personality. But an impression is always subject[illegible] Everybody who is acquainted with Tagore's poetry [illegible] has come into contact with the Poet, has a vision of [illegible] own. And in this work we find Rabindranath as [illegible] appears to the writer. An objective estimate of the [illegible] and character of the Poet who is still among us is [illegible] haps beyond anyone who is living in his Age. A man [illegible] lives at the foot of a mountain is not the best judge [illegible] its greatness. Tagore is too near us to be seen in [illegible] true perspective. Yet the glimpse that we get of [illegible] Poet through the pages of the book, dazzles our eyes [illegible] the glimpse of the sun that we obtain through the [illegible] of a window. As a teacher and worker in the Vis[illegible] bharati for some time, the author found opportunities [illegible] come into intimate contact with the work of the sage [illegible] Santiniketan. He deals with certain aspects of Tag[illegible] personality. Though we are not one with the author [illegible] everything that he writes, some of his findings [illegible] thought-provoking. The style is lucid and the mann[illegible] presentation attractive. The book is interesting rea[illegible]

SAILENDRAKRISHNA LAW

KESHAB CHANDRA O BANGA SAHITYA (KESHAB CHANDRA AND BENGALI LITERATURE): *By Jogendra Chandra Gupta. Indian Publishing House, 22/1, Cornwallis St. Calcutta. Pages Royal 8vo, 16+337+12. Several traits. Cloth-bound. Price Rs. 3.*

The book is an attempt at a special study of the [illegible] of Keshab Chandra Sen with reference to his [illegible] to Bengali literature. The subject is a fascinating [illegible] Bengali literature made enormous strides in the nine[illegible] century. Many great writers have contributed to [illegible] enrichment of the literature of the period, and of [illegible] Keshab Chandra Sen's contribution is not the least.

Born 1838, five years after the death of Raja Ram[illegible] Roy, Keshub Chandra Sen, the great religious refo[illegible] rose to early prominence. He associated himself [illegible]

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Maharshi Devendranath Tagore, joined the Brahmo Samaj when he was only nineteen and rose to be its Acharya when he was barely twenty-three. His association with the Maharshi and his active participation in the affairs of the Samaj made the Brahmo Samaj movement thoroughly dynamic. He was a great orator. In his day, as a speaker, whether in English or in Bengali, he had no equal. He was a born reformer. His constructive energy was directed not only towards religious and social reformation but towards other departments of life also. He was perhaps the first Indian in the field, in recent times, to tackle the problem of untouchability. Abolition of caste-distinctions, inter-caste marriage and re-marriage of widows—these were some of the questions he brought to the fore-front. He gave a new impetus to the temperance movement. And it was Keshab Chandra Sen who introduced the pice newspaper in India.

The book is divided into three parts. The first part deals shortly with the life of the great man and is interesting throughout. In the second part the author examine Keshab Chandra's contribution to Bengali literature. Excerpts from his writings have been quoted in extenso. The third part of the book is concerned with the work and writings of his associates, individually all gifted men, who formed a circle to help Keshab Chandra to carry on his work.

What Keshab Chandra wrote in Bengali for his daily paper, *Sulabh Samachar*, and the fortnightly, *Tattva-tattwa*, should be carefully studied. His *Jivan-Charit* written in Bengali, is an inspiring book. His lectures and speeches, collected in book-form by his admirers, go to prove that they were not devoid of real literary merit. Along with his, the writings of his followers, *e.g.*, Gour Govinda Ray, Trailokyanath Sanyal, well known under his pen-name Chiranjib Sharma, Keshab Chandra Sen, Pratap Chandra Majumdar and others should be studied, for it was Keshab who inspired them and they formed the Keshavite school of thought. The book is written in a lucid style and is full of information. But we wish that the following among other mistakes had not occurred in a treatise like this :

The date of the formation of the Calcutta School-Book Society is 1818, not 1817 (p. 3). Raja Rammohun's Arabic-Persian book is not Tahtol Mahadin but *Tuhfat-ul-Muahidin* (p. 23). The Tattvabodhini Sabha started in 1839, not 1840 (p. 25; *cf.* p. 125). Mrityunjaya Vidyalankara (not Tarkalamkara) never wrote *Purusha Pariksha* (p. 95); the author of the book was Haraprasad Roy. The author of *Hitopadesha* is Kalikamal Sherma and not Golak Basu. That these books were all written in Mussalmani-Bengali is incorrect (*cf. Tattwabodh Chandrika*). Ramram Basu, the author of *Pratapaditya Charitra* (not Charita, pp. 95, 96), is a fictitious person from the Kaviwala of that name. Mrityunjaya's style is not exactly "danta-bhanga" (*cf. Tattwabodh Chandrika*). Raja Rammohun was never a member of the "Kalectarir munsikhana" (p. 96). Chandi Munsi's *Tota Itihas* was printed in 1805, not 1808 (p. 99). Vidyasagar's Bengali book *Vasudeva Charita* was never published. In the quotation on p. 106 from Ramram Basu's *Pratapaditya Charitra*, "dillir Badshah Ekabbar" (*i.e.*, Akbar), Ekabbar has been translated into "Ekebare." *Bengal Gazettee* was published by Gangaa Kishore (not Gangadhar) in 1818 (not 1816), and its monthly subscription was Rs. 2 (not Re. 1). Bengal was published before the *Bengal Gazettee* and was not a newspaper. *Vangadut* was the Bengali edition of the *Bengal Herald* and it was not bi-lingual; as many other languages were used in it. The date of its first publication is 1829, not 1825. Both *Rasaraj* and *Bhaskar* were published in 1839, not 1838. *Samachar Chandrika* was Bhawani Charan Banerji's paper, not Radhakanta Deb's. The list of papers which carried on publication before the advent of the *Prabhakar* is incomplete; at least *Samvad Purnachandrodaya* should have been mentioned (p. 123). Bajarali (not Rajabali) edited *Jagad-ud-dipaka* (not Jagaddipika). *Muktavali* was a weekly paper, not monthly (p. 125). *Sarvasubhakari* which stopped after one year, again appeared after some time. *Rahasya Sandarbha* and *Abodh Bandhu* were published in 1863 (not 1862) and 1867 respectively (p. 127).

TARAKNATH GANGULI

HINDI

RANJIT SINGH : *By Sjt. Sita Ram Kohli, translated by Ram Chandra Tandan. Published by the Hindustani Academy, Allahabad. Price Re. 1.*

Written by a recognized authority on Sikh history this book is a worthy tribute to the great monarch of the Punjab for his centenary year. In a graphic summary the author first describes the rise and growth of Sikhism from Guru Nanak to the days immediately preceding Ranjit Singh. Then he pauses to recapitulate the social, economic, and cultural conditions of the Panjab in the later part of the eighteenth century. Thus when the reader is introduced to the dynamic personality of Ranjit Singh he is at once enabled to see him against the very colourful background of his times. Hereafter the chapters display a wealth of personal and historical detail. Although the writer next relaxes his historical perspective, yet the central figure of Ranjit Singh stands out in bold relief, with a vividness that would do credit to the best biographies. There are interesting drifts—sometimes into the adventures of the Kohinoor diamond, at others into anecdotes partially historical. As a whole the book is extremely informative, balanced, and lively. The translation is pleasant and unobtrusive. At its price the book is an irresistible temptation.

MAHATMAJI KA MAHAVRATA : *By Vyohar Rajendra Singh. Published by Mahakosal Harijan Sevak Sangh, Jubbalpur. Price not mentioned.*

Here is a reconstruction of the circumstances which forced Mahatma Gandhi to resort to fasting on the Harijan issue in 1932. A very thorough and readable record, it is written in a spirit of worship.

VICHAR SUMANAVALI : *By Swami Kailasananda. Published by the author at Bhikangaun (Indore State). Price annas eight.*

There are no great sayings, no collection of great thoughts from literature. This "garland of thoughts" is a mere repetition of hackneyed praises of Love, Truth and Service, in the author's own unimpressive language.

SUR — EK ADHYAYAN : *By Shikhar Chanda Jain, "Sahityaratna." Published by the Narendra Sahitya Kutir, Indore. Price annas twelve.*

A short thesis on poet Surdas's life. The author places an exaggerated emphasis on the influences of Vidyapati and Kabir on Surdas, which is hardly justifiable. The rest of the book, though not very original is interesting.

BALRAJ SAHNI

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URDU

PAS-E-PARDA : *By Chandra Bhushan Singh. Published by Thakar Abhiraj Singh, B.A., LL.B., Pleader Jaunpore. Price annas fourteen.*

The book consists of seven short stories written after the orthodox Premchand tradition. They are deeply human and well-constructed; but, despite the author's powerful narration and his gifted delineation of characters, they have an air of having been told before.

BALRAJ SAHNI

GUJARATI

TAKSH-SHILA NI RAJMATA : *By U. K. Oza. Printed at the Suryaprakash Printing Press, Ahmedabad. Cloth cover. Pages 500. Price Rs. 3-8 (1938).*

Mr. Oza, the writer of this semi-historical novel of five hundred pages, is now living in Nairobi, East Africa. As a result of his studies in respect of the invasion of India by Alexander, he expressed absence of satisfaction as to the fact of his return *after* conquest; he doubts if Indians were ever conquered by Alexander. He also doubts the story of Puru and Alexander's generosity towards him. He thinks he could not go further than the banks of the Vitasta river, or that he left behind him a name which Indians held in awe. The famous University of Taxila existed in all it glory at the time, where scholars like Vishnu Gupta, Chanakya had been nourished. In spite of it, there is no mention of Alexander's movements in the archives of the Taxila Gurukul. Why is it so ? It is round this framework that Mr. Oza has woven his work. It gives delightful pictures of the life of the people then, and the undercurrent of Buddhistic principles that ran through their life is well brought out. It is a lengthy work but would repay perusal.

SARJAN ANE CHINTAN : *By Dhumketu. Printed at the Suryaprakash Printing Press, Ahmedabad. Cloth bound. Pages 254. Price Re. 1-8 (1938).*

"Dhumketu" writes delightful stories, but very few people know that he is also a serious thinker, and when he pleases can bend his energies to writing in that direction also. "Creativeness and Meditation" is a collection of his writings in the serious and critical vein, and the twenty-one essays embodied in this work testify to the high level he has attained in thinking and expressing the results of such thinking. Subjects, such as Poetry, Art, Science, Drama, Culture, Revolution, Humanity, are treated philosophically and from various viewpoints. The book would certainly appeal to thoughtful readers who look for sobriety and seriousness in the authors they read.

WORDSWORTH'S WE ARE SEVEN, 2ND EDITION : *Translated by Miss Kulsum A. Surauja, B.A. (Honors), Fellow, Ismail College, Jogeshwari, Bombay. Printed at the Oriental Printing Works, Bombay. Cloth cover. Pages 48. Price Re. 1 (1938).*

As a translation in simple verse and simple Gujarati of the short, touching poem of Wordsworth, the booklet is remarkable as being the work of a Mohammedan young girl who writes such simple Gujarati and also as being an artistically got-up beautiful little book. Each stanza is enclosed in printed enamel work, which furnishes an admirable Oriental setting, appropriate to a work composed in a modern Indian language.

JIVAN SAMBHARNAN : *By Mrs. Sharda Mehta, B.A. Printed at Luhanamitra Printing Press, Bombay. Thick card board. Illustrated. Pages 452. Price Rs. 2 (1938).*

Reminiscences of Mrs. Sharda's Life—she is about 56—portray the history of the uplift of woman—man too—in Gujarat during the last half-a-century and she and her sister—Lady Vidya Gauri Nilkanth—played no mean part in bringing it about. Being born in a family closely following the Prarthana Samaj and connected on both sides with reformist families, they were encouraged specially by their respective husbands to plunge into the cause of the betterment of women soon after their graduation in 1901. Both sisters donned their gowns at the same convocation and have not relinquished their efforts,—if anything intensified their for the cause. These autobiographical reminiscences are most interesting and the references to many persons who are still treading the path embodied in it are vivid and arresting. Mrs. Sharda caught the eye of Gandhiji and the latter is still actively interested in all she does and helps her to his utmost, as he knows this worth and sincerity of her purpose. The object lessons conveyed by the writer's life are that a woman can, at the same time be a loving mother, a loving wife, an admirable house-keeper and an active helper of her sisters and brothers. We want many more Sharda Mehtas for the good of Gujarat.

JAPJI : *Translated by Maganbhai Parbhudas Desai. Printed at the Navjivan Printing Press, Ahmedabad. Paper cover. Pages 72+48. Price annas nine (1938).*

Japji is the Bible of the Sikhs. It is composed by Guru Nanakdev in the Punjabi language spoken in the 15th or 16th century A.D. Consequently it is very hard to render into Gujarati, the more so because in the original its form is very compact. Compared to other similar translations published before, this one is superior as the author has undergone an amount of labour in consulting people well-versed in the subject and by studying all up-to-date literature bearing on it. The Introduction throws a great deal of light on Sikhism and furnishes a continuous history of the tenets of the sect.

K. M. J.

BOOKS RECEIVED

WHAT ARE THE INDIAN STATES : *Foreword by Jawaharlal Nehru. Published by Shanti Dhar, Director, Research Bureau, All-India States' People's Conference, Allahabad. Pages 113. Price annas eight.*

THE MONTHLY SUMMARY OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS, *Volume xix, No. 6. June 1939. Pages 2[illegible] 286.*

WHY THE PRESENT HINDU LAW OF SUCCESSION AND WORSHIP APPLICABLE TO JOINT FAMILY PROPERTY SHOULD BE ABOLISHED (PRIZE ESSAY) : *By K. B. Gajendragadkar, B.A., LL.B., Pleader, Sangli City. Hindustan Newspaper Ltd., 21, Dalal Street, Fort, Bombay. Pages 32. Price annas four.*

SONGS AND LYRICS : *By R. Appalaswami, [illegible] Copies available from D. Visvesvara Rau, Secretary, [illegible] Society of Oriental Studies, Vizianagram. Pp. [illegible]*

THE THOUGHTS OF BASAVA : *By N. [illegible] Sangnalmath, B.A., B.T. Pages 18+9. Price annas [illegible]*

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ILLITERACY NO MORE

By S. RAMA CHAR

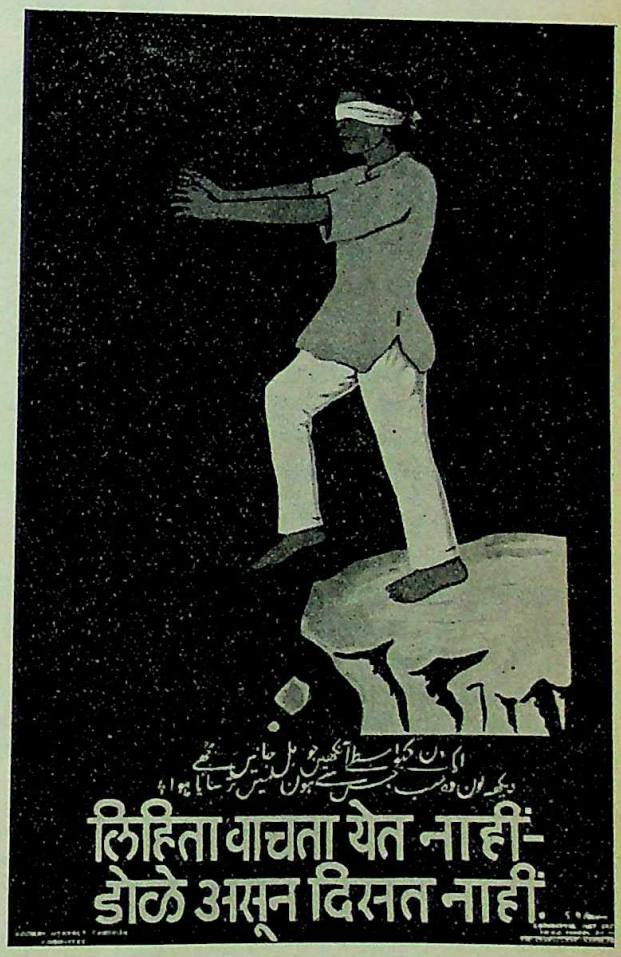
Doctor Hengchih Tao tells us a funny story of little Chinese boy who overcame the prejudice his grandmother as to her learning to read write by asking her how she would get mission to heaven if she did not know how sign her name in the Angel's book at the

China's non-violent war against illiteracy been interrupted by a violent and terrible against the aggression of Japan. But in today hundreds of young men and women trying to teach the older generation of people have passed the school-going age.

Today in India 90 per cent of the people illiterate. According to the 1931 Census, total literate population of India including dren is 2,39,62,279 males and 41,69,036 males while the remaining 32¼ crores are erate. This gives a literacy of 8 per cent inst 94 per cent in England, 94·4 per cent America, 98 per cent in Soviet Russia, 99 per in Germany and 99·7 per cent in Japan. ar back as the year 1881, the year in which first census was taken in India, the percent- of literacy was 3·5. During the course of years from 1881 to 1931 the literacy figure gone up to 8 per cent only. At this rate of gress it will take 920 years before every n will have become literate, provided, of se, the population of India does not in- se. While the general literacy in India is cent there are parts of the country where percentage of literacy is much lower. For nce, in the case of Hyderabad the literary is as low as 4 per cent.

It is now an established fact that before the ut of the British rule in India almost every had a school. In Bengal alone there 80,000 native schools—one to a population ery four hundred. According to the report e Educational Commissioner with the nment of India, 1929-30, there were in India 2,60,946 recognised and unrecog- educational institutions with a strength 1,10,47,289 male and 14,67,837 female ents. This means an institution for every 00 of population.

In a country like India where the percent- of literacy is so low, the cause of ary and Adult education does not need any al pleading. Yet the total amount of money spent on education in the whole of India is less than a quarter of what is spent on the army. The total of Central and Provincial revenues during the year 1929-30 was Rs. 2,27,26,48,000. Out of this amount 26 per cent was spent on the army which maintained 58,000 British officers, 1,68,000 Indian soldiers (for whose protection ?),



A literacy poster

and 10 per cent on Police and Justice, while a paltry 6 per cent was spent on education. The number of boys and girls that received education during 1929-30 was 1,25,16,126. In India the annual expenditure per head on education is annas 8 only. It is also significant that while the annual expnditure on primary education is Rs. 109 in England, Rs. 150 in Scotland, Rs. 112 in Ireland, Rs. 158 in Denmark, Rs. 150 in Norway, Rs. 166 in South Africa, in India it is

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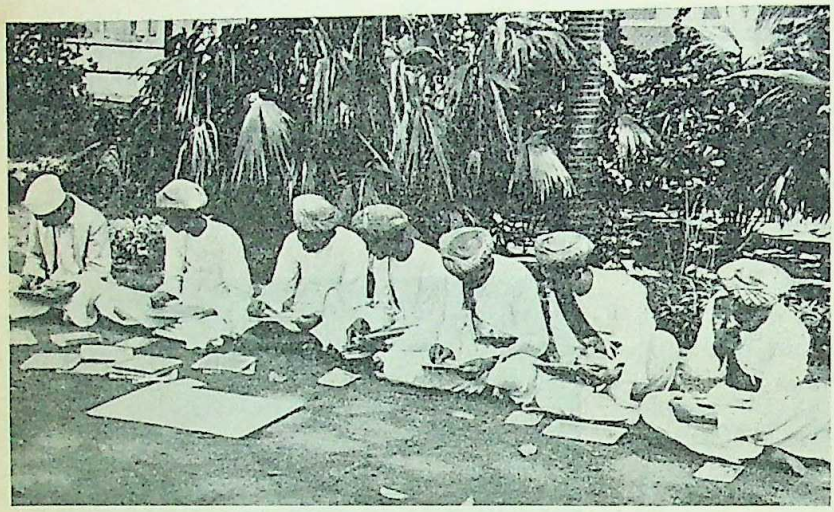
only Rs. 8. There is no wonder that under such circumstances one-third of the world's illiterate population lives in India.

What are the causes that led to the present position? It is a notorious fact that Lord



Peons in the Secretariat learning the alphabets during the lunch hour

Macaulay, who was largely responsible for shaping the Educational policy of the Government of India, wanted to create a class

"who may be interpreters between us and the millions whom we govern, a class of persons Indian in blood and colour, but English in taste, in opinions, in morals and in intellect."

The object of the Government was to impart education to a class of persons who would serve as public servants. This becomes clear from a letter written by the Rt. Hon'ble the Earl of Ellenborough, on 28th April, 1858, to the Chairman and the Deputy Chairman of the East India Company:

"I believe, we rarely, if ever, induce parents above the lower class to send their children to our schools, and we should practically, if we succeeded in extending education as we desire, give a high degree of mental cultivation to the labouring class, while we left the more wealthy in ignorance.

"This result would not tend to create a healthy state of society. Our government could not offer to the most educated of the lower class the means of gratifying the ambition we should excite.

"We should create a very discontented body of poor persons, having through the superior education we had given to them, a great power over the mass of people.

"Education and civilisation may descend from the higher to the inferior classes, and so communicated may impart new vigour to the community, but that will never descend from the lower classes to those above them. They can only, if imparted solely to the lower classes, lead to general convulsion, of which foreigners would be the first victims.

"*If we desire to diffuse education, let us endeavour to give to the higher classes first.*" (Italics mine).

Imperialism knows that an educated nation will never be a subject nation. And to keep a nation in subjugation it is necessary to deprive it of education. It is to perpetuate Imperialism that the British Government adopted a policy which would deprive the masses of education.

The late Mr. Gokhale was the pioneer in the field of mass education in India. But a dependent country naturally looks at every problem from the national point of view. So it is not surprising if from the third decade of the nineteenth century almost to this day all our leaders have been talking of National Education. And these national ideals of education were responsible for the birth and growth of Aligarh University, D. A. V. College, Lahore, Benares Hindu University and a large number of Ashrams. Though these efforts have borne some fruits, in the very nature of things they could not spread education to the masses.

"India has deliberately chosen democracy as the path of political and civic development. If we are to work out our choice to its logical conclusions, and fix our political destiny, democracy in India must be rooted in the masses of India. The man in the street and in the field must become as much imbibed with civic, political and national consciousness as the members of a ministerial cabinet; democracy could not otherwise be safe. Above all the purity of a democratic government can only be maintained by a constant contact with the by enlightened masses, who can follow, guide, criticise and initiate."

Therefore, Dr. Syed Mahmud, the able and ambitious Educational Minister of Bihar inaugurated a mass literacy campaign on 2nd April, 1937. Literacy classes were opened even inside the prisons. According to Dr. Mahmud himself literacy has effected "a transformation in the mental and spiritual outlook of the prisoners." In response to Dr. Mahmud's appeal industrial magnates of the province have also interested themmselves in the movement. Tata Iron and Steel Company have opened a network of literacy classes in Jamshedpur. A good number of Sugar Mill owners have also opened literacy centres. Dr. Syed Mahmud claims that so far illiteracy has been wiped out at least in 4,000 villages in Bihar. The Mass Literacy Committee of Bihar can rightly

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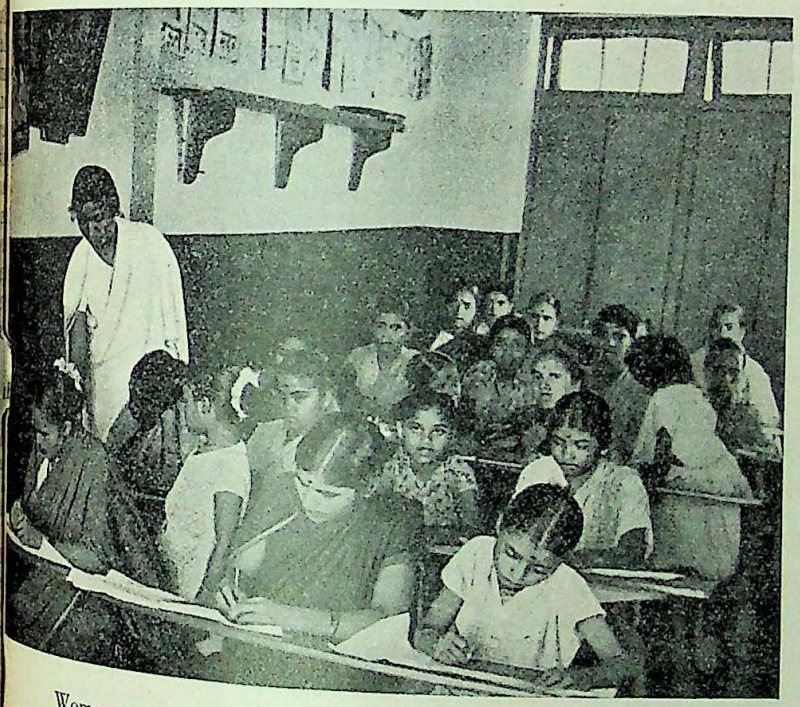
e proud of its achievements. Between Nov-ber 1938 and March 1939 it ran as many 8479 literacy centres in the Province. In all e centres a total number of 3,19,983 male ults consisting of 1,93,994 caste Hindus, 657 Harijans, 27,342 Muslims and 71,550 sons belonging to other communities, received struction under 15,926 teachers of whom 593 were teachers and 5,331 non-teacher unteers, mostly students of secondary ools. As many as 5,076 prisoners in jails e made literate. Of these 150 prisoners luding three females passed the Upper and er Primary examinations conducted by the rtment of Education. With a view to see literates do not lapse into illiteracy after



Women were no less enthusiastic than men in taking advantage of the literacy classes

ort time, the Provincial Mass Literacy mittee is publishing a fortnightly journal d *Roshani* which would be supplied to literates.

The next to start literacy campaign was the d Provinces on 15th April, 1939. In this ce even the Governor, Sir Harry Haig, d the Literacy Pledge, promising

make at least one man or woman literate within one r to pay Rs. 2, the minimum cost of making an adult literate."

It is said that more than half a million ple took the pledge. Adult literacy com-es have been formed in 48 districts of the

In Bombay, 314 men and 173 women per thousand are literate. Mr. B. G. Kher at a public meeting held on April 4, 1939 which was presided over by Sir Roger Lumley, Governor of Bombay said :

"Ignorance is the root cause of many of the evils from which our country suffers. Let our slogan be hundred per cent literacy in two years so that the Census Report of 1941 may record figures which will be the envy of the whole country."

During the month of May the Bombay Social Service League ran 573 literacy classes in the city in collaboration with the Bombay Adult Education Committee. Before the classes were actually opened meetings had been held, processions taken out and placards and posters exhibited with a view to create public opinion. Fortunately the response from the public was encouraging and the classes were attended by more than 10,000 pupils. A few classes were also exclusively opened for women. In these classes it was a common sight to see mothers and daughters learning their lessons together.

The Poona Central Co-operative Bank have opened about 25 Adult Education classes in the villages where they have their branches. A scheme of pupil-teachers' home classes has been opened in Satara district where about 50 grown up pupils of the local primary schools instruct about 200 adult members. The experiment has been a grand success. Hence it is proposed to organise about 4,00 pupils from the Secondary schools in Poona to do literacy work. The pupil-teachers have played a great part in building up the People's Education Movement in China. For instance, in the 200 Duke villages in Kwagtong, there were 200 school children in 1934, who taught 2,000 villagers of whom 1,500 were girls and women. The pupil-teachers in China have been particularly of great service in making girls and women literate. We may as well learn from their experience.

Every province is trying to solve the problem of illiteracy in its own way. The Punjab has a novel scheme. The Punjab Government are going to embark upon a literacy drive in co-

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operation with Anjuman-i Himayat-Islam, the Sanatana Dharma Sabha, D.A.V. College Managing Committee, the Khalsa Diwan, the Moga Mission and the Ahrar Mission. The services of those literate boys, who are between the ages of 12 and 18 and whose parents have no desire to send them to school any further, will be asked to work as literacy volunteers. After giving a short training these boys will be asked to tour their respective districts as literacy messengers and organise literacy classes. The Government also wish to make every student from the seventh to the B.A. classes enjoying a freeship or stipend undertake to make at least two adults literate in a year. What surprises me is that the provincial government have set up only Rs. 1,40,000 as the cost of the scheme. The amount is too small and one may even question the right of the government to impose work only on boys who are enjoying scholarships.

But mere literacy is not enough. No nation can progress culturally, educationally, economically and politically without an educated public; and a mere literate adult or child can never be classed as an educated person. It is one thing to be able to read and write one's name and quite a different thing to understand and derive inspiration from books. If a literate adult is not educated even to the extent of reading and understanding the daily newspaper, the labour that has been spent to be literate is gone in vain.

It is a common knowledge that a literate adult or boy lapses into illiteracy very soon for lack of proper atmosphere and the necessary readable matter. According to the *Hartog Committee Report* (pp. 45-49), during the ye 1927-28, 3,986,924 children attended school the first five vernacular classes in India. B 50% of these boys are said to have lapsed i illiteracy within a short period of a year or tw If all the adults that are being made liter at such great labour are left to themselves should not be surprised if even within a ye they all lapse into illiteracy. Thus we see th the problem of keeping an adult literate all life is as great as of making him literate. W will have, therefore, to publish books and ma zines in simple language and on subjects wh would interest the masses most. We have consider the problem of printing and publish such books at a cost that is within the reach the miserable, poor people of India.

It is significant that the literacy campai has been launched immediately after the pr vincial autonomy had come into existence. shows that the provincial governments are al and are conscious of their duty. But this al is significant that almost all the provinc governments want this campaign to be carr on a voluntary basis. To expect the teach to do the work for a long period without a remuneration being paid to them is to dem too much of them. Of course the enthusia that both students and teachers are exhibiti at present is admirable. Is it possible to keep th enthusiasm alive for ever? If the provinci governments are really serious and anxious wipe out illiteracy they will have to loosen th purse strings. If their object is not simply keep the mouths of their critics closed they w have to make liberal grants for this purpose.

SAFETY FIRST IN INDUSTRY

Is the Industrial Worker Safer at Work than at Home?

By ANDRÉ LION

Most accidents are brought about by carelessness and ignorance. Fighting accidents in first line, means overcoming these human weaknesses. Thus the enormous advances in the industrial workers' safety made in the past quarter of a century are due especially to an untiring campaign of education and of enlightenment. This campaign has proved to be tremendously successful. In the last ten years, industrial accident frequency in the United States has been reduced 61 per cent, with the astonishing result that today a worker in a manufacturing plant is far safer at work—th at home!

Of course, every industry, every le manufacturing company must do its share this fight for safety of workers. Thus ev important plant watches intensively the re reached in this struggle and is proud of the e mounting degree of safety it has obtai Westinghouse, one of the large American co panies with nineteen plants and thirty-s service departments in the United States, claimed a reduction of 33 per cent in lost ti

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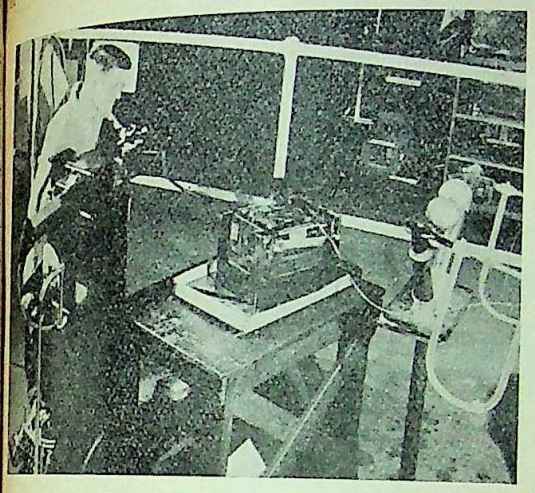
ents for 1938 compared with 1937, and ns another dropping of the accident fre- ency rate of 26 per cent for the first quarter 1939, in respect of the same number of



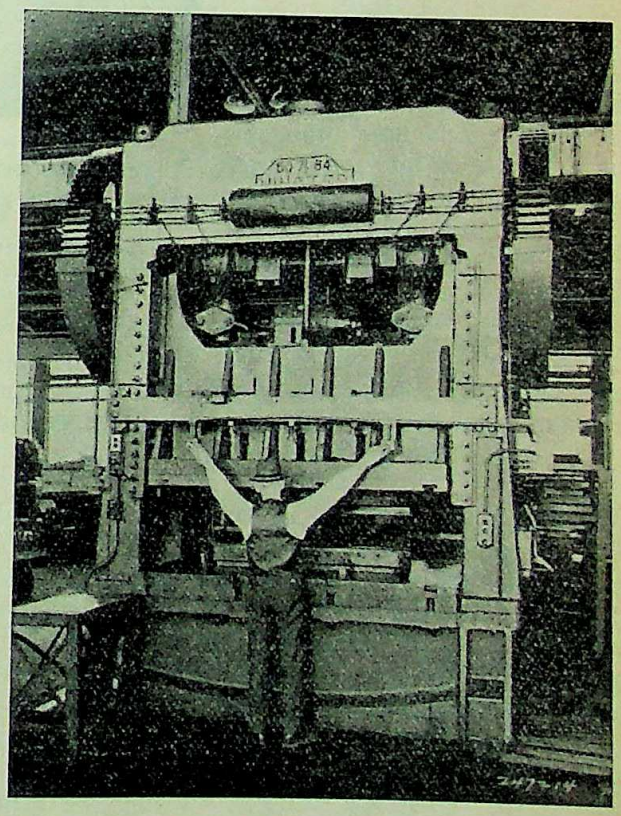
Testing a 90,000 volt, 30 milliampere portable X-Ray generator, this inspector is protected by lead glass against X-Rays, without visuality being the least obstructed

king hours. That amounts to a decrease of re than 50 per cent of the accident rate in first three months of this year compared 1937.

During these three months, only 86 acci- s have been reported in 18,907,751 hours work, corresponding to one accident in about 000 hours of work, or to an accident frequen- rate of 4.5 for every million hours. During 8, there were 365 accidents for 60,032,369 s of work, or 6.1 for every million hours. t year, only one fatal accident occurred g the 40,000 employees, resulting in an dent death rate of 2.5 per 100,000 persons. The 1938 report of the National Safety ncil of the United States shows that the accident rate in the homes of the country g the preceding year was approximately eaths for every 100,000 persons, comparable e aforesaid death rate of 2.5 per 100,000 strial workers. Thus in well managed s the worker is protected twelve times as tively against accidental death than in his e.

In the same year, according to the report e Safety Council, 4,700,000 persons were ed in their homes. On the basis of a lation of 130,000,000 and the arbitrary ption that each of them spent 16 hours y in their homes, the home accident rate about 6.2 for each one million hours spent home. On the basis of an eight-hour day comparable to a factory day, this rate would be twice as high. Comparing this number with the above mentioned accident rates of 6.1 and 4.5 per million hours of work, proves without doubt that actually today a worker is safer in a manufacturing plant than at home.

There are many means of fighting accidents in industry and the best way to bring the accident rate down is to mobilize all of them simultaneously. Providing safety guards on machines, even fool-proof ones, is only one move in this battle. A noteworthy reduction of accidents may be attributed most largely to safety education than to mechanical devices. For that reason Westinghouse publishes a monthly *Safety News* to which all plants contribute information and suggestions for safer working habits and environments. Full time safety supervisors do their part in lowering the accident rate. Foremen and workmen are being educated to co-operate with the management and safety committee men in constant vigilance



This worker must use both hands to operate the giant press, thus protecting himself against injury by stopping the machine automatically as soon as he removes one of his hands

for unsafe working practices. In regularly scheduled conferences, foremen study and discuss accident-prevention measures, devise new

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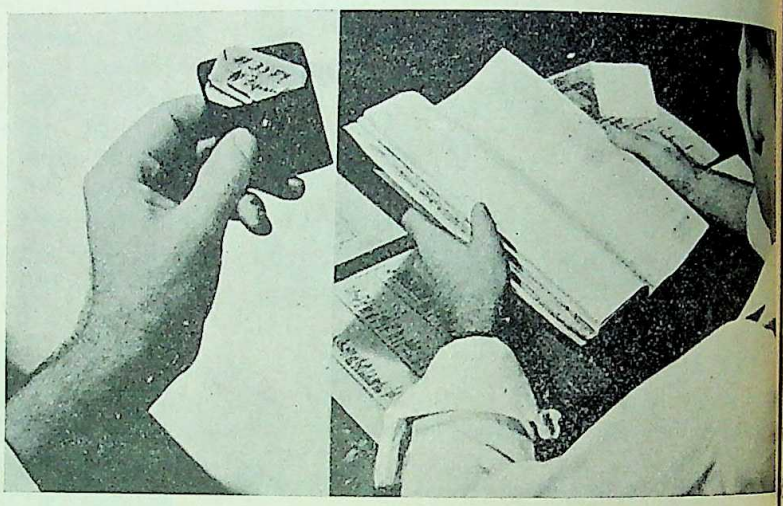
ways for making safety a habit. Rallies, prize drawings, stunts, all stressing safety, today are popular features in many plants. Safety patrols make unannounced inspections, offering helpful suggestions and noting that proper guards and protective clothing are used.

To create an initial interest in safety, is comparatively easy but the problem of sustaining that interest is rather difficult. The most common and most effective reminders are signs and displays, encouraging simple means of precaution. Pictures show comfortably fitted glasses or shoes to escape eye and foot injuries; or depict, as an awful warning, the frightful consequences of neglecting safety directions; or show authentic examples of life or health saving devices, such as cracked glasses which saved the eyesight of a worker, thus telling a convincing story.

Special protective clothing for hazardous occupations, such as asbestos suits and helmets for welders and steel polishers, and adequate safety devices and warning signals in danger zones, are foremost among the provisions for industrial safety. As the safety rate of a manufacturing plant depends to a great extent upon environment, good house-keeping is an important part of the safety program. A place for everything and everything in its place should be an essential plant rule for safety and efficiency.

Safety supervision means providing not only safeguards and striking posters but a healthful working environment as well. It entails the acquisition of adequate knowledge in regard to air pollution, general sanitation, personal hygiene, the dangers of blood poisoning or the venomousness of liquids or gases used in special industrial processes, the importance of washing hands before eating, the risks of smoking or drinking liquor during working hours. And there are still many who have not yet realized that poisonous liquids should not be kept in beer bottles.

Damaged or inadequate electrical installation still is a constant source of danger, as well as repairing motors and electrical installation without switching off the power circuit. The same apparently harmless electrical circuit may pass through a careless worker's body a thousand times without doing any harm. Some day it may kill him because his body conditions are different on account of over-exertion, perspiration, or an accelerated heart throbbing, thus decreasing his power of resistance. What is true of electric current, holds good for any shaft or wheel or piston, for any reciprocating or revolving machine part: The slightest negligence may lead to most serious results.



An excellent measure of protecting employees engaged in testing X-Ray tubes and in similar work, is to oblige each operator to carry a small photographic film, similar to those used by dentists, sensitive to X-Ray exposure. The films are developed weekly and filed in a special record book under the employee's name

For that reason machine operators should wear no rings; girls should wear head kerchiefs to prevent entangling of the hair with revolving machine parts; measuring or cleaning of fast running machine parts should never be tolerated.

Foot accidents during the last years have been reduced sweepingly by a continuous campaign for wearing safety shoes. Explosion hazards may be reduced by assigning to one man in each plant full responsibility for the operation and maintenance of ovens and furnaces.

The number of eye accidents in plants have been reduced and, in many factories, entirely eliminated by compulsory wearing of goggles in those divisions where the eyes are endangered by rays or by small spurting particles. Large glass protects workers and inspectors against X-Rays without obstructing visuality. An excellent means to protect employees engaged in testing X-Ray tubes and in doing similar work is to oblige each operator to carry a small photographic film, similar to those used by dentists, sensitive to X-Ray exposure.

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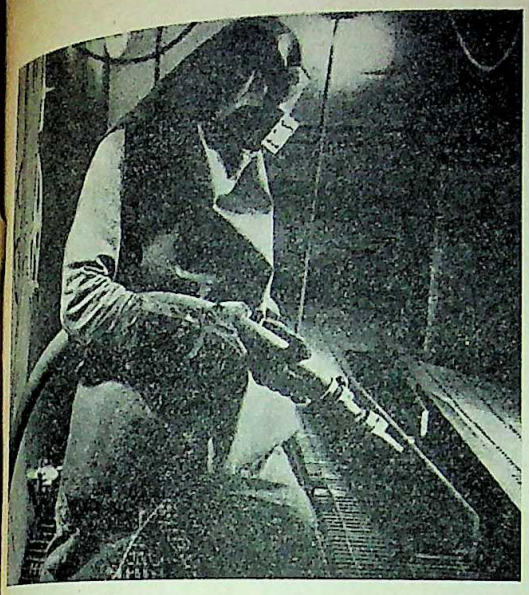

Helmeted and clad like a medieval warrior, this man is protected against dust and bodily injury while aiming steel shot in polishing metal parts

Weekly these films are developed and filed under the employee's name in a record book.

There is an innumerable number of safety devices, especially automatic safety guards on dangerous machines, particularly fast running ones. Some mechanical safeguards are simple, as that which prevents the machine from operating unless two buttons are pushed simultaneously, which obviously makes certain that the operator's hands are well out of harm's way. Others are more complex, such as strap-and-pulley apparatus which tugs at bands on the operator's wrists to make certain that her hands are clear of the machine when the die descends. Punch-press accidents have been reduced to a minimum by installing sweep arm devices on all presses permitting their installation. Often, the photo-electric cell has been enlisted for safety service, standing watchful guard over the operator's hands by keeping the power circuit open so that the machine cannot operate when hands cross the beam.

But any man-made safety device may fail and thus the best protection against industrial accidents is an unconscious, habitual, automatic observance of every safety regulation. Often, one fateful second's experience provides a better lesson than hours of warning lectures and miles of regulations and directions.

New York.

CONGRESS DISCIPLINE AND DISCIPLINARY ACTION

With reference to your Note in your August number on "Criticism of Congress and Congress Committees," please allow me to ask the following questions :

(1) Was not the action of the seven members of the Working Committee, who are still in it, in issuing a manifesto in their names *as members of the Working Committee* and requesting Congress members to vote for a particular candidate for the Presidentship, an act of indiscipline, in view of the fact that they were not authorized to do so by the Working Committee or by the President ?

(2) Is not the famous resolution of the A. I. C. C. asking the President to select his Working Committee on the recommendation of Mr. Gandhi, which is directly against the clear Rule of the Congress empowering the President to select his own Working Committee, a similar act of indiscipline ?

(3) Was not the action of the A. I. C. C., held in Calcutta, in electing the President without accepting the nomination of Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose, who then held the office, clearly illegal ?

(4) Was not the conduct of the president of the meeting of the A. I. C. C. held in Calcutta in not allowing well-known public men and members of the said Committee to speak on the question of the resignation of Sj. Bose, against the elementary rule of democracy ?

(5) Who is now the President of the Congress, Dr. Rajendra Prosad, or Sj. Bose whose resignation has not yet been accepted ?

(6) Why has not the resolution of the Working Committee, accepting Dr. Rajendra Prasad's award regarding the Bengalees in Bihar been given effect to so long ? Is it an example of loyalty ?

(7) Is the resolution of the A. I. C. C. taking away the right of the Provincial Congress Committees of criticising the Congress Ministers in their respective Provinces, less imperialistic than the declaration of various Congress bodies illegal by the British Government ?

(8) Is criticising the resolution of the Congress, A. I. C. C. or the Working Committee an act of indiscipline on the part of Congressmen ? If so why ?

(9) Is the order of the President to stop agitation for criticising the resolution or resolutions of the Working Committee of the Congress, binding on a Congress member, if such criticism is otherwise valid ?

(10) Is not the disciplinary action of the A. I. C. C. against Sj. Bose for criticising its resolutions similar to the judgment of a person deciding his own case in his own favour ? Why was not this question referred to the Congress ?

I request the general public to insist on clear answers being given to the above questions supported by reasons. In case no answers be forthcoming, Congressmen of different provinces should give timely notice of motions to the coming Congress. I also request that none should have recourse to British Courts for solutions of these questions, though there may be every chance of most of the above questions being decided against the Working Committee's views. If Congressmen sleep over the matter, how can they expect the country to come under the Congress flag when a large section of the public believe that the Working Committee and the A. I. C. C. are drifting away from Congress principles and have inflicted unjust punishment on certain persons.

Rishindranath Sarkar

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JULY 4TH AND JANUARY 26TH

By H. W. BOULTER

It is July 4th, and I have just returned from the movies whither I went to escape the noise attendant upon young America's celebration of its independence. The feature picture was a stirring story of heroism on the Gold Coast in Africa. It was very real heroism, too.

Heroism in South Africa may seem like a far cry to the celebration of America's day of independence—and a still farther cry to India's day of independence, January 26th. But I shall come back to that picture later.

This is the second time that on July fourth I have been moved to write of India and her brave struggle for independence. *The Modern Review* published that first article—to my very great surprise and still greater gratification. It was written in a burst of righteous indignation, and was absolutely sincere—and thoroughly emotional. This present writing is equally sincere. The difference is that since 1937 I have been doing little else but read of India and her bloodless fight for freedom, the years that led up to that fight, and the great men who are leading it.

For two years I have immersed myself in the study of Indian politics, past and present. Having done so, I humbly realize that the Indian question should be the study of a lifetime, and needs far greater knowledge of the problems of economics, the intricacies of diplomacy and their interrelation than I could ever hope to claim. Nevertheless, because I do feel even more than before the righteous indignation which led me to write two years ago, and because I am a citizen of one of the few genuine democracies left on this earth (if there are any such !), I am once more writing on the same day and on the same subject.

Since I am this time writing very definitely with *The Modern Review* in mind, it would be rank presumption on my part to attempt any interpretation of the Indian question. This is written as a humble tribute to some of the men and ideals that I have been reading of during the past two years. Also through the medium of the printed word I am going to make a serious request of India. That is where my opening remarks will come in. But not yet.

Every human being probably feels that his or her peculiar experiences in life are absolutely unique. Few are willing to admit that any number of other people may have had approximately the same chances to know a little more than someone else on any given subject—especially if it is a really interesting subject. I am no different from the rest of the herd. Therefore I cannot help feeling that I, as an American woman of no particular importance, have been unusually fortunate and more or less unique in having a very large circle of Indian friends and acquaintances. True, I have never had the good fortune to visit India. That still remains an unfulfilled dream. But living right here in New York, I have been permitted to take a fairly active part in the doings of the Hindu community. This is not intended to read like boasting, nor do I claim any gratitude for the little I may have been able to accomplish. On the contrary, I feel that I am myself the debtor.

What I have done is actually a little secretarial work on a volunteer basis, for an organization which has been recently established here, and which is quite an active society doing a great deal of good. Through that work I have come to know the Indians in and around New York far more intimately than anyone possibly could by purely social contacts.

And the experience has been delightful, stimulating and quite an eye-opener. To me often I notice that the reaction of Americans to reading or hearing about outstanding Indians, men like Tagore, Gandhi, Patel, Nehru, is that they must be exceptions to the general rule—which rule seems to be the accepted British version of Hindu men and affairs. Now, of course, obviously all the men I have mentioned *are* exceptions—just as George Washington, Thomas Jefferson, Abraham Lincoln and other outstanding Americans are exceptions to the general run of Americans. We know that we were all of us of the same metal as they—but we are not. Nor do we hesitate to admit it. And the Hindus need not hesitate to make a like admission concerning the wide difference between men like Mahatma Gandhi, Jawaharlal Nehru and some other very great men, and the ordinary run of humanity in India.

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There never was a nation composed exclusively of exceptionally great men. The trouble is that there has been spread abroad a very vicious sort of notion that it is an indication of *racial* inferiority that in India there should be discrepancies between the greatest and the ordinary. Curiously enough that notion has been unquestioned. It has been swallowed whole by people who ought to be able to think too straight to be fooled by any such propaganda.

But having allowed themselves to be so fooled, most people meet Hindus with reservations in their minds. If they like a Hindu they think he must be "exceptional"—if they don't—it is because he is a Hindu. Which is manifestly absurd. They construct barriers where there are none. And they miss a good deal. After reading that remarkable book, the autobiography of Jawarhalal Nehru, or his letters to his daughter, published as *Glimpses of World History*—I did not expect the next Hindu I met here in New York to be a second Nehru! When he turned out to be just a very nice gentleman, much like many other nice gentlemen, I was not disappointed. I did not put him down as an inferior person simply because he did not measure up to so high a standard. I felt that he and I were on the same plane—except that he had had a more varied experience than I, and was consequently more interesting.

When I did meet two really outstanding Indians, I realized that they stood out just as much from the rest of humanity here, as they did in India. It has been my very great privilege to meet two such men recently. One of them is still living here in this country, Syud Hossain, the eminent writer and lecturer, who has been busily and most effectively working for years to counteract British propaganda in the United States. A more brilliant man it would be hard to find anywhere. The other great Indian whom I have met recently has since passed on, Lala Har Dayal. To have known him even so slightly as I did is a memorable experience—one bound to make a lasting impression upon anyone. I feel that I am even glad that I met Lala Har Dayal when I did, at the end of his career. For he gave me the impression of one who had grown with the years. The fiery zeal of his younger days had by that time been converted from a raging conflagration of rebellion to a steady glow of courage with which to face all things everywhere. His interest had widened to include all the world, and he was himself the perfect example of what I heard him say was his ideal for the future, "a worthy citizen of the world, combining in himself the best of all cultures."

But the point I would like to stress is that even after meeting personally such men as these, the plain Hindu business men, the younger writers and lecturers—patriots all, who may well be Syud Hossains and Lala Har Dayals in the making—are never disappointing. It is heartening to know such a splendid group of people. It makes one feel that India is no land of the past—with nothing to offer the world but her past glories. By which I do not mean to belittle that past and its offering. God forbid! Few countries can boast a past like that of India. Few countries can offer to the world anything so magnificent as the Vedas, the philosophy of Buddha, or the great epics, the Ramayana and the Mahabharata. But it is nevertheless true that India has suffered greatly from a tendency to live in the past. Under the circumstances, it is most natural for her to do so by way of compensating for her present woes. But it is encouraging to meet young, thoroughly modern, forward-thinking Hindus—who yet profit, every one of them, by their ancient heritage, without living at all in the past.

On January 26th, 1938, it so happened that at the customary celebration in New York of India's Declaration of Independence, there was no Hindu lady available to read the Declaration. Here in this city it had always been a Hindu lady who performed that duty. That year, for I forget what reason, no one of them could attend the function. In the "emergency," I, who had made the thoroughly feminine gesture of showing my respect for India by dressing in sari to attend that meeting, was asked to read the Declaration of Independence. I was totally unprepared to do any such thing. I was none too sure of my pronunciation of the few Hindustani words. A friend kindly coached me for a few moments, and in a sort of daze I walked out on the platform and read that most solemn, moving and brave document.

Forever after, that date will be a sacred day for me. Just as sacred as today. Perhaps even more so. For India is still struggling in the noblest manner for the independence she so bravely declared—whereas America has achieved hers, and is firmly and safely ensconced among the great powers.

Recently as I read the Indian papers and follow the doings of the Congress I notice a likeness between the rifts and dissensions now

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appearing within the Congress, and the rifts and dissensions that nearly wrecked the American Continental Congress in the very early days of this country. At first I was terribly disturbed by these dissensions. For the truly remarkable unity of the Indian Congress has been one of its most striking features up to now. But more recently I have come to feel that possibly these disagreements are a healthy sign—like the "growing pains" that old-fashioned people here tell you all adolescents suffer from. And, old though it may be in actual years, from the point of active politics the Indian National Congress is still growing. That is not meant to be patronizing. It is a plain fact that only recently has the Congress spoken with any real authority and responsibility. Which fact Jawaharlal Nehru points out in an article which I read the other day. And so I feel that there is no cause for alarm. Congress will weather this storm. Essentially it is still a strongly united body.

And now I am coming to the end. Which means that I am going back to the beginning. Propaganda, to be effctive, must be subtle. It must be widespread. And it must never be beyond the comprehension of the masses. I very much fear that some of the pro-Indian propaganda that is used in this country is too academic for the great mass of my fellow-countrymen, and is also too obviously propaganda. There has been plenty of very open pro-British propaganda on the Indian question, God knows. But within the last few years there has been a more subtle and very widespread form. I refer to the many moving pictures, not only of India, but of other parts of the Empire, of which the one I saw this evening was an excellent sample. Some are British made films, some are from Hollywood—but with British "technical directors." They are all of them diabolically clever in one respect. Even I, who am thoroughly pro-Indian in my sympathies, cannot witness these pictures portraying the heroism of the various "services" without a thrill. Because, they do invariably select such awfully nice young men and women to play the British parts! The stories are all so constructed that you cannot help being temporarily in sympathy with these brave young people who are ready to lay down their lives for the sake of duty—and usually in such extraordinarily romantic situations. The "natives" are invariably so drawn that all the good ones are on the side of the British—and the others are such unmitigated scoundrels that no decent person could possibly sympathise with them. They are pictured as given up to every form of debauchery and vice, cruelty of the most fiendish variety, and loathsome treachery. Reason takes a vacation while you are in the theatre—and I strongly suspect that with the majority of the audience it never goes back on the job!

I understand from various sources that India is the second largest producer of moving pictures in the world, Hollywood being the first. I do most earnestly wish that a definite campaign would be started to *flood* this country with good, well produced, exciting pictures from India, which should every one of them portray Indian Nationalists as *heroes*. They would have to be very clever pictures. They must be the type of story that would appeal to the average movie-goer. That means an intelligence not above 14 years old or so, I am told. It would mean a careful study of the sort of picture that is popular here. There would have to be a regular bureau of research on this side—co-operating with the producers in India. It would be very wise to engage the services of some of the lecturers and writers here whose whole lives are given to propaganda. To popularise the Indian side in the struggle would not be at all impossible—it would only mean playing up certain qualities that particularly appeal to the American imagination. The propaganda in these pictures must be implied, not open. It must be inherent in the stories, and in the characters. Just as the British propaganda is inherent in the stories, and in the characters of the movies recently so popular here, pictures such as "Drums," "Gunga Din," "Wee Willy Winky," and others.

Then having begun this work, it could be carried a step farther. Send over here pictures and stories to show how important a factor in the policy of the Empire India really is. Scotch this idea that the whole matter is an internal affair of the British Empire, not affecting the rest of the world. All the serious articles in the world will, I fear, not make half the impression that one really thrilling movie picture could make. It is sad, but true. America is becoming more and more a nation that thinks with her eyes—not her brain. We Indians, who are accustomed to the purely intellectual approach to life, are apt to forget that the rest of the world lags far behind us in this respect. We have not the philosophic tradition here. Concord—the Concord of Emerson and Thoreau—is a thing of the past and it was never typically American.

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genius is of another kind. We are a terribly and terrifyingly practical people. In our own phrase we are "from Missouri"—which, for the same reason that I for one have never comprehended, means that we must be shown before we can believe. That refers of course to the masses of Americans. There are many there who are capable of using their brains, and are in the habit of doing so. But, just as in India it is the masses that count—so it is here. If you want Americans to realize that your problem is a world problem—and hence their own—you will have to "show" them. If you want Americans to realize that India is not in the need of British rule to keep it going—you will have to "show" them. And the very best possible method of so doing is by appealing not to the intelligence of the few who can understand such matters—but to the eyes and ears of the many, who won't understand at all but *will feel*. For Americans are warm-hearted.

In other words, appeal in the most direct manner to the warm-hearts, the emotions of the masses. After all, emotion is a most useful thing. It is the moving force back of many an intellectual attainment. I do not see any reason to scorn the appeal to the emotions, providing it is a just appeal to the right emotions.

And surely, an appeal for common, elementary justice is a righteous appeal. I am glad and proud that I can be moved by my love for justice, so that, on this fourth of July, the day set aside to celebrate the independence of my own beloved country, I can think with equal emotion of the struggle still going on in India to attain that same independence. I am glad and proud that two days are linked inseparably in my mind and heart—the fourth of July and the twenty-sixth of January. And it is my earnest prayer that the latter date may soon stand for the accomplished fact. And so I close, by saying in all sincerity of heart, and with all reverence—

Bandé Mātaram.

LORD DURHAM'S REPORT AND CANADIAN SELF-GOVERNMENT

By EDWARD THOMPSON

On February 11th, 1839, the House of Commons received a Report on the Affairs of British North America, by the Earl of Durham, to be printed. This Report is the greatest document in the history of the British Empire, and marked a departure from the procedure of every other Empire that the world had known. Had it saved Canada from being lost to the Empire, as the United States had been lost seventy years previously, and it changed British thinking about imperial matters. Not all at once, of course. But this was its ultimate effect.

A hundred years ago, the common opinion of British statesmen concerning colonies was that they had strategic value and economic and finance value, but that they were an expense and would secede, as the United States had seceded, and as Spain's colonies in South America had seceded. You could postpone the day of secession, by firmness and wise conciliation, but it was bound to come. Colonies, therefore, were viewed with despair and resignation.

The problem became ripe first in Canada, and in Canada the problem was beset with special difficulties and complications. There were two Canadas, in more senses than one: Upper and Lower Canada, British and French Canada, Conservative and Radical Canada. Lower Canada—the seaboard and lower course of the River St. Lawrence—had been long settled, mainly by the French, and had been conquered when Quebec fell to the British, in 1759. It has been described as 'a relic of the historical past preserved, by isolation, as Siberian mammoths are preserved in ice.' It contained, 'in solid and unyielding mass, above a million of unassimilated and politically antagonistic Frenchmen.' These people were poor, they were European and Old-World in outlook; they were Catholics, and kept to old fashioned ways. They disliked the new vigorous British settlers, on the great Lakes of Upper Canada, and they disliked almost more the people of the United States to the south, whom they regarded as people with dangerous republican and radical tendencies.

Upper Canada, a vast wilderness beside the Great Lakes, was being settled by vigorous men and women from Europe and from the

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United States. These settlers did not all think and feel alike. Among them were many naval and military officers, who had small means or small pensions, and had gone there to have a fuller freer life; but wanted that life to be as far as possible like the life of the upper classes in England. They were intensely conservative in outlook, and they viewed with deep suspicion the many Irishmen and English Radicals who were settling in Canada, and still more the many citizens of the United States who crossed the border, to make new homes in Canada. Another element of strong conservatism was furnished by the descendants of the Loyalists, the men and women who had left the United States during and immediately after a Revolution, rather than lose their British citizenship. They had already a strong consciousness of Canadian nationality, as well as of British nationality. Both in the wars of the Revolution, and in the British-American War of 1812, American armies had tried to conquer Canada, and had been beaten back by small British forces, magnificently supported by the Loyalists. Upper Canada, then, though it held a large Radical population, which was impatient of the restrictions and class-feeling and snobbery of Europe and held also a large population of former United States citizens, who wanted Canada to join the United States, contained as its controlling element these Conservative and pro-British groups that I have indicated. It was divided into what were called Loyalists and Reformers; and the Reformers contained every shade of opinion, from fiercely Republican opinion, that wanted complete separation from Great Britain, to Moderates who wanted only responsible self-government inside the Empire.

You will easily see then, that, if passions rose high enough, there was a good chance of civil war, of several kinds. And in the winter of 1837, civil war came; and after dying down, flared up briefly again, in the summer of 1838. In Lower Canada, French inhabitants attacked the British settlements in their midst. In Upper Canada, the more extreme Reformers, aided vigorously by discontented Irishmen and by bands of marauders from the United States, rose in arms. These two rebellions were put down fairly soon and without much bloodshed. This, however, was largely due to Canadian statesmen. Robert Baldwin, the leader of the Moderate Reformers, met William Lyon Mackenzie, the leader of the Rebels, privately, when he invaded Canada with a band of United States sympathisers, and tried hard to persuade him not to begin a civil war. Baldwin failed. But he did not fail in his major aim, which was to win self-government for Canada, and he and other patriots not only managed to prevent the civil war from becoming serious, but when it was over they persuaded the British Government—through Lord Durham—that Canada was entitled to responsible government (this was the name given to what was demanded). Some years afterwards, William Lyon Mackenzie, the Canadian leader of the Rebellion, came back to spend his last years in Canada, and admitted that his rebellion had been mistaken and unnecessary.

A few brave and decided men, who were determined that Canada should remain in the British Empire and should win responsible government, achieved both ends. And one wise man, the President of the United States prevented war between his country and Great Britain. United States citizens played a large part in the Rebellion. They ran arms across the border, and in particular an American vessel, the *Caroline,* openly carried men and weapons over the St. Lawrence, a little above Niagara Falls. Then, one dark night, a band of Canadians crossed to the American shore, cut out the *Caroline* from her moorings, drew her into open water, away from the ice, and set her on fire. She was a superb spectacle, as she drove towards the Niagara Falls, her stores of gunpowder exploding. This daring act was of course an infringement of American sovereignty. Public opinion in the United States became inflamed, and there was a clamour for war. But the United States President, Martin Van Buren, refused to yield to this clamour. The *Caroline,* though she was taken from the United States side of the river, had been engaged in open interference—what we now call intervention—in the affairs of another country. The matter was therefore settled diplomatically.

Another feature of the Rebellion's failure seems to me to have been generally overlooked. United States citizens built what they styled Hunters' Lodges, along the Canadian border—the quarry they were hunting was the British Empire—and from these Lodges sallied over to engage in irregular warfare. They called themselves 'Liberators.' They said they came to release the Canadians from 'bondage.' But what did Canadians themselves think? Remember, it was 1838; and 1838 was the year when, after prolonged agitation and struggle, the British people did the best action in their history, and set the example of abolishing slavery. These Liberators came from a country which not only had slaves, but

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had no intention of ceasing to have slaves. Canadians preferred not to accept liberation from such hands. They had gone to Canada to enjoy a full free vigorous life, and they thought rather well of themselves—not only in comparison with the citizens of the United States, but also, it must be confessed, in comparison with the citizens of England. As a Canadian historian has remarked :

> 'If we have not the wealth of England, neither have its landed oligarchy, to crush down the industrial classes; if we lack the population and cotton-fields of the United States, we also lack.....its slaves.'

Make no mistake about it. Moral issues matter. We may shut our eyes to what is coming, but the Universe does not shut its eyes. Those words in the Upanishads are eternally true :

> 'As surely as a calf will find out its mother in a thousand cows, so surely will an evil deed find out its doer.'

Historians tell you why the Canadian rebellions failed. But they do not tell you that the chief reason, as can be proved from contemporary documents, was that Canadians felt that they themselves were superior to the self-appointed Liberators who came uninvited from the south. They belonged to an Empire which was at last cleansing itself of slavery greatest crime in man's long history. They preferred to remain in that Empire.

What about the Durham Report, and the man whose name is attached to it ? Lord Durham was a Whig peer, and in England was considered a dangerous Radical. He and his friends were leaders in the English struggle for Reform Bill, by which there was a great extension of the franchise, and modern England began. His opinions went further than the British Cabinet approved, and it seemed a good idea to send him to Canada, to settle the rebellion and to draw up a report on what should be done. Canada was a long way off, and he could do no harm there. He might, he was a clever fellow, draw up some good suggestions; and anyway, a troublesome man would be out of the way.

The Cabinet never for one moment dreamed that he would draw up such a document as the Durham Report. Though it is often asserted that the Report was the work of his secretary, Charles Buller. Lord Durham accepted responsibility for it, and with his name urged it on the British Cabinet.

Canada had already considerable self-government; an Executive Council, and a Legislative Assembly. But the Executive Council, who were nominated, were independent of the elected Assembly, and the Governor had control of patronage and public expenditure. This did not satisfy Canadian opinion. Let me quote from Lord Durham's Report a few words which will show you what a bombshell it was, when it burst on the British Cabinet. He recommended that the administration of the Colony should be entrusted 'to such men as could command a majority.' The Governor must

> 'be given to understand that he need count on no aid from home in any difference with the Assembly, that should not directly involve the relations between the Mother Country and the Colony.....I admit that the system which I propose would, in fact, place the internal Government of the Colony in the hands of the Colonists themselves; and that we should thus leave to them the execution of the laws.....The British people of the North American Colonies are a people on whom we may safely rely, and to whom we must not grudge power.'

What a relief it is to listen to someone who is so convinced of the truth of what he has to say, that he says it with resounding clearness. In this Report, the last action of Lord Durham's life, he makes his meaning pikestaff plain. The conviction that rings through his sentences shook even men who disliked what he said, into looking again hard at what he had said. The man evidently believed what he was saying: It wasn't just one of those Reports, of the kind we know so well, which are intended merely to keep the public quiet while nothing is done.

There was still a struggle, before Canada's full responsible self-government was a reality. But the struggle was a brief one, and it was not embittered, as so many similar struggles have been, by any feelings of despair. Canadians knew that their case had been recognized as morally sound, and now all that remained was to convince *men* and to drive this conclusion home. The struggle was one that abounds in noble names, which are hardly even known outside Canada. After Lord Durham, in quick succession came four of the most interesting men, as Governors-General, whom Britain has ever sent out : Lord Sydenham, Sir Charles Bagot—a brave, witty, fascinating spirit, Charles Metcalfe, so well known in Indian history, and last of all Lord Elgin, who made responsible government a complete reality. And on the Canadian side were men whose names will never be forgotten in their own land—least of all, now that some of the very finest historical writing in the whole world is being published by the Department of History and Political and Economic Science

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in the University of Toronto, Canada. One of the battalions that came from Canada to fight for the Empire in France in the Great War carried the name of William Lyon Mackenzie, the rebel leader of a century ago.

One hundred years ago, in the British Empire the world found a new kind of empire, which started the British Empire on the road which it is still traversing. Responsible Government began what today has become Dominion Status. Are we wrong in styling the publication of the Durham Report the greatest event, and the Report the greatest document, in British Imperial History?

[This article is a full summary of a recent talk broadcast by the British Broadcasting Corporation in the Empire Programme and published exclusively in India by *The Modern Review*.]

MORAL AND SPIRITUAL RE-ARMAMENT

By MARCUS GRAY

THE name of the Moral Re-Armament Movement has given rise to some difficulty in the minds of some people. The word "moral" is used in contrast to such words as "physical" "economic" or "political"; it is not intended to convey the idea that it is a merely "moral" movement, is distinct from a "spiritual" one, for it is well known that moral ideas, however excellent, do not of themselves possess the power to make men accept them and work them out. The full name of the movement appears at the top of this article, and the accuracy of that title will be seen if we examine the aims and methods of the movement.

Moral Re-Armament (MRA) has three chief aims. These are, firstly, to get national and other leaders to listen to God, and so to lead us where we want to go; secondly, to get all the good-will in the world mobilised and formed into a public opinion that will demand a new sort of public and international life; and, thirdly, to bring individuals, by starting them to work on the tremendous problems with which we are faced today, to face those things in themselves which are part of these problems, and then to lead them to God, who alone can put them right. A word about each of these.

Leaders, in spite of the aura that often surrounds them, are not, as a rule, supermen. Their plans are liable to error in the same way as any other human plans. The main difference is that disaster on a wider scale follows the mistakes of leaders. The decisions taken by a few men round a table may mean life or death for millions. Too often in the past God has been excluded from such councils; the result is the world as we see it today. The cure is to rely on God. The only leaders who can lead properly are those who are themselves being led by God.

It is a commonplace that the vast majority of people do not want war; and yet we are on the brink of it. War, we are told, is the outcome of the policies we pursue in times of so-called peace. If that is so, then the vast majority must devote its attention to altering the policies; controlling inflammable material is better than sending for the fire-brigade after the fire has broken out. There is plenty of good-will in the world, and a great deal of readiness to work and even sacrifice for the cause of lasting peace and decent relationships between nations and between communities. MRA aims at uniting and directing creatively all the good-will that is at present ineffective.

If a doctor has influenza, he's more likely to spread the disease than to cure it. Similarly, I'm not likely to be much use in curing the world from the sickness from which it suffers: I'm an acute case of the same disease myself. The world's chief disease are hate and fear. Only people delivered from hate and fear can be of real use to the world. How can people be delivered from hate and fear? Only by God. A new world can be built only by new men and women, and only the power of God can create them. Therefore, MRA aims at bringing individuals into closer touch with the power of God, so that they may be transformed and play their part in the transformation of the world.

The methods of MRA are related to the three aims. If leaders are to be led by God then they must be assisted to get into touch with God. In the past it has too often happened that those who were in touch with God hugged to themselves the priceless gift, and

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ld not take it out of the narrow circle of their own private and personal lives. MRA insists that God has a plan for national life, that it is the only adequate plan, and that it must be applied on a national scale. For each man it means accepting national responsibility. That means assisting instead of criticising those who are actually leading my country or my city. I cannot be of much use to men I never meet; therefore MRA compels me to go out to those in positions of great responsibility in the world. That this leads to criticism is not surprising. Shooting big game is much more dangerous than shooting clay pigeons; it may also be more necessary.

A second MRA method is the method of sitting alongside people of different points of view and thinking out with them what is the best solution for each problem. This is the living, co-operative, creative solution—which is God's solution, since He is Love. Love always finds out the best in people, and MRA seeks to get the best out of both sides, since it starts with the assumption that there is good in both sides, and that the other fellow though we may not fully understand him, is as keen to arrive at a solution as we are. If we together seek to discover the will of God, something will emerge which is not my plan, and not his, but better than either.

Thirdly, MRA is an attempt to direct public opinion. How is this done? It is being done every day by the Press, the Radio, the films and various other instruments of public opinion. For a long time these have moulded public opinion along the lines of fear, prejudice and narrow patriotism. It is time that they were captured for God by those who have been delivered from hate and fear and have been delivered from hate and fear and now personal aims, and used under God's direction for the creation of a hate-free public opinion, and for the dissemination of hope rather than hate.

Fourthly, MRA seeks to discover the real causes of the troubles of the world. These are moral and spiritual, rather than political or economic. Therefore, they are to be seen not by looking outwards and seeing what is wrong with the other fellow, but by looking inwards and seeing what is wrong with himself. MRA really begins when a man sees himself before God. That means that he has to hold his life up beside the four standards of Christ, and see how it compares with them. They are Absolute Honesty, Absolute Purity, Absolute Unselfishness and Absolute Love;* one could add to the list, but an honest comparison with these is enough to show a man what is wrong with him. And then God will show him what he has to do to begin to be different. That is how a man stops being part of the world's disease and becomes part of the cure.

Finally, the simplest and most comprehensive method of MRA is just listening to the voice of God and obeying wholeheartedly. MRA began in East Ham among ordinary people, and it has swept over the world among ordinary people. The hope of the world lies in ordinary people doing extra-ordinary things because they have been set free from personal problems and disciplined under the leadership of God. One or two stories will serve to illustrate that.

Frederik Ramm was Editor of a Norwegian daily paper, and had flown over the North Pole with Amundsen. He took part in a bitter Press campaign against Denmark over territorial rights in Greenland. Later on, he apologized publicly in Denmark for this, and now he says that crossing the barriers that separate nations is more of an adventure than flying over the Pole. He has made a real contribution towards better relationships with a neighbouring nation.

Tod Sloan was a hardened Labour agitator —had given the best years of his life to fighting the class struggle. Now he sees in MRA a greater and a more worthwhile revolution, and his changed attitude is paving the way for new relations between Capital and Labour.

And here in Calcutta I know a business man who has proved that you can be honest in business—and still be in business!

MRA is a call to united action. When people listen to God, they get down to something deeper than all the things that divide, and find in the plan of God a basis for real co-operation in revolutionary action. The revolution that comes when men are re-made by God is the revolution that gives every man the liberty he needs and the discipline he needs. Such people are free to re-make the world.

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* The writer being a Christian naturally calls these the standards of Christ. But in reality they are not the monopoly on any particular religion.—Editor, *The Modern Review.*

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THE INAUGURATION OF THE YUVASALA IN CAMBODIA

On the 14th of July last, the inauguration took place of the first rest-house, expressly meant for the young, in the Far East. This "Yuvasala" was opened on that day at Siemreap, near the ruins of Angkor, the most ancient and most glorious memorial of the Khmers, under the patronage of the Resident of France, the representative of the Ecole Francaise d'Extreme-Orient and with the opportune presence of His Royal Highness Prince Suramarith.

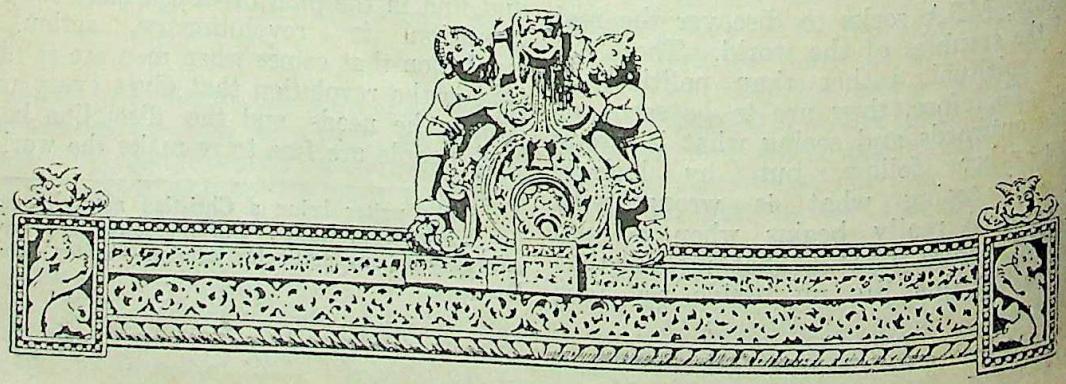
The first band of youth, 22 Cambodians and 22 Annamites, had travelled all night in auto-cars and on arrival in the early dawn had bathed a'la' cambodgienne in the baths attached to the Yuvasala. Then after a repast at the tourists' hostelry situated near the temple of Angkor Wat, the opening ceremonies started, with the national hymn being played from a phonograph. The Secretary of the Yuvasala organisation gave an excellent discourse on the aims and objects of the movement, which was followed by a bilingual speech by H. H. the Prince Suramarith. After Sunday speeches and felicitations the party along with a young and highly cultured priest went to visit the ruins of Angkor Wat.

The Yuvasala is a typical house of the Country and has been built along the most improved lines. There are dormitories for youth of both sexes, but of course, it is not expected that many young ladies of the land would overcome their natural shyness, and leave the family environment for such visits, for sometime to come yet. But this hostelry is bound to encourage the you of the country to tour and visit the glori memorials of their past and greatly pr thereby.

Besides the intellectual advancement, wh is mainly drawn from the contact of the elde there is the great advantage of a feeling comradeship growing amongst the youth of land. Further, the intellectual and phys rivalry that comes out from the mass-cont of these young men amongst themselves their elders, would most certainly result the development and enhancement of the qualities.

The Secretary in his address laid stress the above points and further he showed how youth of the town, through the medium of s Yuvasalas, may come into contact with brethren of the countryside with mutual bene And the Yuvasala would further permit student and the town-apprentice to avail the selves of a change of air at the very minim of expenses.

The situation of the first Yuvasala is ide in all these respects. Here the youth can reve in the glory of his country's past as well improve his health. As regards the building further Yuvasalas, all depends on the youth members of this new movement. If they avail themselves of the advantages offered the full, and thereby attract numbers of members then there is no doubt that in the the ultimate objective would be reached.



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Cambodian Art : Picture of a Combat

The inauguration ceremony of the "Yuvasala" at Siemreap, near the ruins of Angkor

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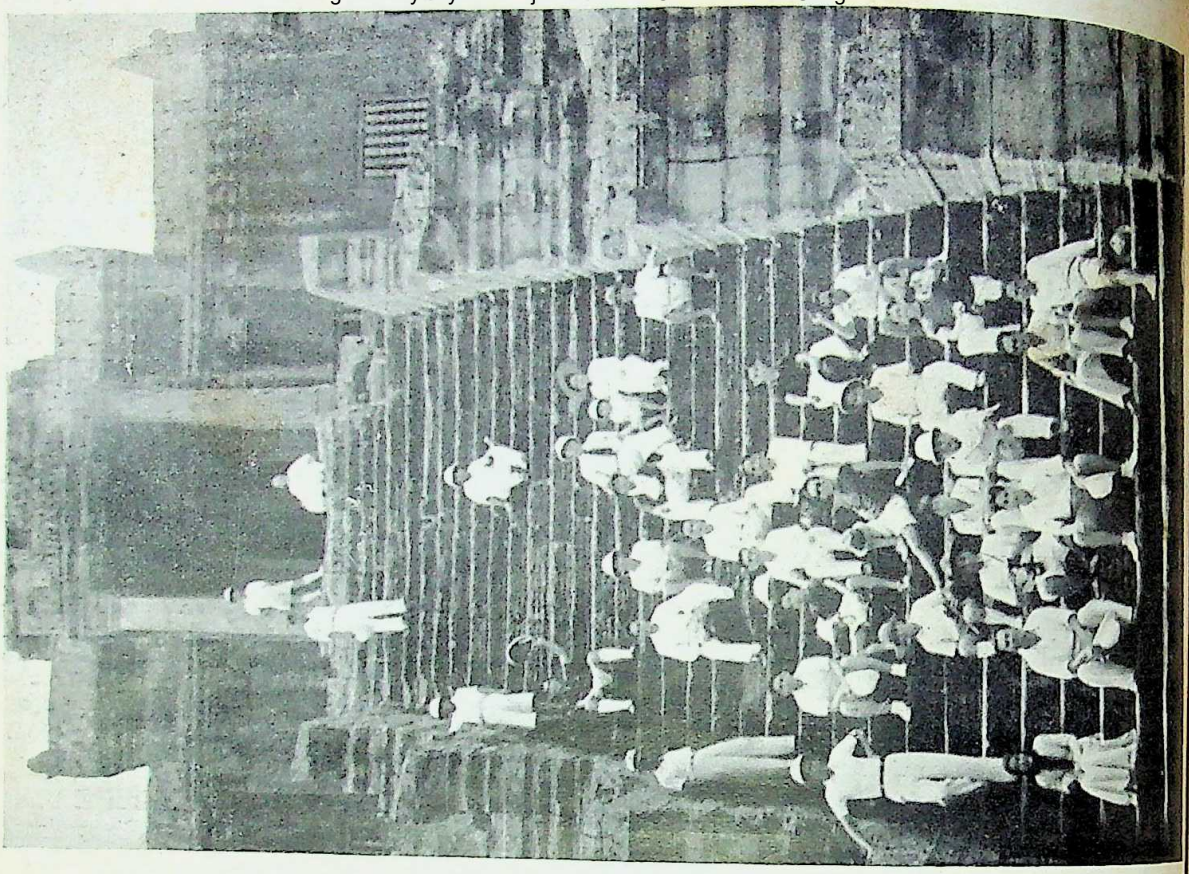

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INDIAN PERIODICALS

A Letter from China

Following is an English translation as published in the *Visva-Bharati News*, of a letter to Rabindranath Tagore from Dr. H. H. Kung, President of the Executive Yuan and Minister of Finance, Chinese National Government :

I take the opportunity to ask Prof. Tan-Yun-Shan, who is shortly returning to India, to convey to you my deepest regards and heartfelt gratitude.

Your noble voice vindicating peace and justice and your valued message to my people have both given us no end of courage and inspiration.

Our people in China have the same instinctive regard for peace and equity as you have in India. It would, therefore, be easy for you to imagine the amount of provocation that has compelled us today to take recourse to armed resistance against the militarist aggression of Japan.

The inhuman brutalities of the Japanese soldiers beggar all description. Not only have they violated the territorial integrity of China and encroached upon the rights and freedom of the Chinese, they have also, at the very same time, imperilled the sublime culture of the East, betrayed the great spirit of Asia and menaced the peace and security of the whole world. Realizing as we do our full responsibility to our own race as well as to the world, we will not lay down our arms till the last of the ruthless aggressors has been driven out of China.

It is true that the Japanese have succeeded in occupying several of our big towns and cities. But contrary to their expectations, our desire and strength to fight back have also increased in equal proportion. And now we are confident that the ultimate victory will be ours.

No two countries in the world have been so intimately connected to each other as India and China. Their cultural bond is as strong today as it was in the past. Much of this revival in our cultural relationship is due to your laudable guidance and noble effort. We fully realize and admire the sincerity of your friendship for us in our hour of trial. Let me assure you of our earnest desire to co-operate with you in your endeavours to promote the culture of the Orient.

Praying for your health and happiness,

I remain, with respects,
Yours sincerely,
H. H. KUNG

Government and Personal Liberty

Because of their mental laziness people seem to prefer being ordered about by men of science, political dictators or religious popes instead of thinking for themselves, using their rights as citizens, enjoying their soul freedom.

Our civilization is sorely in need of intellectual freedom. In emphasizing the fact, the American historian, James Truslow Adams, in the course of an article in *The Aryan Path*, draws our attention to the Bill of Rights in the Federal Constitution :

On many important occasions it has been shown that the ultimate protection of the individual in his freedom has been the Bill of Rights in the Federal constitution, as interpreted and upheld by the Supreme Court.

The first article of the Bill sets forth what we still consider as fundamental rights, without which a people cannot be free nor a free government carried on. They are that :

Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble and to petition the government for a redress of grievances.

We believe that *there cannot be liberty unless men are free to worship, speak, print, and criticize the government, as they choose.*

In the Bill there are certain other more specific guarantees which are of great importance, such as :

No soldier shall, in time of peace, be quartered in any house without the consent of the owner, nor in war time but in a manner prescribed by law....The right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers and effects, against unreasonable searches and seizures, shall not be violated....No person shall be held to answer for a capital or other infamous crime unless on a presentment or indictment by a grand jury....Nor be deprived of life, liberty or property without due process of law; nor shall private property be taken for public use without just compensation....The accused shall enjoy the right to a speedy and public trial by an impartial jury.... Excessive bail shall not be required, nor excessive fines imposed, nor cruel and unusual punishmnts inflicted.

Thus did a free people, who had just gone through a long war to gain their independence, protect themselves against the possibility of oppression by the popular government which they were themselves erecting.

The constitution, including these clauses, is the fundamental law of the land. The government consists of three branches, the Executive, Legislative and Judiciary, but to the last belongs the duty of deciding whether any executive act or legislation contravenes the constitution. This explains why, although occasionally objecting to some specific decision by the Courts, the people as a whole have consistently insisted on the absolute political independence and high moral character of the Supreme Court, and why the nation offered such violent opposition to President

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Roosevelt's plan to pack the Court by increasing its membership.

Nearly a century and a half has passed since the adoption of the Bill of Rights. America has grown from a population of about 4,000,000 to 130,000,000, embracing almost all the races and religions of the world, all living in harmony.

What has protected us and given us the incentive to go ahead has been the Bill of Rights which guarantees us in the unmolested possession of our persons and property, and gives us the right to worship, think, speak and print as we choose. These guarantees have made free men and free minds. As we look today at such states as Italy, Germany and Russia, in which personal liberty has been crushed out, we realize that, although for the time being they may have powerful military machines, *no nation can remain powerful or great in which there is no spiritual freedom or opportunity for the growth of thought and personality.* The world has always needed the life of the spirit, but because of the nature of modern civilization and its dependence, for good or ill, on science, never before did it so need intellectual freedom. There can be no advance or even stability for a nation of robots driven this way or that at the whim of one man without scope of their own for personal initiative.

Racial Segregation in South Africa

All India has been deeply stirred by the passing of the Asiatic Transvaal Land and Trading Bill by the Union Assembly of South Africa, which embodies the principle of social segregation as between the white and coloured races. In an article, written specially for *The National Christian Council Review*, C. F. Andrews observes :

The newspapers for the last six months have been giving somewhat detailed information with regard to the new menace to the Indians who are domiciled in South Africa. Not merely in the South, but also in Rhodesia, Tanganyika and Kenya, there is a similar method on foot to treat the Indian community as a segregated community, which is not fit to live side by side with the European, either in residential or trade areas. Mahatma Gandhi has challenged the recent legislation as a breach of the South African Union's own Agreement with India made at the two Round Table Conferences of 1927 and 1932. He might have gone still further and declared it to be a breach of the Gandhi-Smuts Agreement of July, 1914, which guaranteed the status of Indians in South Africa.

Clearly, behind the minds of people like Dr. Malan and Mr. Pirow and others, the whole attempt at reconciliation between India and South Africa was considered to be dependent on whether Indians could be induced to leave South Africa or not. That is to say, these European statesmen were all the while holding the threat of segregation over the head of the Indian community, if they did not go out of the country in such numbers as to make the presence of the few who remained of small account.

It is necessary now to understand what is proposed by the new policy of segregation.

First of all, the Segregation policy is to apply to the eight million Natives who are called 'Bantus,' and also to the eight hundred thousand of mixed races, who are called 'Coloured people.' The Indian population of about 225 thousand represents the third racial unit in South Africa, which will be treated in the same manner when the segregation policy is complete.

We have already a definite declaration of policy by the Prime Minister, General Hertzog, and his Cabinet with regard to Coloured people. It may be taken as practically certain that the lines laid down in this policy will be used also with regard to the Indians. . . .

Let me explain very briefly what this will mean. The legislation is carried out for the whole of South Africa. In India, the Europeans and Indians now live side by side without any barrier between them. There used to be certain barriers before, but now they are all broken down and Indians can live wherever they like and Europeans can live wherever they like; but in South Africa, for many years past, the Government policy has tended to restrict every avenue where Indians could meet Europeans on an equal footing.

Already, in the railway trains, and refreshment rooms and trams and buses, and even in many of the Post Offices, the Indian is forced to be separated from the European. Now, it is intended to carry this segregation much further.

No Indian will be allowed to live in the same residential quarter with the European if 75 per cent of the Europeans vote that their area should become a segregated area. The Government will immediately put into force the vote of the local Europeans and will turn out of the area which is thus segregated any Indian who may have property in it. What is far more serious for the Indians, because they are traders, is this. In the centre of the townships the Indians will not be able to hold property or build shops for that will become the European part of the town. They have had hitherto a great deal of their business with the Europeans because they work on a smaller scale of profits, with less overhead charges, than European shops. But in the furture the main streets will be reserved for Europeans and the Indians will be sent away into the side streets.

The writer suggests that a delegation be sent which would be able to interpret the mind of the Churches in India to the Churches in South Africa.

If we think for a moment, in the terms of the New Testament, we shall surely come to the conclusion that racial segregation of this kind, which forces men against their will to live apart, is not in accordance with the principles which Christ Himself has given us. There is a well-known text, which obviously was a kind of motto in the early Church. It runs as follows: 'In Christ there cannot be Jew or Greek, Barbarian, Scythian, bond or free, but all are one in Christ Jesus.'

Mr. Kodanda Rao, of the Servants of India Society, wrote a very important article pointing out that the Christian missionaries had been themselves among the first to condemn racial segregation in the form of untouchability in India itself.

Mr. Kodanda Rao has asked plainly whether the Christian missionaries in India could not send out a representative to South Africa to plead with Christians there against this new form of untouchability. Surely such an article, coming from one who was the Secretary of Rt. Hon'ble V. S. Sastri in South Africa and is himself

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Hindu, should be regarded with the utmost concern the National Christian Council in India, and his suggestion that someone should go out to South Africa and plead with those Christians out there should not be laid aside.

—

Mohen-jo-Daro

All of us have heard about the discovery of an ancient city that existed about 5000 years ago at Mohen-jo-Daro, eight miles aways from Sukkur, in the District of Larkana, Sind. The late Mr. R. D. Banerji discovered the city in 1922, and elaborate excavations were carried on by the Archaeological Department. C. R. Ma, Curator, Victoria Museum, Karachi, writes in the *Indian World* :

The proper significance of the culture and civilization of the people of Mohen-jo-Daro will be understood only when we shall be able to reconstruct the history of the prehistoric people by connecting and interpreting these signs of disconnecting antiquities left by the forgotten people.

I had the privilege of excavating and studying the ruins of Mohen-jo-Daro. I shall try to present an outline of the picture of the civilization.

It was supposed by historians that the Aryans came to India about 4000 years ago, *i.e.* at the beginning of the Iron Age, and settled there after conquering the uncivilized, dark-skinned, flat-nosed, aboriginal tribes. There was no civilization, worthy of name, before the arrival of the Aryans. We shall have to discard this theory.

The discovery of Mohen-jo-Daro reveals that before the arrival of the Aryans, there existed in Sind a highly advanced type of civilization much higher than that of the Aryans or of contemporary Elam, Mesopotamia, Babylonia and Egypt.

The civilization of Mohen-jo-Daro began long before the Iron Age, in the Calcholithic Period, *i. e.*, in the transitional period between the Neolithic Age and the Copper Age, as we see stone implements were used side by side with the copper implements.

The people of Mohen-jo-Daro had built the City on the west bank of the Indus, with arranged plans prepared by the engineers.

Their most significant contribution to the civilization was their underground drainage system, which was elaborate and complete and also perfect from the hygienic point of view.

The City was well-organized probably under Government or Municipality and social relations among the inhabitants were very cordial. Every citizen contributed his energies to the growth of their culture by following different professions. Merchants, agriculturists, copper, gold and silver-smiths, stone workers, faience makers, potters, weavers grocers, carpenters, architects, masons, ivory, bone and shell workers, fishermen, hunters, priests, bow-masters, soldiers, oilmen, barbers, sweepers, etc., are some of the professional men of Mohen-jo-Daro. The occasions of dancing and singing were followed by the public women. A bronze statue of a dancing girl in dancing posture has been found there.

Each family used to live in a house consisting of many rooms with high ceilings, doors and windows.

Each house had one main gate on the street, and near the gate had one open small room for porter, next drawing rooms, behind them was harem for ladies, with bedrooms, kitchens, etc. Each house had a well for drinking water and for other domestic purposes. There were also two-storied buildings. The steps of ascending staircases are still to be found there and they are similar to those of our present day staircases.

A big house supposed to be a palace has been unearthed.

The palace was surrounded by connected rooms and had a central hall with high pillars. Near the hall there was a paved tank with rooms and verandas facing it all round. Two staircases descended into the tank, one from the central hall and another from the opposite direction. The tank used to remain full with fresh water, and when polluted, it was let out through a big drain. Probably the ladies of the palace used to take their bath in this pleasure tank, like the Roman ladies.

The most striking thing found in the palace is a set of bathrooms. Many of their walls, pavements, and drains are still in a perfect state of preservation.

The males wore loin clothes around their waists, turbans on their heads, coats and shirts on their bodies and shoes in their feet. The ladies wore embroidered *saries*, gowns, jackets, etc.

There is no doubt that the ladies of Mohen-jo-Daro were very fashionable as it can be seen from the various kinds of their ornaments and their toilet requisites.

They used to wear various kinds of necklaces, tyras, ear-rings, pendants, nose-studs, rings, bangles, etc., made of gold, silver, copper, precious and semi-precious stones, ivory, shell, etc. The mode of wearing bangles from the wrist to the elbow is still to be found among the Sindhi ladies. Their fine girdles of purple carnelian with bronze terminals and tassels attract even a casual observer. They wore nose-ring which was drawn along by gold chain to the ear. This kind of nose-ring is still in use among the Sindhi and the Bengali ladies. The ladies used to dress their hair in braids and tied them up in knots or Shingons of various styles and upon them they wore beautiful hairpins of gold, silver, and faience. They painted their eyes with antimony. They used copper mirrors, ivory and wooden combs. This kind of mirror is still in use in Bengal during marriage ceremonies, and the double-sided combs are still to be found in Sind and Bengal.

The children of 5000 years ago liked to play as those of ours.

Parents derived much pleasure in giving toys and dolls to their children as we do now. So we find there innumerable terra cotta toys and dolls representing various animals, birds, reptiles, men, women, etc., and also miniature pottery utensils for girls; mechanical toys such as horned bulls, the head of which were moved by strings, and the bird-charriots which were drawn along by their little owners, are very interesting. Pottery rattles which were gaily painted in colours were very common

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toys for the babies. Many of these types are still made in the village of Bengal. Whistle of Mohen-jo-Daro is the most characteristic article that has kept the exact form during these 5000 years. The whistle consists of a terra cotta hen or bird with a hole at the tail. It sounded all right when I blew it after 5000 years.

Keshub Chunder Sen

Keshub Chunder Sen, was one of the greatest social-religious reformers in living memory, and perhaps the best orator that India produced in the last century. Dr. B. B. Dey writes in *The Theosophist* :

In the spring of 1870 when Keshub was 32, he visited England with the object of carrying the message of his new faith to the wider public in Europe. He met with the most cordial reception, from all classes of people in England, that has ever been accorded to any Indian in that country. Dean Stanley, Prof. Max Muller, John Stuart Mill, Gladstone and a host of other outstanding personalities in England at that period became his admirers and staunch supporters. He was received in private audience by Queen Victoria.

He was invited to speak from the pulpits of many Christian churches and he told the people not only about his work of social and religious reform in India but also of various evils, moral and political, which had come to India through British domination.

The honour he received in England did not turn Keshub's head, and he came back confirmed in his simple national ways of living.

Keshub recognized social reform as part and parcel of religious work. He was not a sudden or a violent reformer, nor did he make his reforms rigid and final.

He knew that such reforms, to be really beneficial to his country, must be progressive and elastic in character so that they might grow with the spirit of the times. He knew that nothing could be in the permanent interests of a nation which was not founded on its character, and the reforms which Keshub sought to introduce were therefore always national in their outlook anrd in consonance with the pure and simple customs of the country. While he was engaged in these numerous social reforms on the one hand, his spiritual life on the other hand became richer and nobler at this time. His utterances, both in English and in Bengali, in public lectures or in sermons from the pulpit, began to attract unparalleled crowds of men and women.

Some of the lectures delivered at the Town Hall at Calcutta during this period have since been published and read by people wherever English is spoken. He delivered these lectures extempore.

There was no preparation but he let himself be carried away by the emotion of tre moment. "The flood of his oratory" says his biographer Mazumdar, "fell like a torrent from some Himalayan height, instantaneous, vast, clear and overpowering." Keshub never learned elocution. His delivery was completely free from any kind of affectation. He never gesticulated. There was no effort or straining either in the lucid, limpid thought or in the rich, deep voice. It was as if the Lord had chosen to speak with Keshub's tongue. Those who saw and heard him in those days declare that they never listened to anything like it in their lives. If this was the testimony borne by people with regard to his English addresses, his Bengali sermons from the pulpit of the Brahmo Mandir were even more greatly admired. These sermons and prayers have fortunately all been preserved in print, and serve for the edification and moral and spiritual guidance of generations of his countrymen. Keshub proved to be a born master of his vernacular, and his prayers are still quoted as models of the purest and the simplest Bengali. The words in his sermons seemed to flow like a clear tinkling brook on the waters of which were reflected the great Heavens. The fame of Keshub's preachings and sermons spread far and wide, and *The Statesman* of Calcutta wrote at the time : "When Keshub speaks, the world listens."

Yet the secret of the impression that Keshub made did not lie in his language. Keshub spoke, as all great religious preachers do, straight out of the deepest spiritual experience. He never argued. He appealed to something deeper than reason. His words came charged with a force and a meaning that mere reason cannot give. His sermons were not philosophical discourses but more like the inspired utterances of a poet.

Surendranath Banerjee

No name was, for many generations, better known to politically-minded Indians than that of Surendranath Banerjee, who was justly regarded by his educated fellow-countrymen as the life and soul, and guiding spirit, of the nationalist movement which originated from the establishment of the Indian Congress, in 1885. Writes "One who know him well" in *The Hindustan Review* :

For over fifty years Surendranath's supremacy as the most eloquent Indian orator, in English, remained unchallenged. Though some other athletes with more sinew arms rudely wrested from him, towards the close of his life, the leadership in political assemblages, and tried to belittle his remarkable services to the country, posing as more skilful pilots, he held till the end of his great career the proud position of being the foremost orator in the country. In the earlier days "clouds of incense rose about him from the prodigal superstition of innumerable admirers." His implacable energy, the heroic strength of ideas, a Spartan sense of duty, the extraordinary compass of his mind, his amazing vivacity and variety of appropriate gesture, "the vibrating voice now rising to an organ peal of triumph, now sinking to a whisper of entreaty," swayed vast masses of his fellow-countrymen, thrilling their imagination and holding it spell-bound. "The permanent reputation of an orator"—as rightly remarked by Lord Bryce—"depends upon two things : the witness of contemporaries to the impression produced upon them, and the written or printed record of his speeches. It is only by a rare combination of gifts that one who speaks with so much force and brilliance as to charm his listeners is also able to deliver thoughts so valuable in words so choice, that posterity will read them as literature." The speeches of almost all orators and public speakers being aimed at momentary effect, and dealing with pressing questions of the day, generally fade into oblivion, by lapse of time, and the chaplet of renown which they won dreadfully withers, before long. As happily put by Lord Roseberry (in his *Life of Pitt*) : "The speeches which have produced an electrical effect when

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audience can bear the colourless photography of a record."

For about half a century he was one of the greatest exponents of that new spirit of Indian nationalism that is now suffused throughout the country.

It has been said by a great authority that neither epigrams, nor aphorisms, nor over-bright patches, nor epigrams, nor aphorisms, nor over-bright rhetorical imageries, are the test of oratory. There must be dignity, elevation, lucid exposition of complicated facts, sustained and fiery declamations, impassioned apostrophes, the power to touch the emotions—making the listeners laugh and weep as occasion may demand—while there must also be rallying battle-cries and the thunder-bolts of invective, and not merely meek-spirited, dull, prosy sermons. Let me quote Surendranath's own remarks on the subject.

"The qualifications of an orator are moral rather than intellectual. It is the emotions that inspire the most thoughts and invest them with their colour and their distinctive character. Let no one aspire to be an orator who does not love his country, love her indeed with a true and soul-absorbing love. Country first, all other things next, is the creed of the orator. Unless, he has been indoctrinated in it, baptized with the holy fire of the love of country, the highest intellectual gifts will not qualify him to be an orator. Aided by them, he may indeed be a fluent debater, an expert in the presentation of his case, a fascinating speaker, able to please, amuse and even to instruct; but without the higher patriotic or religious emotions he will not possess the supreme power of moving men, inspiring them with lofty ideals and passion for the worship of the good, the true, and the beautiful. The equipment of the orator is thus moral, nothing will help him so much as constant association with the master-minds of humanity, of those who have worked and suffered; who have taught and preached great things, who have lived dedicated lives—consecrated to the service of their country or their God."

No one could have put it better.

By universal consent Surendranath's two Congress Presidential addresses at the Poona session of the Congress in 1895, and the Ahmadabad session of 1902—were record performances. Each of them took almost four hours in delivery, and I marvelled not so much at his rolling and sustained periods of sublime rhetoric, as at his absolute independence of notes to assist his memory, and also his marvellous intonation which neither failed nor flagged in the long ordeal.

Not a single false note was struck in his two Congress presidential addresses. His speeches rolled in a torrent of eloquence through heaving and swelling multitudes. He was not merely a glorified demagogue : a transformation fell on him; and the amplitude a view, the breadth of design and the flashes of insight into constitutional principles made him the supreme hero on those memorable days. These two inaugural addresses were a glorious triumph for Surendranath.

Adibasi Sabha Deputation

The following is an extract from a report, published in extenso in *The Behar Herald*, of what Mr. Jaipal Singh said to the Prime Minister of Bihar, as the leader of the Adibasi deputation to the Premier :

Your reference to what you prefer to call the linguistic plea for separation is full of bad logic. You have made no attempts to indicate what principles have to be followed when a serious problem of separation has to be tackled. It is for others to shew what guiding principles have been applied in the past in the creation and/or maintenance of territorial demarcations. To my mind the linguistic argument is a very hollow one from your own point of view.

Upon your own word you would have to hand over to Bengal all the area which has intensively become Bengali in character. Your neighbours on the west might similarly claim you because you speak their language. Today you are forcing Hindi upon the Adibasis in order to prove they should belong to you. To-morrow it might be Bengali and Bengal can have the same claim.

The intelligentsia of India speaks English. Does it mean the English should own it ? French is spoken over a large portion of Europe. Does it mean the French should govern that portion ? You talk of 'a strong tendency among the Kurmis of Manbhum to class themselves with the Kurmis of Bihar.' Is this any argument in the face of the statistical murder I have already proved above ?

You accuse us of invoking the help of Europeans, Bengalis, Missionaries, Capitalists and others. You go to the length of saying what special measures you have initiated for the backward tribes. You forget you are not giving what is not our own. It is no personal generosity we demand. We ask for what is our own. Our minerals are being exploited. What compensation are we getting in return for the denudation of our mineral wealth ? Jamshedpur is in Chota Nagpur. Are the people of Chota Nagpur receiving the first consideration in regard to employment in Jamshedpur or are the Biharee Ministry using their position to Biharise the avenues of employment ?

The Adibasi Sabha is representing the demands of the people of Chota Nagpur and the Santhal Parganas, whatever race or creed they may belong to, regardless of whether they are Europeans, Hindus, Biharis, Bengalis, Moslems, Mundas, Hos, Kharias, Birhors, Santhals, Oraons, Marwaris, Buddhists or anyone else. We include among us, in word and in deed, everyone who is resident within our land and has in consequence vested interests herein. The fulfilment of our demands is not a matter for academic discussion; it is a national necessity.

Palestine

The Arabs uphold the thesis that the pledge given to them by Britain in war-days has never been fulfilled. Peter Krieger holds that the promises were not given to any particular group of the Arab people, especially not to the Arabs of Palestine. In an article in the second issue of the *Current Thought* he observes :

In the wilful process of myth-building around the simple facts, it is always deliberately omitted that Emir Feisul negotiated with Dr. Weizmann, the Jewish leader, in 1919 on terms indicating his acceptance of the special rights of the Jews in Palestine.

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Another of the old political myths is that of the impoverishment of the Arab peasant by Jewish immigration. Even the Government's White Paper had to admit that this is unfounded. Let us recall that all land bought by Jews was purchased in the free market. There was no legislative pressure exerted on anybody to sell land; on the contrary, a number of ordinances was enforced to protect tenants in the event of land being sold by owners of large estates leased to them. The history of land settlement does not know another case of such a high degree of consideration of the existing settler's interest. It was the opinion of all the Commissions which have investigated conditions in Palestine that the land was bought by the Jews at excessively high prices, that compensation was paid to the tenants on a generous scale and that, as Sir John Hope Simpson has put it, the Jews have nothing to reproach themselves with in connection with their land purchases. The position of the Arab fellahin who are able to sell some of their surplus land is this: with the proceeds of such sales they are enabled to improve the remaining portion of their land and to carry on a more intensive and thus more profitable type of farming. Mr. Strickland, of the Indian Civil Service, who has a wide knowledge of agrarian problems and who has dealt with similar problems in the Punjab, was invited by the British Government to investigate this question. He found that such development as described here, *i.e.* intensification of the farming methods of the fellahin, following the sale of their surplus land, would exert a favourable influence on their economic position.

According to the writer, the common man imperfectly acquainted with the facts frequently takes the sentimental view that the Arabs live in fear of being overruled some day by the Jews.

Only the tragedy of the situation precludes such statements being laughed out of court. Apart from the fact that the Zionist Organisation has adopted the principle of non-domination by either people, and that it was the Jews who proposed as early as 1919 the formula that nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights, etc., would it not be ridiculous of the Jews in Palestine, surrounded as they are by watchful Arab countries, to make any attempt at such a domination? In fact, there has never been a real basis for the much talked of Arab fear of Jewish domination. No Arab leader takes it seriously, but as a method of political propaganda it is nevertheless rendering good service.

Before concluding, let us for a moment look at the question the other way round. Arabs and Jews are the chief branches of the Semitic race. An insult to one branch is an insult to the other; anti-Semitism is potentially anti-Arab as much as it is anti-Jewish. The Jewish prophets are also the prophets of the Muslim. The great periods of Arab history have been those in which the association with the Jews has been closest and most friendly; and similarly by the Jews have never been so happy as they were under the Caliphs and in Spain. There is no reason why this association should not be renewed. The late Sir Mark Sykes was a great student of Arab history and an admirer of the Arab genius; he believed that there was about to be a fine efflorescence of her culture and power in the world. And he was a Zionist because he believed that the Jews were (their) natural allies in that happy event.

The world is changing fast and Arabs in every country must make their choice between stagnation and progress.

Progress will not necessarily be at the same pace in all Arab States. But it is true to say of Islam as a whole that it is returning to the more liberal and progressive ideas that made it a great world-power in the classical period of Arab history. Might not therefore a patriotic Arab, to whatever country he belonged, reason with himself: "Because I want Palestine like other Arab States to become strong and capable of standing alone, I will use the Jews, who can make it inherently strong. I will exact conditions that will secure that my own people are not overwhelmed and diminished, but the Jews have assured me from the beginning that this is no part of their ambition, and I will discuss the future conditions of the country frankly on the basis of equality between the two races."

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FOREIGN PERIODICALS

Chinese Women and the National Crisis

The Sino-Japanese war has brought to China many a blessing in disguise, observes Miss P. S. Tseng in *The Asiatic Review*. One great thing brought about by the war has been the emancipation of women. In one generation the Chinese woman has jumped from mediæval to modern life, says the author, and the war has not been without its influence in this respect.

All over free China the Government has started centres for the training of first-aid and ambulance workers and also gives instruction in home nursing. There are generally from 40 to 50 people in one class, and after about six weeks' instruction from doctors and nurses they are sent to temporary hospitals, refugee camps, and the front. Old ladies of 60 to 70 work with schoolgirls and take the same examination at the end of their course.

The Government is also training a second type of workers for "literature" work. A thousand words suffice for the farmer and peasant, and easy books are being written containing these words, both for the teaching of the country people and the refugees. Wounded soldiers, are being instructed by the workers in this field, as are their wives and mothers.

In the North-West, especially, women have taken the cultivation of the land and released their husbands, who have become guerillas. In the South, in Kwangsi, where there has been conscription and all men of the age of 18 have had to join up in a kind of territorial guard to protect their district, the women have worked on the land. But the bulk of the women of China are not fitted for field work, although if the war drags on for years or so women will have to do the work on the land.

Madame Chiang Kai-shek has started a society for the relief of children orphaned by the war, and we are trying to affiliate all women's work to this movement. Canteens who often take from 10 to 20 children, and families who may take up to 100 orphans, are allowed dollars a month for each child, which at the present is not more than 3 shillings.

Independently of the Government, women's organizations and societies in each province have worked since the early days of the war at propaganda and literary work:

The members speak to the country folks, write letters for them, help with the wounded and start canteens. Among the wounded in hospitals is not like visiting the Great War in Europe, which I myself have seen. In China our canteens are not really places where soldiers can amuse themselves. They are generally little sheds, made of bamboo poles with matting as walls and roofs, near a railway station or wharf. Often the wounded have waited for 12 days on a train without having their wounds dressed. The trains cannot travel during the day-time as they are constantly being bombed from the air. During the day only the very badly-wounded cases remain on the train and if they are bombarded that is the end.

We were never sure when a train would come in. Sometimes it did not come until the next night, and it was often unpleasant waiting on a cold night, especially when it was snowing or raining. Once when I was in a station it was raided. There was no time to seek shelter, and a heap of coal seemed the safest place. When the bomb dropped we fell flat on our faces in the coal heap, but somehow they missed the station. Either the wharf or the railway station is among the objectives of the Japanese.

The third type of women's work is that carried on by the National Training Camps in the different provinces.

Students in the fifth and sixth years (16 to 18 years of age) from the Senior Middle Schools and the first and second year university students were called to these camps, which lasted for about three months. There they received military instruction, training in red-cross work, first-aid, ambulance, and methods of teaching. After their course was finished they were given books and sent to start schools for adults in Central China, before returning to their own schools. As a schoolmistress I found it most disturbing. On their return they had forgotten most of their work, but education is not confined to the schools. They had seen life at first hand, which is something which no school can give.

The fourth movement is that of the Christian organizations, which started independently of the Government in the very early days of the war.

The women of the Church, the Y. W. C. A., girls' schools, etc., began making garments for the soldiers. They did not go to the front, but did ambulance work after air raids. The ambulance units, which consisted of two stretcher-bearers and a red-cross worker, did very gallant work and came out before the "all-clear" was sounded.

The Method of Biography

Biography is defined in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* as "that form of history which is applied, not to races or masses of men, but to an individual." In course of an instructive address delivered before the Royal Society of Arts, London, and published in the *Journal* of the Society, Philip Guedalla points out that the duties of the biographer are the same as those of the historian, to produce a truthful and accurate reconstruction of the past; they both

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have the same mission, the same method, and the same material.

The biograper must run a very straight course, Mr. Guedalla observes, between two particularly green and tempting fields. On the one side, pure literature into which he must not stray; on the other side, psychology into which he also must not stray.

Mr. Guedalla makes some valuable suggestions as to how the biographer may set about his work. The first essential is that he should approach the past in the right mood; he should approach it with level eyes.

That is to say, he should not look down at it nor look up to it, because either of those slants, or angles, is misleading. If you take the view that the past is full of heroic figures, you may or may not produce a good epic—probably not—but it will not be history or a truthful representation of the past.

No less wrong is it to approach the past as an area filled with a procession of contemptible oddities who must be odd because their clothes were not quite the same as ours, and, above all, because they are dead. That is a view which was widely held in the ten or twelve years following the last War. The past was approached in an unpardonable mood of condescension. That is not the way to get a true view of it. It must be looked at straight. The approach to the past must be both self-respecting and respectful of the past—not too respectful, because the truth has to be told. It must not be so respectful as to eliminate or to suppress any element of the truth—and the truth we know, is not always respectful.

The biographer has also got to control certain loyalties :

You have decided that someone's career has not been properly rewarded, and you are therefore prepared to spend the requisite number of years learning your subject. And as that process continues, as you live in a man's papers, you inevitably find growing up in you the sort of loyalty that those who have secretaries hope—but without certainty—that their secretaries feel to them, the feeling that they will not give their old gentleman away. In a way the biographer is like a posthumous private secretary with a feeling that he will not give his old gentleman away. That is one of the things which is almost an industrial disease attending the writing of biography.

There is another, and that is biographer's vanity :

The biographer must above all be more interested in the subject than he is in himself. The biographer who is perpetually putting self-portraits into the corner of his scenes is a bad biographer. He may be a good autobiographer, a good novelist, or just a good man; but, at any rate, he is a bad biographer. That theory has been stated by M. Maurois when he laid it down that biography is in a certain measure *une autobiographie deguisee en biographie*. If you wish to write your autobiography, for goodness' sake, say so on the title page—and we will not buy the book. But do not say "This is the life of a great man. It is of some interest, and if you read it you will find out all about me." That is a confession which no biographer shoull ever need to make. He is a portrait-painter, and should be unconcerned with himself.

The most essential ingredient in any biographer's method must be the simple recognition of something, of which the non-recognition distinguishes bad biography from good; that is the principle of growth and change in human beings.

People change, but not in bad biography. They they have one characteristic, and it never changes.

But we all know that human beings have more one characteristic; and what is more, it changes. cannot study, say, Queen Victoria or Mr. Gladstone, cannot study anyone, except perhaps the little Prince in the Tower, on the basis of one unchanging, idiosyncrasy. And yet the clever, penetrating, intuitative biography does adopt that simple label on the with one single feature, in plain lettering. It is If you test it for one minute on Queen Victoria, you see that that is untrue. It has always seemed to me in that long career the changes, the growth, the are such that it is the study not of one Queen, but of Queens—Victoria I, Victoria II, Victoria III. The a girl who came to the throne in 1837, a product of normal lack of royal education in that age, with all characteristics that we know. How long did she reign Until her wedding day. That is the end of the reign Victoria I, and a different person afterwards took place as Victoria II. She was an intelligent person, product of her husband, and utterly different Victoria I. She did not see the reign out. There one here who is a contemporary of Victoria II. Victoria II did not die with the Prince Consort in 1861. survived him for a few years during which she to do everything as the Prince Consort would have That was still Victoria II. She faded away in due and was succeeded by a totally different person, Victoria III, the Queen whom some of us remember, the Queen-Empress. She was a great Conservative great Imperialist, the product of Mr. Disraeli. She utterly different in every single instinct, belief, and from either of her predecessors. If Victoria II had met Victoria III in the same room, I tremble to what would have ensued. Indeed, the only common of agreement would have been that Victoria I was a little thing and ought to be sent to bed.

The biographer would be well advised to do one thing, that is not to know too much about his subject as goes through it. If you are learning your man as you along and if you do not know too much about 1880 writing 1840, then you will interpret 1840 and will find explanations of his actions in 1840 in the light 1832, in the light of his antecedents and education. will not be doing that worst of all things, jobbing wards, looking in 1880 to see what your man was 1840. You will move through his career in the way a searchlight moves its beam along the sky. You look first at five years and move on, and then look next five years. That is how you will follow the and evolution of your subject.

The Musician in Einstein

A great deal of the publicity given to fessor Einstein has been devoted to his To this great scientist, music is more than pastime. In course of a paper contributed recent issue of the *Jewish Frontier* dedicated

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Albert Einstein, who has completed this year the sixtieth year of his life, Emil Hilb writes :

Einstein does not need to be retiring about his violin playing. It is true that concertizing in our highly competitive times requires greater technical study than the average scientist could devote, let alone the man with the mission of Einstein. Yet, in his violin playing one can detect an excellent musical training, supported by a musicianship that is most unusal for a non-professional. While conducting Bach's Double Concerto in a recital performance played by Albert Einstein and Julia Seidel, I had the experience of discovering that his interpretation, his clean attack, and his natural response to the orchestra were unusual, and with more understanding than many professional musicians display.

The fact that he willing consented to participate in concerts was the outcome of his sincere desire to help the needy ones for whom such concerts were arranged.

It is not known by many people that Professor Einstein plays the piano. Unobserved by him, I listened a number of times while he improvised. I felt that these moments at the piano gave him the greatest delight. The creative spirit in the scientist Einstein found in this instrument a relaxing outlet. An unusual clarity, a fine musical inspiration, and an astounding naturalness of form characterized his improvisations. Although his development clashed occasionally with his lack of technical equipment he never lost control over form and beauty and harmony. This was an artist expressing himself.

It is interesting to note Einstein's preferences in music :

He feels closer to Bach, Mozart, and Schubert than to Handel, Schumann, Brahms, Wagner, etc. He detects, with fine understanding, the slightest deviation from perfect genius. In Bach, Mozart, and Schubert, Einstein finds that genuine and musically pure expression for which his senses are most appreciative. Although he realizes greatness in Beethoven, he finds his music too personal, too fighting spirit, dominated by his eventful life, too much in his creations. In Handel, he realizes the technical perfection, but, at the same time, he feels a lack of depth, a reflection of practical disposition, and from an insufficient responsibility toward his genius. Schumann's charming and melodious originality finds a admirer in Professor Einstein, but he misses a clear form in his works. In contrast with Schumann, Einstein admits a fine sense of architecture in Mendelssohn's music, but, on the other hand, here too he does not find enough depth of musical thought. Liszt's vastness as a creator and his original and powerful inventions are greatly respected by Professor Einstein, but in his music he misses the architectural form, and the sincerity which was lacking in Wagner himself. He recognizes the greatness of Richard Strauss, but he does not find in his music that inner truth, which for him is such an esential part of music. And while he has an appreciative ear for the rippling, colorful musical palette of Debussy, he feel in his music a lack of depth.

It is especially interesting that he has not yet discovered the greatness of Johannes Brahms, whose great genius in music is almost indisputably established, and whose characteristics as a tender soul are so parallel to those of Professor Einstein.

Spain After the War : Retaliation and Revenge

A correspondent recently in Spain writes in *The Manchester Guardian Weekly* :

It is estimated that well over 1,000,000 people were killed on the battlefields of Spain; yet the total victims of the last two and a half years must amount to at least 1,500,000 people, while some estimates of the total number killed directly or indirectly by the war—by epidemics, wounds, or by acts of retaliation are as much as 2,000,000 —that is, almost 10 per cent of the total population.

Half the young men of Spain have undoubtedly been exterminated, for most of the men who fell in the war were of military age, and the victims of the reprisals were also mostly from their ranks.

The outrages committed by the loyalists will be heavily outweighed by the present persistent campaign of reprisals. The Spanish people have shown themselves of a vindictive disposition—except for the Russians during the civil war no nation has shown such a tendency towards cruelty as have the Spaniards. Even the Nazi atrocities seem to be "gentle" compared with the methods used in Spain.

Even a short journey across Spain gives an idea of the enormous number of prisoners. Transport of captive "Reds" can be seen everywhere. The Government makes no secret of these arrests and the papers in Madrid, Barcelona, and elsewhere published for several weeks long lists of those who had been captured and imprisoned for some offence committed during the loyalist period. Executions are still going on in great numbers.

Probably this is about as accurate a scale for the punishment of various offences as it is possible to draw up: if a former loyalist officer is captured and it is proved that he volunteered for service in the "Red" Army he is, as a rule, put against a wall and shot. If an officer was called up by the loyalists for service and obeyed, but was then promoted, he comes before a tribunal, and may be shot or may escape with a long sentence of imprisonment. A similar fate awaits Army commissars, political commissars, and party secretaries who are denounced by Nationalists.

It is estimated that 10 per cent of Madrid's population has been killed through retaliations carried out by one side or the other. This figure does not include those who died fighting or from hunger.

Any militiaman who is denounced by Nationalist sympathisers is liable to be shot or put into prison. Executions go on steadily. Military tribunals try the various cases of "murder" (any execution under the Republican regime is regarded as murder, and those who were no more than agents for carrying out sentences are now liable to lose their lives).

These reprisals are initiated and carried out mostly by the civil Government, and particularly by the Falangists. The Army remains aloof, except in some cases.

Twenty Years of Yugo-Slavia

Dr. Josef Maerz writes in the *Zeitschrift fuer Geopolitik* :

Yugo-Slavia has no signs of being an artificial state, created by individuals, nor is it burdened by the inclusion of an unnecessarily large number of foreigners. If we

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put together its three slavonic races, it can be regarded not only as a real national state, but a nation, that has been obliged to leave a considerable part of its people outside its own boundaries.

On the 6th October, 1918, representatives, mostly deputies to the Diets of the south-slavonic peoples, coming from all parts of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, *i.e.*, Carniola, Croatia, Slovenia, Bosnia, Herzagovina, Dalmatia, Fiume, Triest and Istria, met together and formed the National Council of Slovenes, Croats and Serbs with its main seat at Zagreb. On the 29th October, 1918, this National Council became a sovereign body. The Croatian Diet resolved, on this day, to declare all constitutional ties and relationships between the Kingdom of Croatia, Slovenia and Dalmatia, on the one hand, and the Kingdoms of Hungary and Austria, on the other, to be dissolved. At the same time, it declared the so-called "Triune Kingdom," with the addition of Fiume, to be an independent state. At the end of 1918, the boundaries of the state were not yet settled. In 1924, Hatzfeld went to Rumania and the Albanian boundary near Lake Ochrida was agreed to. In 1919 Bulgaria had to give up small strips of land near Timok, Caribrod and Bregalnica. In 1922, Italy claimed the possession of Zara and the island of Lagosta. Fiume went to Italy in 1924. The plebiscite of 1920 resulted in the disappointment of the Slovenes about Carinthia.

The new division of the land into 33 administrative districts could not suppress the feelings of separate traditions in the peoples' minds. The Reforms of 1931, which created nine bigger Viceroyalties, appear to be making headway; yet one of the chief complaint of the Croats is that their own native province has been torn asunder among two or more viceroyalties. The Slovenes having retained their own province undivided, their desire for autonomy under a federation is not so strong.

New problems have cropped up, on account of this Union. Century-old political separation and differences of cultural development, deepened by differences of religious confessions, had given rise to great disparities in the political and social structure and in the conception about political existence. Economic constitution, welfare and buying power, division of ownership, distributive organizations, etc., were as different as the rights and laws themselves. Communication was defective. Roads leading from Vienna to Triest went through Slovenia, and those leading from Budapest to Fiume went through Croatia, while cross-roads were almost absent. Only since the last five years that these defects are being corrected, which is expediting the fusion of the different divisions of the state. Distribution of new industries in the land and opening of new treasures of the soil are leading to the same result.

[Trs. Dr. V. V. Gokhale]

Educational Trends in Turkey

The following notes on Education in Turkey are reproduced here from *World Christianity*:

Statistics show that the percentage of literacy in 1927 before the change of letters was 8.15. It can hardly be over 16.30 today. For while the new letters are easily learned they are also easily forgotten. Since the majority of village schools are three-year schools, the children graduating from those schools quickly forget all they have learned. Various suggestions are given as to the solution of this problem. A law, for example, would require that after a certain period another examination be given; those who have forgotten their reading and writing to be penalized, those who have retained their ability to be rewarded. It is suggested that all employees of government offices and of institutions connected with the government be graduates at least of *lycees*.

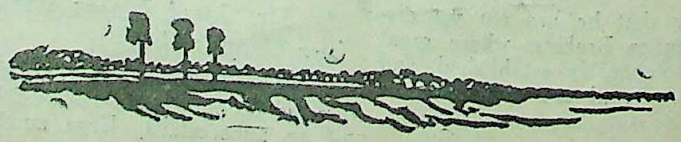
An earnest effort is being made by the government to meet this great need. Next year, for example, it is hoped that 500 new village primary schools will be opened. The army is also being used in this connection. It is said that the army itself is really a school in which 90 per cent are able to read and write.

For many years there have been in Turkey social centers originally called *ojaks* (hearths), created to meet the social needs of the young, and to be centers for the arousing of intelligent interest in Turkish culture. Since February, 1932, these centers have been taken over by the Peoples Party, the one political party of the country, and have been given the name *Halk Evi*. On February 1 there were 209 of these "centers," 42 new ones have been opened on February 20 in celebration of the anniversary of the organization. Theoretically each center is organized with special committees or departments responsible for the following activities: language, history, and literature; fine arts; dramatics; sports; social science; village work; museums and expositions; lectures and adult education; library and publications.

Is Any One Race Superior?

Dr. Eva J. Ross observes in *The Catholic World*:

As an example of a mistaken race theory, take, for example the idea that Negroes are less intelligent than whitefolk. Yet far from considering the Negro as unintelligent, whites should marvel at the enormous progress which has been made by American Negroes since their emancipation in 1863. In all history, there is no such record of swift, silent, peaceful, almost unobserved progress as the Negro has made in America in the past seventy-five years, with the migration of more than two million Negroes to the North during and immediately after the World War,—despite his handicaps socially, in economic life, in education, and every other way. Sometimes such theorists support their ideas with the fantastic theory, based on the notion of man's evolution from lower animal forms, that the Negro resembles the higher anthropoids more closely than the Caucasians, in cranial capacity, length of arm, receding forehead and prognathous jaw. Yet of all races, the Negroes are the farthest removed from the ape type, with their thick, red lips in contrast to the ape's thin, bloodless ones, and their hairlessness, in contrast to the extreme hairiness of the ape.



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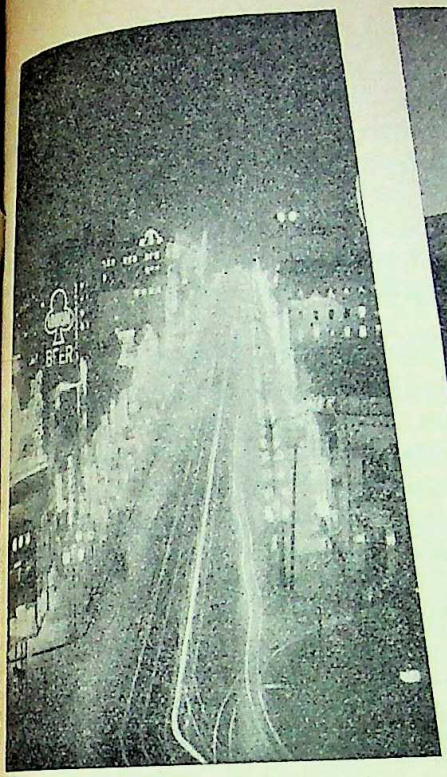
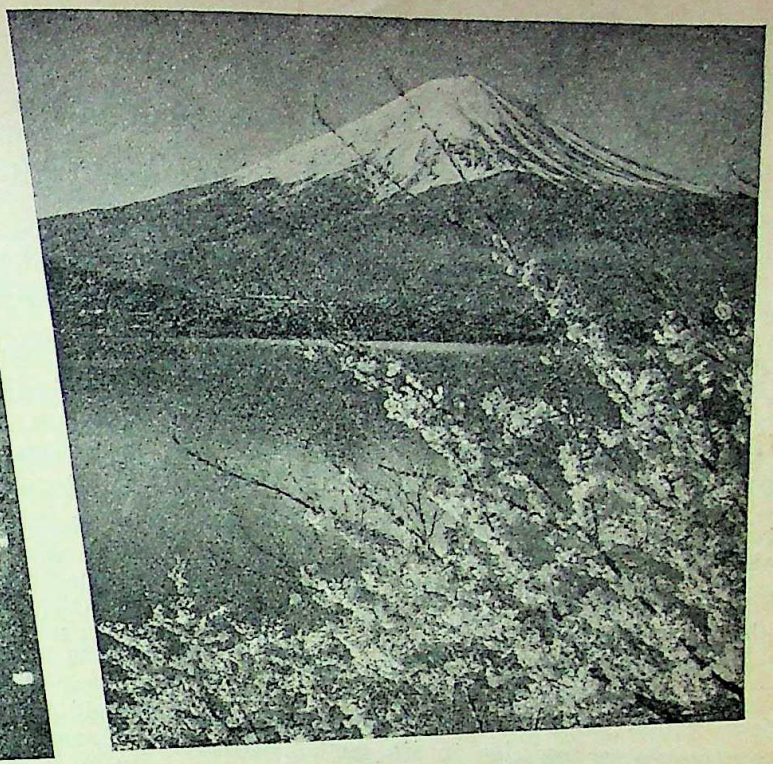
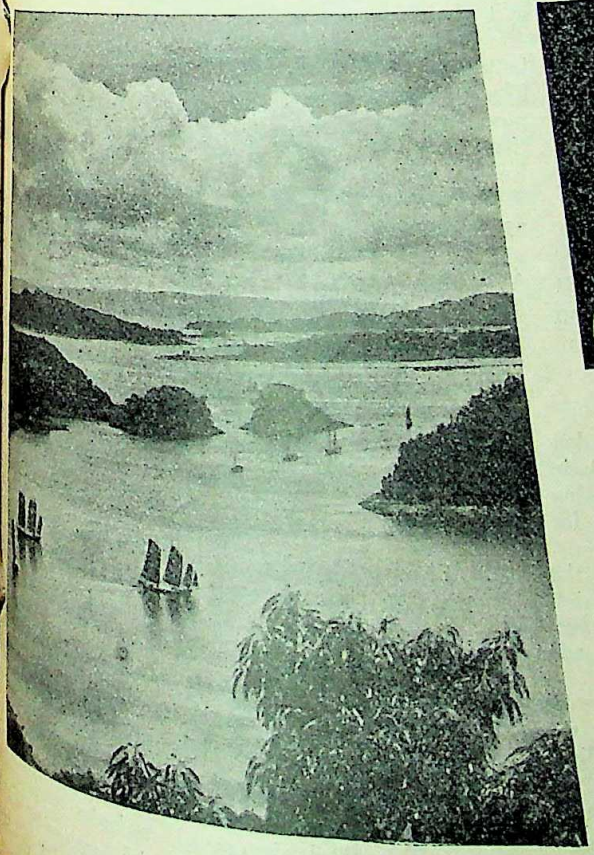




SEE

Japan

GEM OF THE EAST



Nowhere else can you find an ideal vacation-land such as Japan, where West and East blend in perfect harmony; where the old is preserved intact by everything New in civilization, and unrivalled land—and sea-scapes.

BOARD OF TOURIST INDUSTRY, JAPANESE GOVERNMENT RAILWAYS

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MOSCOW PACT ?

By GOPAL HALDAR

On August 21, Moscow flashed the world with the following news as broadcast by the *Reuter* agency :

It is officially announced that a Soviet-German trade and credit agreement was signed in Berlin on Saturday (August 19) providing for a German credit to Russia of two hundred million Reichsmarks for seven years at 5 per cent interest for the purchase of German goods within two years. The agreement also provides for the sale of Russian goods to Germany within two years to the amount of 180 million Reichsmarks.

Surprises are normal now, and the turmoil of the times presents the people with a 'turning point' almost a month. Hence, a student of politics can very well known which will follow which to lead the tortuous path of European power politics to its goal. Still the above news must have been a surprise to many. Their doubts were deepened by the Moscow comments of the day, reported by the *Reuter* :

The agreement may improve not only economic, but also political relations writes the *Pravda*, commenting on the German-Soviet Trade Agreement. It is designed to relieve the atmosphere.

The *Izvesta* says that it can safely be said that the new agreement marks a turning point in the business relations of the two countries. The paper adds that the Soviet Union's purchases from Germany comprise chiefly machine tools and other equipment.

On the doubting and debating world, so long anxiously waiting for Hitler's march on Danzig, a few hourse later burst the following message :

London. Aug. 21.

Officially the German News Agency announced today that Germany and Soviet Russia have agreed to conclude a non-aggression pact and Herr von Ribbentrop is going to Moscow on Wednesday to complete the negotiations for a pact.

An official Tass Agency announcement, confirming the impending pact says : "After the conclusion of the Soviet-German Trade Credit Agreement there arose the problem of improving the political relations between Germany and the U. S. S. R.

"An exchange of views on this subject, which took place between the Governments of Germany and the U. S. S. R., established that both parties desire to relieve the tension in their political relations to eliminate the war menace and to conclude a non-aggression pact. Consequently Herr von Ribbentrop will arrive in Moscow in a few days for the corresponding negotiations."

Politicians are puzzled, parties built on solid ideologies are shocked, and peoples and nations wonder where they stand in the darkening labyrinth of the age.

Surprise—In Berlin and Moscow

The reactions of the different parts of the world are a sufficient measure of the importance and unexpectedness that mark this contemplated agreement (signed on August 23).

None of the newspapers comment on Herr Von Ribbentrop's visit. The news came as a shock to Soviet citizens and to foreign observers who are unable to hazard a guess as to the possible effects of the new pact on the three-Power negotiations.

Well-informed Soviet quarters this afternoon expressed the conviction that the Soviet-German Non-Aggression Pact would not be incompatible with the projected defensive alliance between Soviet, Britain and France. The statement is regarded by competent observers as of high significance, indicating the Soviet Government's intention and desire to continue the three-Power anti-aggression talks.

Berliners rubbed their eyes twice when they read the announcement of the impending conclusion of the pact with the Soviet in special editions of the morning papers.

Surprise at this sudden development in the relations between Germany and Bolshevist Russia is undisguised. The newspapers carry the announcement in the biggest possible type but hitherto without comment. The negotiations, kept an exceedingly close secret, were presumably known only to a few high officials since there is not a Wilhelmstrasse spokesman who does not profess the "greatest surprise."

Foreign political circles in Berlin regard the move as a tremendous success for Germany, completely changing the political situation in Europe and perhaps only a beginning of more important developments. The effect on Germany's relations with Spain and Japan is awaited with great interest. It is thought that Japan will probably not be pleased with the rapprochement between Berlin and Moscow as she had no doubt counted on closer relations with the Nazi Powers at the expense of Russia.

World Reaction

The midnight announcement told Britain of her diplomatic defeat at Moscow. It was felt that the agreement would mean an end of the Franco-Russian treaty of mutual assistance, cancel out the "Anti-Comintern Pact" and thus form a *volte face* of Nazi diplomatists. The British Cabinet was meeting to consider the impending Danzig position. The Parliament was surely now to be recalled: meanwhile Britain must calmly and sourly stand by the promise she gave to Poland. Poland, however, looked quiet and confident

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The Polish view seems to be that the ...ow shows, firstly, that the Soviet does not ...ish, as Poland always has believed, to inter... in European affairs ; secondly, that the ...viet considers Poland strong enough with ...e backing she already has received to face ...rman aggression, and, thirdly, that Germany ...r her part is carrying on a war of nerves. It ...s an 'ideological reversal' for the Nazis, but ...s to remain "another scrap of paper with ...e in practice."

Anglo-French attitude towards Poland ...uld not be changed by the pact, held Paris. ...ance was greatly surprised, but admitted ...t the possiblity of such a pact had been ...own for a long time and on many occasions.

Astonishment coupled with alarm at ...at is described as a 'stunning blow at ...ritain's peace front', was expressed in high ...arters in Washington. The position of ...anzig was considered undermined, Nazis ...ought to have got one of the gratest ...ories, and Stalin was held to have resolved ...et fascist and democratic powers to fight it ...t.

Of the "Axis" powers, Italy had no ...ulty in appreciating the Nazi diplomatic ...ph over Franco-British attempts at the ...ction, and Signor Gayda in *Giornale ...alia* continued ; "Poland is now isolated. ...ain and France calculated in their engage...nt towards Poland on the Russian contribu...n ; now they must take risks alone."

But Japan's reactions were bound to be ...rent. For, the pact would end the ...rclement" of the Soviet, at least on the ...tern frontier of Russia. "An entirely new ...ation" and a new European policy was felt ...essary, as Japan confessed that she at ...r rate had "learnt bitter lessons on the ...tual bond of the Anti-Comintern Pact and ...t there is no weight in Hitler's realistic ...y."

"A New Situation"

It is an undoubted fact that almost all ...powers felt that a new situation was ...ted and a turning point in European ...ties was reached. There is no denying ...and only two factors need be weighed ...e fully admitting this view. Firstly, the ...al provisions of the coming agreement ..., as is usual in such non-aggression pacts, ...e either side the liberty to denounce the ...n if the other commits an aggression. And, ...se like that would render the proposed

MOUTH HYGIENE

It is becoming increasingly difficult under modern conditions of life and habits to maintain the healthy condition of one's teeth. Nevertheless it is all the more essential to take proper care of the teeth as no man can be healthy without a set of healthy teeth. The food we take, has first to be properly masticated in the mouth by the teeth, mixed with healthy saliva therein and then is sent in to be further digested and assimilated in the stomach and the intestines. If the food gets contaminated by the poisons emitted by unhealthy teeth and goes into the system, the man's health is impaired and diseases set in. Thus bad teeth might often lead to many chronic and fatal diseases, such as Rheumatism, Anæmia, Neurasthenia, Sprue, Atony, dilatation of the stomach, ulcer of the stomach etc. Therefore, the need for proper attention being devoted to the care of the teeth could never be over-emphasised.

The constant use of a good antiseptic dentifrice is a sure security against the contamination of the teeth and would ensure their preservation in a healthy and strong condition. Neem Tooth Paste is ideally suited for this purpose and is within the reach of all.

Neem Tooth Paste is a more effective and convenient modern substitute for the margosa (Neem) twigs, the extensive use of which by the Indians has been responsible for their strong and healthy teeth. In fact, Neem Tooth Paste contains not only the essentials of the margosa twigs but also other valuable ingredients well known in modern dental hygiene for their cleansing and prophylactic properties. Thus it is far more valuable and useful than the primitive margosa twig for cleansing and maintenance of the healthy condition of the teeth.

Neem Tooth Paste used twice daily—once first thing in the morning and again before retiring—strengthens the gums preserves the enamel and leaves behind a set of clean white teeth, the envy of many a man. It is suggested that the use of "Neem Tooth Paste" and "Margofrice" (Neem dental powder) alternately—the Paste in the morning and the Powder at night or vice versa —would be specially good as this will ensure the best results from these margosic dentifrices.

Those, however, who prefer to use only a tooth powder instead of any paste, could, with advantage, use "Margofrice" which is but Neem Tooth Paste in powder form. It is, therefore, equally effective and would serve as an excellent dentifrice. These two are CALCHEMICO Products and are obtainable everywhere.

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agreement of no political value, except in so far as it may lead to the political changes immediately. Secondly, Europe is so strewn over with broken pacts and pledges since the advent of this era of *Machtpolitik*, that no body can put any trust in any agreements. A Pact between Hitler and Stalin in particular would practically stand no test.

Keeping in view these two very imporant considerations, we must hold that a turning point has been reached. For, the announcement must call for an orientation of the policy of the powers. They have proceeded so long on the assumption that the warring ideologies did not admit of any agreement, and that the champions of the rival camps hated each other too well to be wise or diplomatic. They are now asked to recast their balance. Political and psychological certainties have been rendered for them uncertain to a great extent.

Immediate Effect

The political positions which the agreement is bound to affect immediately, are not far to see: *viz.*, Poland, 'Peace Front' and the 'Axis' position in the Far East.

Danzig is in immediate danger of German invasion; Britain and France have reiterated their promise to Poland afresh now. But will they now risk a war for Danzig or Poland? Why should Hitler stop short of his intended Polish adventure, no longer threatened by the mighty avalanche of a possible 'Peace Front' including Russia? Certainly Britain would belie her own record of the last few years if suddenly she come forward to uphold the 'lost cause' of Poland. She is too wise a political bargainer to make such a doubtful bid for 'honour' or 'interest' after uniformly throwing to the winds both the commodity all these years. It is certain she cannot bring in Russia into the arena—at least not until towards the end of the war if once that start. Poland would of course die, or will be in deathbed, but peace will be preserved and war averted.—So far as Britain is concerned.

Thus the 'Peace Front' could not be built up; for that, and its logical sequel, this Moscow Pact, Germany must thank the real anti-Comintern class, the British Premier and his pro-fascist friends. The "Front" might be found unnecessary for the time being. For the "Peace Front' of Britain and France and Russia has been made impossible now. Theoretically, there is nothing to prevent it, as is pointed out by the Soviet. A non-aggression pact with Germany, on the contrary, exte the contemplated Front—so as to reach eve the enemies of peace. The paradox is too appa rent to be explained, and, certainly, 'Pea Fornt' would be a huge paradox in itself if it become a reality along with the Germa Russian agreement—and probably with subje tion of Poland.

The 'Peace Front' was never solid; but the Berlin-Rome-Tokyo Axis, its opposite part, w cracked too by this Berlin-Moscow pact. For this would leave Hitler comparatively free to persue his ends in Eastern Europe, in Poland Roumania, Hungary, in the Baltic and in the Balkans. But the pact also places Asia, and the Far East, more at the disposal of Stalin The Soviet, and not Germany, was so long the victim of an 'encirclement' policy—in the east and the west of the Axis Powers. The threat from Germany being removed, the Soviet would now turn its eye on the Far East, the Outer Mongolian and the Manchurian frontiers, and even on Sinkiang The Chinese naturally feel optimistic when Japan is likely to be faced by the Soviet Japan's predicament, as she confesses, is the greatest—for, she may in addition be confronted by Great Britain and the western powers whom she was squeezing out of China. Common interest may here even bring all these Powers together to meet squarely the Japanese arrogance if the Soviet takes the lead. This agreement on a Far Eastern settlement may help to build up the 'Peace Front' anew. That would be of value and that would cover up an Anglo-French retreat from the Danzig and Polish front without a war.

Not A "Break"

Japan certainly considers the move on the part of Hitler as a *volte face*. The democratic powers and the socialist parties of the world are also most likely to hold that Moscow has let them down. That is but a simple and natural reaction; but not fair in all respects. They have been fed too long on an i-fascist dishes. Moreover, they believe that the 'United Front' for defence of democratic rights and organizations would enjoin certainly friendliness for democracies against the worst of the Fascists, Hitler. Apart from the ideologues, who would forget the realities of the world conditions in this darkening era of Reaction, there are a very number of men and women throughout the world who believe that the Soviet, for anything, could not but line up with these democracies against

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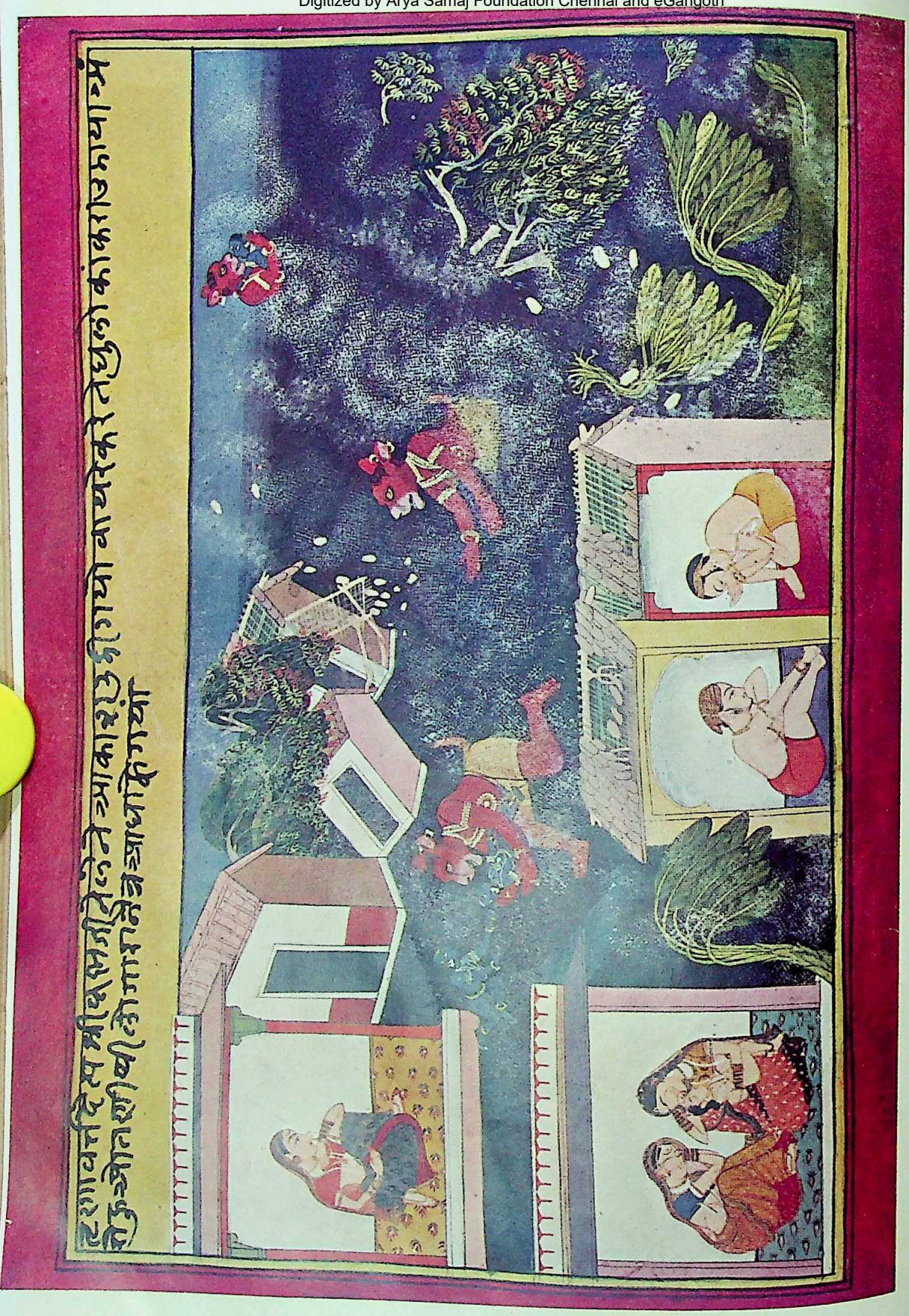

QUELLING OF THE DEMON TRINAVARTA
After an Old Painting
[From a Private Collection]

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THE MODERN REVIEW

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QUELLING OF THE DEMON TRINAVARTA
[After an Old Painting
[From a Private Collection]

NOTES

Mahatma Gandhi Completes His Seventieth Year

Mahatma Gandhi completes his seventieth year this October. May he live to be a centenarian—according to the scriptural and traditional Hindu benediction.

On the 2nd of this month a book of essays and reflections on his life and work, edited by Dr. S. Radhakrishnan, is to be presented to him. Gandhiji is admittedly one of the greatest personalities of the modern world.

Mahatma Gandhi's greatest achievement in the field of Indian political endeavour is that it is the result of his teaching of satyāgraha and the campaign of satyāgraha carried on under his leadership, vast masses of the peole of India have come to believe in the practicability of winning freedom and independence, to hope for it and to be resolved to win it non-violently by making all the sacrifices and undergoing all the sufferings that may be necessary.

The most distinctive feature of his character and life is the value attached by him to *satya and ahimsā*, truth and non-violence, both in his personal and his public life. This is not to say that there have not been famous men and women unknown to fame before him who have not attached the highest value on truth in their individual lives and their public activities, including political activities. There have been such men among his contemporaries also such men and women are to be found. Some of these votaries of truth, among them being a few statesmen of free and independent countries who have held the opinion that truth should be observed even in diplomacy and international pourparlers and relations. Whether in their own practice they wholly succeeded in adhering to this view, we do not know. In the case of Gandhiji himself there have been on some occasions merely literal adherence to truth and lawyer-like ingenuity in the manipulation of recalcitrant facts.

There have been some saintly teachers of men who had little or nothing to do with politics, who were perhaps more thoroughgoing votaries of truth in their personal life than Mahatmaji.

What distinguishes Mahatma Gandhi is his equal devotion to truth and non-violence. A few very remarkable examples of such devotion to both these virtues are to be found in the religious history of India. But those who set these examples were not politicians. Mahatmaji's distinction lies in the fact that he aspires to strictly adhere to truth and non-violence in thought and action even in political work, including political struggles for liberty. And his aspiration has not remained mere aspiration. There has been much realization and achievement also, though not of course full realization and achievement.

In India there have been thoroughgoing teachers and practisers of ahimsā in personal life before Mahatma Gandhi—and perhaps more thoroughgoing than he. Mahatmaji's distinction lies in insisting upon ahimsā being made a, if not *the*, cardinal virtue in also the collective life of nations and of humanity. He is a thoroughgoing pacifist. He would not have

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recourse to physical force and bloodshed even for the sake of preserving or regaining national freedom. He thinks that national freedom and independence can be won by satyāgraha rooted in ahimsā. If national liberation could not be won by such means, he would not have it. Thus in satyāgraha he has found what William James calls a moral substitute for war. That it has not yet been actually found to be an effective substitute would not be considered by idealists a valid argument against it. What other ideal has been fully realized ?—they would argue.

In his devotion to non-violence Mahatma Gandhi goes so far as to lay down that even when a woman's chastity is at stake, there should not be any recourse to violence, as he would call it, to save it. Here we entirely disagree.

Another great endeavour of Gandhiji is the war which he has declared against 'untouchability.' He made it a plank of the Congress platform at the suggestion and request of Mr. V. R. Shinde, a missionary of the Brahmo Samaj, the fight against caste of which body has always included the destruction of untouchability. But there is no question that Mahatmaji has been the most relentless and successful (so far as his success goes) enemy of this particular baneful feature of caste.

Perhaps no sect carries the practice of fasting to such extreme length as the Jains. But Mahatmaji, though left behind by them in the length of the fasts, has found a new use for fasting and the practice of sitting *dharnā*, namely, putting moral pressure on individuals, governments and peoples for gaining moral and political ends.

Mahatmaji is a great *tapasvin*. So far as the mere severity of penances and austerities go, there have been far greater *tapasvins* than he. But, unlike them or many or most of them, Mahatmaji has practised penance not solely for personal spiritual improvement or for the acquisition of religious merit, but also because he wants to perfect himself as a brother and servant of his fellow-men.

Others before him have suggested hand-spinning and hand-loom weaving as a means of ameliorating the condition of the masses of India. But he has been the first in our machine age to revive among the agricultural people of the world on a vast scale the practice of village industries. He has discovered even some moral and spiritual efficacy in spinning.

Gandhiji lays the greatest stress on chastity in the sense of complete abstention from the sex act. He regards marriage itself as a concession to human weakness. We do not agree.

War Breaks Out In Europe

War has broken out in Europe as the result of Herr Hitler's determination to seize Danzig and the Corridor by force. It is a fact of history that there was a time when Danzig and the Corridor were parts of Germany, and that their re-incorporation in that country is justifiable may be arguable. The allies of Poland in the war wanted that the German Reich's claim to them should be examined by an independent tribunal for the purpose of arbitration. But Herr Hitler wanted to seize them by force and is still resolved to do so. That was wrong.

Rightly or wrongly, the world has come to be divided into the various States as they stand today. If it be felt that in the interests of justice there should be re-distribution of territory, peaceful methods should be followed for such re-distribution. But if force were to be resorted to instead, there would be no end to fighting. Danzig was formerly part of Germany, and then it came to have an independent existence. It is possible that it would prefer that status to inclusion in Germany. Why not let an independent tribunal ascertain what justice and self-determination demand. The examination or re-examination of any status quo may not be barred by limitation, as lawyers would say. But what *is* the status quo. It was not very long ago that Germany itself was not one State. Some one may take it into his head that the pre-Bismarck status quo should be restored, and if he comes to have sufficient power he may attempt it. If ambition and force and fancy are to have supreme sway, there may be wars of territorial redistribution in all continents and countries. For example, some parts of India were formerly parts of Afghanistan and ex-King Amanulla tried to take them by force. Some parts of Afghanistan, again, were formerly parts of a Hindu empire, and Maharaja Ranjit Singh actually re-incorporated some portions of that country in his Sikh kingdom.

But if human civilization is to make progress, forcible inclusion or re-inclusion of what is de facto foreign territory must cease.

Russia's Invasion of Poland

There may be various reasons, avowed or not avowed, for Russia's invasion of Poland. One is that the Ukrainian and White Russian minorities in Poland were and are oppressed

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in Poland and therefore Russia wants their reunion in the Soviet. But no independent tribunal has given its verdict that they have been oppressed. Moreover, it is possible that all Ukrainians, in Russia and Poland, may want to have and live in a separate and independent Ukrainian State of their own, or that the Ukrainians in Poland may prefer to be citizens of Poland instead of being citizens of Soviet Russia. In either case, why should not their wishes be ascertained and given effect to?

[Since the above was in type news has come of an active Great Ukrainia movement, including all Ukrainians in Russia and Poland.]

The question of racial, religious and linguistic minorities is a ticklish one. But if people were reasonable and had the same respect for others' rights and susceptibilities as they have for their own and were not obsessed by any superiority complex, it would be easy for all to live together amicably in spite of differences in race, language and religion. And in fact *normally* the people of India have lived and still live amicably together in spite of those differences. We have said, 'normally,' in order to exclude from consideration happenings due to political devices like the Communal Decision and the fanaticism of bigots.

At present there are not and there can never be 'exterior-race-tight,' 'exterior-religion-tight' and 'exterior-language-tight' States, or countries, or provinces, or regions—States etc., in which there is only one race or religion or language to the present and future exclusion of any other. And it is good that it is so, as men would be better and happier by being able to live together in a neighbourly manner with others.

There is no pure race in the world. Therefore the racial fanatic, like the German Nordic, is a disturbing element in the world.

Religious and linguistic fanatics are also disturbing elements.

We cannot support Russia's invasion of Poland on the plea that she wants to bring the Ukrainians in Poland under her aegis. Her plea that she wants to restore peace and order in Poland is a grim imperialistic joke. If she wanted to have a share of the loot, she would stand self-confessed as a brigand. If she wants a buffer State between herself and Germany, that object will be best gained and achieved righteously by helping Poland to remain independent.

We Refrain from Discussing the War Situation

The war situation has been changing so rapidly, so many surprises being sprung on the public, that we have thought it best to refrain from commenting on it.

The Next Census of India

The next census of India, to be taken early in 1941, should be as accurate and free from mistakes as practicable. Its reports should also contain certain kinds of necessary and useful information of a reliable character which are generally expected to be found in such official publications.

It is to be regretted that the Legislative Assembly has passed the Indian Census Bill in a defective form.

Dr. Pramathanath Banerjea, M. L. A. (Central), in moving that the Bill be referred to a select committee, observed:

> Sir, this is a very important Bill, and it should receive our most earnest attention. In every country the census report is regarded as the most valuable source of information regarding the life of its people, and every attempt is made to supply not only the most accurate data, but also to present these data in a form which may prove most useful to everybody. Unfortunately, here in India conditions are different. The census report is admitted to be very incomplete in India and is full of inaccuracies. My Honourable friend, the Home Member, said a few minutes ago that the census report in India reaches a very high level and he also said that this is a great national effort. Now, I am sorry I cannot see eye to eye with him on either of these questions. As regards the census report reaching a high level, may I invite his attention to the fact that great inaccuracies crept into the last report? I will refer to an article by Mr. Dutta contributed to the *Indian Statistical Journal*, a journal which is regarded as authoritative in this country and for whose publication the Central Government makes a large grant.

Inaccuracies and glaring defects in the census report have been pointed out in *The Modern Review* and *Prabāsi* also.

From the inaccuracies pointed out in the article in the Indian Statistical Journal, referred to by him, Dr. Banerjea picked out one which may justly lead people to doubt the reliability of the other statistical details contained in the report. Said he:

> In *The Indian Journal of Statistics*, Volume 3, Part 2, September, 1937, there appeared an article headed, "Inaccuracies in the Bengal Census Report, 1931." There the whole subject is dealt with from a very scientific standpoint and many inaccuracies are pointed out. Time will not permit my going into these in detail, but I shall give you one striking instance. In the Kishorgunge Subdivision of Bengal it is recorded that there is not a single literate in English. We all know that this is a sub-division. There are two English High Schools in that

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sub-division. There is a Sub-divisional Magistrate, there are executive and judicial officers, there is a Chairman of the Municipality, and there are members of the Municipality. And it is surprising to note that there is not a single literate in English in that sub-division ! Are more instances needed to show that the Census Report of 1931 was inaccurate ?

Dr. Banerjea proceeded to mention one reason why the census report has now acquired added importance.

The Census Report has now acquired an added importance from the fact that representation in the various legislatures of the country is now on a communal basis. Therefore, the numerical strength of a community is an important factor which has to be taken into consideration. And suspicions have arisen in different parts of the country with regard to the enumeration of the population. I find that a representation has been sent to the Government of India, Home Department, with regard to the census by the Working Committee of the Bengal Hindu Mahasabha. It is in these words, I shall not quote the whole of it, but only a few sentences :

"There is a feeling that due to certain reasons, which need not be mentioned here, the last Census Record did not correctly represent the real numerical strength of the Hindu population in the province of Bengal.

"It is, therefore, desirable that adequate steps should be taken and safeguards provided to ensure correct enumeration so that the next census may truly represent the actual strength of the Hindu population in Bengal.

"We, as representatives of Hindu opinion in Bengal, deem it eminently desirable that in every case, where primary figures are to be collected in connection with the census operations, it should be done jointly by two officers of enumerators, one a Hindu and the other a Mahomedan."

The suggestions made by the speaker in this connection deserve support.

What I suggest is that the census operations should be on a strictly scientific basis, and for that purpose you should invite the assistance of all statistical institutions in the country, particularly, the Indian Statistical Institute. In the matter of appointment of officers you should take special care to see that the officers enjoy the full confidence of all the communities concerned.

Dr. Banerjea very rightly opposed the provision made in one clause of the Bill for dual control. Said he :

Sir, one of the clauses of the Bill provides that the Central Government will appoint some of the officers and the Provincial Governments will appoint some others. Now, this dual control which is contemplated here will be unsatisfactory and will lead to trouble. All the officers should be appointed by the Central Government—that will be one solution.

It is a very unfortunate fact that there is a considerable amount of communal feeling in the Province and the Provincial Governments may be charged, rightly or wrongly, with a desire to influence the census operations. The collection and presentation of data relating to census are very difficult and it is only experts who can do the work properly. Therefore, I suggest that there should be provisions in the Bill which will ensure that object, namely, an accurate collection and proper presentation of data relating to the numerical strength of the population.

In this connection Dr. Banerjea pointed out the defective character of the occupational statistics of previous censuses.

In this connection I may point out that at previous censuses the facts relating to the occupations of the people were very meagrely dealt with. Now if you look at the census of every advanced country, you will find a great deal of accurate information with regard to the occupations of the people.

He concluded by observing :

If you have to deal properly with a subject, there must be proper provisions in this Bill. There are various other matters in this Bill which should be gone into in Select Committee and, therefore, I suggest that we should not allow this Bill to be hurried through this House but that we should refer it to a Select Committee where all the different matters suggested by me and others may be fully threshed out.

But unfortunately the Bill *was* hurried through the House.

Caste Enumeration in Census

We have not seen the Indian Census Bill yet. We do not know whether it contains any detailed provisions relating to the different kinds of statistics to be compiled. Hitherto the practice has been to count and give the number of persons, male and female, belonging to each caste in the all-India and provincial and States reports. It was reported in the papers some time ago that at the next census caste statistics will not in general be given in the reports, but that an exception will be made in the case of the scheduled castes. We are not supporters of the caste system. We do not observe caste restrictions of any kind in practice. But if the census report is not to recognize caste, this attitude should be consistent—statistics of none of the castes should be given.

If statistics of the scheduled castes are to be given, it is only proper that those of the "higher" castes should also be given, in order that the comparative strength and decrease or increase of each caste of each of the two divisions of castes may be known. This is necessary for political reasons, so long at any rate as communal representation lasts. But it is necessary also for scientific investigations on the part of ethnologists.

Linguistic Enumeration in Census

The number of speakers of each language in the different provinces and states of India should be accurately counted and recorded. This is particularly necessary in the provinces of Bihar and Assam. A Bounderies Commission, promised or suggested officially more than once, has been long overdue. Congress, too

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has laid down that all the Bengali-speaking areas bordering Bengal, should be re-incorporated in Bengal. Therefore, the Bengali population of Bihar and Assam should be quite accurately counted.

Bankim Chandra Chatterjee's Miscellaneous Essays

It is known to the public interested in Bengali literature that the Bangiya Sāhitya Parishad (Bengali Literary Academy) has undertaken the task of publishing a centenary edition of the works of Bankim Chandra Chatterjee. The volumes hitherto published have been noticed in the Reviews and Notices section of this periodical. The latest volume published contains the great author's miscellaneous essays and articles. It is as carefully edited and neatly printed as the previous volumes.

Bankim Chandra is generally known as a great novelist. But he was much more. This volume of essays and articles show the very wide range of his intellectual interests, his refined culture and extensive studies, the keenness and strength of his intellect, the profundity of his thought and his warm and enlightened patriotism combined with liberal humanitarianism. For the good of his country-men he dared to tell them the truth in matters relating to their religious beliefs and social practices and pointed out defects in their character.

Sjt. Hirendranath Datta, president of the Academy, has classified these articles, contributed mostly to Bankim Chandra's own *Bangadarshan* and a few to *Prachār*. They number 31 in all. Seven relate to literature and language, four to antiquities, ten to history and economics, ten to philosophy and religion, and four are of a miscellaneous character.

Combination of Folk Art and Folk Literature

The Calcutta University has recently published an attractive illustrated volume compiled by Sjt. Guru Saday Dutt, I. C. S., called *Patuā-Sangīt*. Sjt. Dutt is well known for his enthusiastic endeavours to revive Bengal's folk culture in many directions. This volume is his latest achievement.

There is a class of men, a caste if we may so say, in Bengal known as *patuās* whose family name or cognomen is *Chitrakar* (painter). Their traditional occupation is (or rather was) to paint pictures of mythological stories in the form of long rolls and show them to people, chanting or singing the stories, composed by them metrically, whilst unfolding the rolls. They thus combine in their persons the twofold role of bard or minstrel and painter. Their contribution to the mental, moral and spiritual enlightenment of the masses, mostly illiterate, has been considerable.

When Sjt. Dutt was district magistrate of Birbhum he collected many of the rolls of the *Patuās* and took down many of the metrical chants or songs as recited by them. These he has now published with a long thoughtful and learned introduction.

Besides appealing to those who are interested in folk art and folk poetry, the volume will be useful to those who study the development of the Bengali language and literature.

An Early Advocate Of An Indian Lingua Franca

For a few years past the Indian National Congress has been trying to promote the cause of Hindi or Hindustani as the *lingua franca* of India, though general unanimity has not yet been achieved. It is interesting and instructive to find that the need of a common language for India was felt about sixty-six years ago by Keshub Chunder Sen. He was of the opinion that Hindi should be that language. Sjt. Jogendranath Gupta, a well known publicist, has recently brought out the first part of a collection of articles which originally appeared in his *Sulabh Samāchār*, the first pice paper in Bengal —perhaps in India. The first article reproduced in this collection is entitled, "What are the means of achieving unity among the people of India?" One of the means suggested is that there should be a common language and Hindi is proposed to be that language. This article appeared on the 5th of Chaitra, 1280 Bengali era, that is to say 65 years and 5 months ago. The compiler, Sjt. Gupta, says in his introduction with regard to this article that, though he does not agree that Hindi should be India's common language, his mind is filled with wonderment that Keshub Chunder Sen thought deeply on the problem of Indian unity so long ago and suggested some solutions. Sjt. Gupta intends to bring out other parts of selections from the *Sulabh Samāchar* shortly.

Bombardment of Civilian Population

Both common humanity and the international war code, if it can be given that name,

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require that during warfare there should not be any deliberate attack on the civilian population, particularly women and children. The Japanese have not been observing this restriction during the Sino-Japanese war. The German high command's threat to bomb and shell open towns and villages, since carried out extensively, is revelation of the same kind of barbarous mentality meant to terrorize and demoralize the non-combatant population of Poland.

LONDON, Sept. 13.

In the House of Commons the Prime Minister referring to the official announcement from Herr Hitler's headquarters yesterday regarding German methods in Poland said: "*Whatever be the length to which others may go, His Majesty's Government will never resort to deliberate attack on women, children and other civilians for purposes of mere terrorism.* If action of the kind suggested is taken, it will inevitably further strengthen the resolve of ourselves and our Allies to prosecute the war to ensure that the menace we are fighting is finally removed."

Mr. Chamberlain said that the announcement was in flat contradiction to Herr Hitler's recent statement in the Reichstag when he disclaimed any desire to make war on women and children. The restrictions, which the British and the French had imposed upon the operations of their own forces, were based on the condition that similar restraint was being observed by their opponents. His Majesty's Government must, of course, hold themselves free if such restraint was not in fact observed, to take such action as they may dtem appropriate.—*Reuter.*

The part of Mr. Chamberlain's declaration which we have italicized is quite satisfactory. But when he proceeded to say that "the restrictions which the British and the French had imposed upon the operations of their own forces, were based on the condition that similar restraint was being observed by their opponents," he introduced a qualification which was inconsistent with that declaration, though the condition laid down was substantially identical with Lord Halifax's previous declaration in the House of Lords that "His Majesty's Government's undertaking at the outbreak of the war not to bomb undefended places and civilian populations was contingent on the enemy observing the same restraint."

It is to be hoped that, whatever the German armies may do, British armies will not be allowed to bomb open towns and villages.

Germany's "Assurance" Not To Use Poison Gas

LONDON, Sept. 14.

Lord Halifax revealed in the House of Lords that Sir Nevile Henderson, when asking for passport presented a note enquiring whether Germany would observe the terms of the Geneva Gas Protocol of 1925 prohibiting the use of poisonous and asphyxiating gas and bacteriological methods of warfare. The German Government have now replied in the affirmative to this inquiry through the Swiss Minister in London, who is in charge of their interests, whilst reserving full liberty of action in the event of the provisions of the Protocol being infringed by the enemy.—*Reuter.*

The assurance is conditional. Even if it were unconditional, one could not be sure of its inviolability.

Russo-Japanese Agreement

MOSCOW, Sept. 16.

As a result of negotiations between the Japanese Ambassador and M. Molotov, an agreement has been reached between the Japanese-Manchukuo and Soviet-Mongolian troops to cease all hostilities.

THE TERMS OF AGREEMENT

Japan and Soviet have agreed to an Armistice regarding the Manchukuo border warfare which has been waged sporadically over a number of years between Soviet-Mongolian and Japanese-Manchukuan forces.

The terms, according to the official News Agency, include maintenance of the line existing as at 16 G.M.T. on 15th September, exchange of prisoners and two representatives from each side to meet at the earliest date to establish the disputed frontier.

AMERICANS TO LEAVE RUSSIA

The U. S. A. State Department has confirmed that the United States Embassy in Moscow has advised American citizens to leave Russia. The advice is stated to be in accordance with the standing instructions upon Embassy procedure in times of threatened danger.

THE "RED" ENIGMA

Russia is still a great enigma in the present European situation, writes *Reuter's* diplomatic correspondent.

When the Soviet concluded the Non-Aggression Pact with Germany after turning down a Turko-British offer of collaboration in a mutual assistance pact, the general belief was that she was seeking to have her hands free in the Far East. But as events have moved so rapidly since then, it is not altogether surprising to find the Soviet entering into an Armistice with Japan which, it is suggested, may be followed by a Non-aggression Pact leaving Moscow with her hands free in Europe. What use the Soviet will make of this liberty is a great problem.

The suggestion implied in the recent article in *Pravda* was that *the Soviet staking a claim in Poland where it alleges there were nearly 10 million Ukrainians and White Russians.*

In this connection, there are two possibilities, first, there may have been an agreement with Germany in respect to partition of Poland, and secondly, Moscow alarmed by the speed of German visitors may be prepared to back up her claims to certain territories, if the German advance is pushed too far. The mobilisation of 10 million soldiers is in keeping with either alternative and can be regarded as an all-purpose measure to cover every eventuality, while it is significant that Germany seems to be as much in the dark and uncertain about the Soviet attitude as the rest of the world. The Soviet-Japanese truce should enable the Japanese to devote their energies to disposing of the China incident but whether confidence in the truce will enable the

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withdraw any of the three hundred thousand men concentrated on the Soviet-Mongolian border is somewhat a moot point. It is difficult to see how mutual Russo-Japanese distrust can disappear overnight. The same might be said even more truthfully of Russo-German relations.

In short, the signing of the Soviet-Japanese armistice does not clarify the situation, but merely introduces a new uncertainty.—*Reuter.*

Since the publication in India of the part of Reuter's message italicized above, Soviet Russia has actually invaded Poland with the alleged objects of protecting the Ukrainians and White Russians there and establishing peace and order in that war-devastated country.

[Later telegrams, dated London, September 17, state that an agreement has been reached between Germany and Russia to carve up Poland.]

Chinese Opinion on Russo-Japanese Agreement

Sept. 16.

The news of the conclusion of an armistice to end the Mongolian border fighting has caused a painful impression here although it had been known for some time that negotiations on it had been in progress.

It is pointed out that Russia continued to give material assistance to China after the signature of the Nankufeng Armistice, following fighting between the Chinese and the Japanese in August, 1938. Hence it is considered that the new agreement may not affect Soviet assistance to China.

It is considered that if Japan feels that she enjoys a free hand in the Far East without fear of Soviet intervention, she may radically change her policy towards the third party rights and interests which may, therefore, be in danger of further encroachments, but this may be followed by a more positive policy on the part of the United States in the Far East.—*Reuter.*

Hindu Women's Divorce Bill Rejected

The Central Legislative Assembly has rejected by a majority of votes the motion to refer Dr. Deshmukh's Hindu Women's Right of Divorce Bill to a select committee. It is useless to speculate now what would have been the fate of the bill if Congress members had been present in the House during the session.

However defective Dr. Deshmukh's bill may have been, they are wrong who hold that Hindu women never had or exercised the right to divorce their husbands under any circumstance or that such a right is not necessary in any circumstance. Not to speak of ancient times, even at present among certain Hindu castes in some provinces women have and exercise this ancestral right. As for times gone by, there are various texts in different *Smritis* which were meant to enable women to marry again in certain circumstances, in some cases during the life time of the first husband. The verse of Parāsara which has been quoted any number of times in support of widow-marriage may be quoted also in support of divorce in certain circumstances.

Bihar's Mass Literacy Campaign

RANCHI, Aug. 18.

The Special departmental conference in connection with the mass literacy campaign which was held at Ranchi with the Hon'ble Dr. Syed Mahmud, Minister for Education, Development and Employment, in the chair, concluded yesterday after three days' deliberations.

The present programme and the future policy to be pursued in connection with the mass literacy campaign were discussed at length and it was decided to open four thousand Hindustani and two hundred Bengali libraries in the province in areas where intensive work was conducted last year with a view to making the literacy permanent. Each library will consist of 200 books and will be supplied with one weekly newspaper. The librarian will read out and explain to the villagers the news and help them to read as well. The books intended for these libraries have been specially written for this purpose by well-known writers. The total cost towards this scheme will amount to about Rs. 22,000. Steps are being taken to open these libraries by the 15th of October next.

Regular classes will also be held for six months more in those thanas where literacy campaign was intensified last year and will be attended by those who were made literate as well as others who had failed to become literate.

It was further decided that high school students should be encouraged to make their homes and neighbourhood literate, each student being expected to make at least five persons literate in a year. Competition between schools in literacy work will be initiated.—*U.P.*

The United Provinces Government supplies its libraries with monthly magazines also. The Bihar Government should similarly provide periodicals for its Hindustani and Bengali libraries.

Viceroy's Message to People of India for Sympathy and Support

His Excellency the Viceroy in a broadcast message to the people of India said :

SIMLA, Sept. 3.

"You have all heard that early on Friday morning the German armed forces invaded Polish territory. The German Government presented no ultimatum. They gave the Polish Government no warning. Their war planes are reported to be bombing open towns and heavy casualties have already been inflicted among the civilian population.

"It is clear beyond any question from what has happened that Poland has had to face the same threat that Czechoslovakia had to face a year ago. Confronted with the demand that she should accept

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the dictation of a foreign power in relation to her own territory and her own subjects, Poland has elected to stand firm. At this moment her troops are bravely defending the frontier against the ruthless power that seeks to overwhelm her.

"His Majesty's Government and the Government of France have made it clear that they stand behind the former pledges against aggression which they had given to Poland. It is in these circumstances that we find ourselves at war with Germany today.

"The issues that emerge are clear. Acceptance of the policy and the methods which Germany has adopted would make life in the world impossible. It would represent a triumph of aggression and the supremacy of the rule of force. In circumstances such as these there could be no security in the world and no peace of mind for any of us. The ruthless onslaught of Germany on Poland, without a declaration of war, is in keeping with the rest of her conduct in this matter.

"What faces us today is the safeguarding of principles vital to the future of humanity, principles of international justice and international morality, the principle that civilized man must agree to settle disputes between nations by reason and not by force, the principle that in the affairs of men the law of the jungle, the will of the strongest, irrespective of right and justice, cannot be allowed to prevail. To fail to take up this challenge would be to destroy for mankind any hope of true progress and true development. So long as this cruel and ruthless thing is in the world, there can be no freedom of the spirit for humanity.

India's Task

"Nowhere do these great principles mean more than in India. There is no country that values them more highly than India, and none that has at all times been more concerned to safeguard them. His Majesty's Government in entering the war have done so with no selfish aims. They have done so to safeguard vital principles affecting all humanity; to ensure the orderly progress of civilization; to see that disputes are settled between nations, not by the arbitrament of force, but by equitable and peaceful means. They have spared no effort to avoid calamity that now threatens the world.

"I do not propose to speak to you at length this evening. Far more important than anything that I can say to you must be the response of each one of you to this tremendous issue. With me, I am certain, you will feel that in the stern and testing days that lie before us victory—the triumph of the right—will not be secured by arms alone. We shall all of us have to depend upon those inner and spiritual forces which in all the great emergencies of life bare the true and unfailing source of strength and fortitude.

Appeal to People

"In a cause such as this the whole-hearted sympathy and the support of all in this great country, whether in British India or in the Indian States, will, I am certain, be forthcoming without distinction of class, of creed, of race, or of political party.

I am confident that on a day in which all that is most precious and most significant in the civilization of the modern world stands in peril, India will make her contribution on the side of human freedom as against the rule of force, and will play a part worthy of her place among the great nations and the historic civilizations of the world."—*A. P.*

The principles which the Viceroy has enunciated are indeed very great. And he is right also in observing that nowhere do the[illegible] mean or are valued more than in India. It is also true that no country has been more concerned to safeguard these vital principles than India. There is no question that India's real convictions and character will be manifested in practice, that "India will make her contribution on the side of human freedom," and that "she will play a part worthy of her place among the great nations," when she feels unclogged and is recognized in practice as "among the great nations" of the world of free men.

Rabindranath Tagore and Some other Bengal Leaders on the War and India's Duty

On the 8th of September last the Poet Rabindranath Tagore, Acharya P. C. Ray, Sir Manmathanath Mukherjee, Sir Nilratan Sircar, Sj. Ramananda Chatterjee, Sj. B. C. Chatterjee, Dr. Syamaprosad Mookerjee, Sj. S. N. Banerjee, Sj. N. K. Basu and Sj. N. C. Chatterjee issued the following statement regarding the war and the duty of India:

"At this supreme crisis which threatens not individual countries alone but the entire fabric of civilization, the duty of India is clear. Her sympathies are with Poland. She must stand by Britain and resist the disastrous policy of domination by force. No Indian would desire even in his own country's interest that England should lose the battle for freedom she is fighting today. In that contingency the realisation of Indian independence will be retarded. India will then start a new chapter of slavery under fresh alien domination.

To enable India to fight for others, she must be able first of all to defend herself. One of the greatest tragedies of Indian life and condition today is that she has been rendered hopelessly unarmed and untrained. The first step, therefore, is to mobilise the youth of the country, without distinction of province, race or faith and provide for them effective military training. Speaking for Bengal she must have a militia of her own. We must feel by deeds and not words that they are fighting on a footing of equality for the defence of their country for the protection of their own liberty as much as of others.

If India's duty to Britain at this crisis is clear, no less clear is England's duty to India. The Bengali Hindus specially have been reduced to a state of serfdom in the land of their birth mainly on account of the Communal Decision and from every corner of the country they ask today in one united voice for fairplay and justice. A new outlook is required of Britain towards India. We are ourselves without freedom and it is not in human nature for a people in bondage to feel any real enthusiasm for fighting for the liberty of any foreign country when they know this will lead to their own emancipation. We say this not in a spirit of base bargain or of raising controversies at a time when unity is essential. But we consider it of supreme importance that England and India should know each other's mind without reservation. When we speak of justice to India or re-

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specially to Bengal, we stand pledged to the same righteous cause for which England, France and Poland are fighting today. For the sake of the peace of the world England should not miss this great opportunity for establishing ever-lasting friendship with India by restoring self-rule to her in order that a free India may freely render all possible help for the preservation of democracy.—*U. P.*

National Liberal Federation of India and the War

A meeting of the Working Committee of the National Liberal Federation of India was held on the 10th September last. Members who were unable to be present had sent their views to the Committee. The Committee after considering all views, passed the following resolutions :

The Working Committee of the National Liberal Federation of India views with serious apprehension the international situation which has necessitated a declaration of war on the part of Britain and France to meet Nazi aggression against Poland. The Liberal Party has always stood for democracy and freedom and has repeatedly expressed its opposition to Nazi Fascist policies and methods of settling differences between nations by force instead of by peaceful negotiation. Such methods and policies are entirely repugnant to liberal principles. The Committee deems it its duty to express its considered view that in this crisis, India should unhesitatingly and unconditionally support the democratic powers by every possible means so that they may come out victorious in the struggle. This is not the time for bargaining though India's grievances are grave and many.

The Working Committee appeals to other political parties to take a broad view of the situation so that the country is left in no doubt as to its duty in the present crisis which is definitely to range itself on the side of Britain.

While the Working Committee is emphatically of opinion that support to be given to Britain at the present juncture must be ungrudging and unconditional, the Committee appeals to His Majesty's Government and the Government of India to create such psychological conditions in the country as will lead to a general political appeasement and ensure complete co-operation on the part of the people of India by cementing friendly relations.

In particular the Committee appeals to Government to hasten the replacement of the present form of Central Government by a Government responsible to the public.

The Committee also urges that steps be taken to remove all causes of distrust that the present military policy arouses and to create a modern and efficient Indian defence force so as to enable India effectively to defend itself against foreign aggression.—*A. P.*

The last three paragraphs of the resolution are *in reality* conditions precedent to India's full co-operation, though they are expressed in the form of appeals. They are not bargaining conditions. But unless they are fulfilled India will not be in a position to render all the help which she is willing to render and capable of rendering.

Hindu Mahasabha on India and The War

"India and the War" is the subject of a lengthy resolution which the Working Committee of the All-India Hindu Mahasabha released to the Press on the 10th September.

The resolution "inter alia" says that as the task of defending India from any military attack is of common concern to the British Government as well as Indians themselves and as the latter were not in a position to carry out that responsibility unaided, there was ample room for co-operation between India and England. To make such co-operation effective, the Mahasabha urges the introduction of responsible Government at the Centre, the revision of the Communal Award, modification of the Arms Act to bring it on a par with that prevailing in England and the expansion of the Indian Territorial Force. The resolution urges removal of the distinction of martial and non-martial classes, complete Indianisation of the army as early as possible, and the intensification of the training of the cadets of the Indian Military Academy in all branches of warfare so that an effective defence force may be ever ready at hand.

The Government is also asked to take steps to encourage the Indian firms to start manufacture of aero-engines and motor engines and implements of modern warfare so that India might be made self-sufficient in armaments.

What the Mahasabha "urges" is necessary to enable India to pull her full weight, though it is not a bargaining condition.

Hindu Militia

By another resolution the Mahasabha calls upon the Hindus throughout India to organise a Hindu National Militia between the ages of 18 and 40. It further condemns "the spirit of bargaining and of taking advantage of the present crisis for the promotion of purely communal interest at the expense of national well-being" and urges the Hindus to guard their rights and privileges.

"The Hindu Mahasabha respectfully brings to the notice of His Excellency the Viceroy," says another resolution, "that the Congress does not represent the Hindus and that no settlement will be acceptable to the Hindus if arrived at behind the back of the Hindu Mahasabha in consequence of any bargain between the Government on one side and the Moslem League and|or the Congress on the other."

Mr. V. D. Savarkar, President, Hindu Mahasabha, presided and the meeting was attended by about 100 Hindu leaders including Dr. B. S. Moonje, Kunwar Chandkaran Sarda (Ajmere), Mr. Jamnadas Mehta, Baba Saheb Khaparde (Nagpur), Dr. Syama Prasad Mookerjee, Mr. S. N. Banerjee, Mr. N. C. Chatterjee (Calcutta), and Dr. P. Varadarajulu Naidu (Madras).—*A. P.* & *U. P.*

Rabindranath Tagore on the European War

At the request of his friends in Europe and England, Dr. Rabindranath Tagore has

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issued the following statement setting forth his opinion on the war :

"The conscience of the world has been profoundly shocked at the latest manifestation of the arrogant unrighteousness of the present ruler of Germany; this is but the culmination of a long series of intimidation of the weak, from the suppression of the Jewish people in the Reich to the rape of that gallant and truly liberal state of Czechoslovakia.

"Through the mouth of Mahatma Gandhi the voice of my country has already been raised in moral condemnation of the inhumanity which has plunged the world into this insensate carnage, to satisfy the vainglorious whims of an individual and his associates. Our voice may not perhaps reach the ears of the faction in power in Germany, for it is not borne on the wings of high explosive shells. I can only hope that humanity may emerge triumphant and that decencies of life and freedom for the oppressed peoples may be firmly established for all time to come in a world purified through this terrible bath of blood."

Discussion On Present World Crisis At Bengali P. E. N. Club

The need of maintaining close contact with the intellectuals of other lands with a view to upholding the ideals of civilization during the present world crisis was stressed by Dr. Amiya C. Chakravarti in the course of a talk at the general meeting of the members of the Bengali P. E. N. held in the afternoon of September 10.

War, he said, was insensate, and released passions and forces which could but mar the splendid edifice of civilization men had taken centuries to build and infinite pains to maintain. The duties of writers were clear. They were to speak for the oppressed, sympathise with the sufferers and hold out hopes to all of a better order to the establishment of which the efforts of the entire human race should be directed.

Dr. Kalidas Nag, Dr. P. C. Bagchi and Prof. Hiran K. Sanyal also addressed the meeting.

Calcutta Citizen's Resolutions at the Present Crisis

At a meeting of representative citizens of Calcutta held on the 10th September at the Council Chamber of the Corporation of Calcutta under the presidency of the Mayor the following resolutions were adopted :

1. That this meeting of the representative citizens of Calcutta hereby resolves to wholeheartedly co-operate with Government in the defence of this country and in resisting the menace of Hitlerism which today threatens the civilization and freedom of the human race.

2. That in consideration of the past military services rendered by the Bengalees to the cause of the Empire and with a view to enabling them to take legitimate pride in the defence of their motherland in the present crisis, this meeting earnestly requests the Government of India to accord immediate sanction to the formation of at least two Regiments composed entirely of Bengalees.

3. That in view of the recent proposal of Government to modernise the Indian Army, this meeting urges the Government of India to accord their sanction to the formation of an additional mechanised unit composed entirely by Bengalees.

4. That the Bengalee Ex-Service Association be asked to form a Committee of representative citizens with the Rt. Hon. Lord Sinha as Chairman, to give effect to the Resolutions passed in this meeting and to suggest what further and other services may be rendered by the people of this province during the present war.

5. That copies of the Resolutions adopted in this meeting be immediately forwarded to Their Excellencies the Viceroy, the Commander-in-Chief in India, the Governor of Bengal and also to the General Officer Commanding, Presidency and Assam Districts.

Among the movers, seconders and supporters of the resolutions were persons like the Nawab Bahadur of Murshidabad, Acharya Sir P. C. Ray, Mr. Justice Charu Chandra Biswas, Hon'ble Sir B. P. Sinha Ray, Sjt. T. C. Goswami, Sjt. J. N. Basu, Lord Sinha, Hon. Mr. Azizul Huque, the Sheriff of Calcutta, Mr. J. C. Mukherjee, and Sir Nilratan Sircar.

Major Tee while supporting the resolution said that he could state that their request would not fall on deaf ears. The speaker said that Indian Territorial recruitment was open and any Bengalee who liked could get himself enlisted. He advised the youths of Bengal to cut every other considerations out and render their services to their King and country.

Congress Working Committee's Statement on the War Situation

The following is the full text of the statement which has been issued by the Congress Working Committee on the situation created by the war :

The Working Committee have given their earnest consideration to the grave crisis that has developed owing to the declaration of war in Europe. The principles which should guide the nation in the event of a war have been repeatedly laid down by the Congress and only a month ago this Committee reiterated them and expressed their displeasure at the flouting of Indian opinion by the British Government in India. As a first step to dissociate themselves from this policy of the British Government the Committee called upon the Congress members of the Central Legislative Assembly to refrain from attending the next session. Since then the British Government have declared India as a belligerent country, promulgated Ordinances, passed the Government of India Act Amending Bill and taken other far-reaching measures which affect the Indian people vitally and circumscribe and limit the powers and the activities of the Provincial Governments.

The Congress has repeatedly declared its entire disapproval of the ideology and practice of Fascism and Nazism and their glorification of war and violence and the suppression of the human spirit

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It has condemned the aggression in which they have repeatedly indulged and their sweeping away of well-established principles and recognised standards of civilised behaviour. It has seen in Fascism and Nazism, the intensification of the principle of imperialism against which the Indian people have struggled for many years. The Working Committee must, therefore, unhesitatingly condemn the latest aggression of the Nazi Government in Germany against Poland and sympathise with those who resist it.

The Congress has further laid down that the issue of war and peace for India must be decided by the Indian people. The people of India have in the recent past faced great risks and willingly made great sacrifices to secure their own freedom.

If the war is to defend the *status quo* of imperialist possessions, colonies, vested interests and privileges then India can have nothing to do with it. If, however, the issue is democracy and a world order based on democracy then India is intensely interested in it. The Committee are convinced that the interests of Indian democracy do not conflict with the interests of British democracy or of world democracy.

[The foregoing paragraph says in effect, without formally laying down any condition, that India's wholehearted co-operation in the war depends on the actual recognition of democratic principle, in the government of India.]

If Great Britain fights for the maintenance and extension of democracy then she must necessarily end imperialism in her own possessions and establish full democracy in India and the Indian people must have the right of self-determination by framing their own constitution through a Constituent Assembly. A free democratic India will gladly associatee herself with other free nations for mutual defence against aggression and for economic co-operation. She will work for the establishment of a real world order based on freedom and democracy utilising the world's knowledge and resources for the progress and advancement of humanity.

[Call it a "condition" or not, this is the same idea as has been expressed in the statement issued by Rabindranath Tagore and others on September 8—only it is worded differently.]

The crisis that has overtaken Europe is not of Europe only but of humanity and will not pass like crises of wars leaving the essential structure of the present-day world intact. It is likely to refashion the world for good politically, socially, and economically. This crisis is the inevitable consequence of the social and political conflicts and contradictions which have grown alarmingly since the last Great War and it will not be finally resolved till those conflicts and contradirtions are removed and a new equillibrium established. The equillibrium can only be based on the ending of the domination and exploitation of one country by another and on a reorganization of economic relations on a juster basis for the common good of all. India is the crux of the problem and no refashioning of the world can succeed which ignores this vital problem. With her vast resources she can play an important part in any scheme of world reorganization.

But she can only do so as a free nation whose energies have been released to work for this great end.

[This observation has been anticipated in the Tagore and other Bengal leaders' statement.]

The Working Committee have noted that many rulers of Indian States have offered their services and resources and expressed their desire to support the cause of democracy in Europe. If they must make their professions in favour of democracy abroad sincere, the Committee would suggest that their first concern should be the introduction of democracy within their own States in which today undiluted autocracy reigns supreme. The true measure of democracy is the ending of Imperialism and Fascism alike and the aggression that has accompanied them in the past and the present. Only on that basis can a new order be built up. In the struggle for that new world order the Committee are eager and desirous to help in every way but the Committee cannot associate themselves or offer any co-operation in a war which is conducted on imperialist lines and which is meant to consolidate imperialism in India and elsewhere.

In view, however, of the gravity of the occasion and the fact that the pace of events during the last few days has often been swifter than the working of men's minds the Committee desire to take no final decision at this stage so as to allow for the full elucidation of the issues at stake, the real objectives aimed at and the position of India in the present and in the future. The Working Committee, therefore, invite the British Government to declare in unequivocal terms what their war aims are in regard to democracy and imperialism and the new order that is envisaged in particular, how these aims are going to apply to India and to be given effect to in the present. Do they include the treatment of India as a free nation whose policy will be guided in accordance with the wishes of her people?

A clear declaration about the future pledging the Government to the ending of Imperialism and Fascism alike will be welcomed by the people of all countries, but it is far more important to give immediate effect to it to the largest possible extent, for only this will convince the people that the declaration is meant to be honoured. The real test of any declaration is its application in the present, for it is the present that will govern action today and give shape to the future.

[Are not these a "condition" substantially, though not in so many words?]

War has broken out in Europe and the prospect is terrible to contemplate but war has been taking its heavy toll of human life during the past year in Abyssinia, Spain and China. Innumerable innocent men, women and children have been bombed to death from the air in open cities. Cold-blooded massacres, torture and utmost humiliation have followed each other in quick succession during these years of horror. That horror grows and violence and the threat of violence shadow the world and unless checked and ended will destroy the precious inheritance of past ages. That horror has to be checked in Europe and China but it will not end till its root causes of Fascism and Imperialism are removed. To that end the Working Committee are prepared to give their co-operation but it will be an infinite tragedy if even this terrible war is carried on in the spirit of imperialism and for the purpose of retaining this structure which is itself the cause of war and human degradation.

[So far as we can see, this war is being carried on by Germany and Russia in an

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imperialistic spirit, *but not so by Britain and France.*]

The Working Committee wish to declare that the Indian people have no quarrel with the German people or the Japanese people or any other people but they have a deep-rooted quarrel with the systems which deny freedom and are based on violence and aggression. They do not look forward to a victory of one people over another or to a dictated peace but to a victory of real democracy for all the people of all countries and a world freed from the nightmare of violence.

The Committee earnestly appeal to the Indian people to end all internal conflict and controversy and in this grave hour of peril to keep in readiness and hold together as a united nation calm of purpose and determined to achieve the freedom of India within the larger freedom of the world.

Teaching of Bengali In Allahabad University

Mr. A. C. Mukherji, M.A., president, Allahabad University Bengali Literacy Union, writes :—

With a view to offering facilities to students of the University desirous of studying the Bengali language and literature, the Vice-Chancellor has authorised the University Bengali Literary Union to hold regular classes in the Oriental Department from September 1 (from 3-15 p.m. to 4 p.m.) on all working days of the University. These Classes will be divided into three sections each section meeting twice a week on days to be announced later.

(*a*) Primary Section : To teach the Alphabet and a First Course.

(*b*) Secondary Section : Text book, Calcutta University Matriculation Selection. Rapid Reader, 'Bindur Chhele' by Sarat Chandra Chatterji.

(*c*) Higher Section : Course to be announced later. The minimum qualification for admission to this section (*c*) will be the knowledge of Bengali upto the High School standard.

Regular teaching will commence from the first week of September. Lessons will be given by Mr. Sukamal Das Gupta, M.A. Candidates desirous of joining any of the above classes are requested to give their names to the President of the Literary Union, or to Mr. Sukamal Das Gupta, C/o Mr. S. C. Deb, English Department, University of Allahabad. or to the Secretary, Mr. G. D. Mukherji, Physics Department.

No tuition fee will be charged.

Bengal Students Go for Training to Mayurbhanj

BARIPADA, Aug. 28.

A batch of 18 students accompanied by 3 teachers from the Rural Reconstruction Institute of Gosaba (Sundarbans, Bengal) arrived here to undergo training in cottage industries, agriculture, etc., from the State Institutions. The students will visit the Purna Chandra Industrial Institution, Manchabandha and Takhtpur Farms, Baripada Central Jail and other places. They will receive, as usual, necessary help from the different departments of the State.—*U. P.*

It is creditable to Mayurbhanj that students have to go to it from Bengal for training, but it is not creditable to Bengal that the province does not contain a sufficient number of institutions to train students for the different cottage industries of the province and for growing the different kinds of crops which can be raised here.

"Forward Bloc" on the International Situation

BOMBAY, Sept. 17.

Resolutions passed at the recent meeting of the All-India Working Committee of the "Forward Bloc" at Wardha were issued to the Press today.

The present international situation was discussed at great length by the Committee. The Committee regretted that even after the declaration of war the Congress Working Committee had been slow in making up its mind as to its duty in the crisis, despite the clear and unequivocal directions contained in the Haripura resolution on foreign policy and war danger.—*A. P.*

U. P. Tenancy Bill Passed

LUCKNOW, Sept. 16.

The U. P. Council today passed the Tenancy Bill with only one dissentient. Mr. Rafi Ahmed Kidwai, Revenue Minister, winding up the debate, pointed out that it was a matter of satisfaction that the long-standing controversy was going to end and hoped that the enactment would restore tranquillity in the countryside.

Chaudhuri Akhtar Hussain, who championed the cause of the opposition, said the Bill was opposed by zamindars because it was not wanted and it would not lead to agricultural prosperity. Its defects outnumbered its merits. He warned the Government that the validity of the Bill would be questioned and the Government might have to pay heavy damages for breach of contract.—*U. P.*

Plea For Recognition of Bengali by Indian Universities

The Calcutta University has for decades recognized the principal languages of India for its examinations and made arrangements for that purpose. We have more than once drawn attention to this "national" aspect of this university's work and pleaded for the reciprocation of its liberal outlook on the part of other universities of India by recognizing Bengali as a subject for their examinations. In various contexts and connections we have made this appeal through *Prabāsī* and *The Modern Review*. It gives us much pleasure to notice, therefore, that the Vice-Chancellor and the Syndicate of the Calcutta University have realized the desirability of including Bengali as one of the subjects for the different examinations of Indian Universities of different provinces. It is reported in the papers that the Registrar of the Calcutta University has been authorized to issue a circular letter on the subject, of which the following is a draft:

I am desired by the Hon. the Vice-Chancellor and Syndicate to address you on the subject of the

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ility of including Bengali as one of the subjects for the different examinations of your University Board if has not already found a place in the curriculum.

It need hardly be pointed out that Bengali language occupies a prominent place in the scheme of study of this University. It is taught for all the different examinations of this University, *viz.*, Matriculation, Intermediate, B.A. (Pass and Honours) and M.A. examinations. Under the new Regulations it is the medium of instruction and examination at the Matriculation stage. This has been rendered possible only because the Bengali literature is vast and rich. Other Indian languages are not however neglected in this University. It will appear from the accompanying extracts from the Regulations that the following languages are also prescribed for all examinations from the Matriculation to the B.A. stage; "Bengali, Hindi, Uriya, Assamese, Urdu, Burmese, Modern Armenian, Modern Tibetan, Khasi, Telegu, Marathi, Guzarati, Pushtili, Tamil, Kanarese, Malayalam, Sinhalese, Garo, Manipur, Portuguese, Lushai and Santali." At the M.A. stage provision has been made for the following; Bengali, Hindi, Urdu, Uriya, Guzarati and Assamese.

FACILITIES FOR STUDENTS

Students belonging to other provinces are thus given a choice of offering their mother-tongue as their vernacular for their examinations. As for example, if a student having Urdu or Hindi or Marathi or Telegu as his mother-tongue migrates to this University and wants to continue his studies from the Matriculation to the B.A. stage he has the same facilities as a Bengali student has for the purpose of studying his own language.

The Hon. the Vice-Chancellor and Syndicate find that there are some Universities or Boards in India where the claims of an important Indian language like Bengali has not been recognized even as an optional language. As a consequence Bengali students residing in Bengal experience great difficulties and have to give up the study of the language which is their mother-tongue. Again there are many who are interested in Bengali but are greatly handicapped in the absence of any provisions for it in the curriculum of your University.

In view of the above circumstances, I am desired to request that necessary provision may be made for the introduction of Bengali as an optional subject for the different examinations of your University or Board and the policy followed by this University for the last 30 years may be reciprocated.

It is pleasing to note in this connection that the Vice-Chancellor of the Allahabad University has informally sanctioned and encouraged the teaching of Bengali in that University. Its admission in that University's course of study and its examinations may be expected to follow.

Government Motion to Discuss Chatfield Report Lost

On the 18th September Dr. Hirdaynath Kunzru moved the adjournment of the Council of State (Central) to discuss the Chatfield Report. His motion was lost.

Pandit Kunzru, moving the adjournment of the Council to discuss the Chatfield report and the decisions of the British Government thereon mostly dwelt on the constitutional aspect of the question. He said that so far they were told that the army in India was kept at minimum strength required for the country, it was for the first time that the British Government had admitted that at least one-tenth of India's army could be employed outside India, he asked whether India alone was interested in the defence of Suez and Singapore. What about Australia and New Zealand, he enquired.

Pandit Kunzru said that

the Government of India Act and the Joint Parliamentary Committee were clear that no part of Indian troops could be employed outside India but were to be maintained for the defence of India. To get out of this legal difficulty, they had laid down that frontiers of India had been extended to the Middle and Far East. He did not know where this process of extending the frontiers would end, and the contributions made by His Majesty's Government gave no right to the British Government to use Indian forces in the way they were being used. Alluding to the Chatfield recommendation for increased manufacture of armaments in India, the speaker enquired whether the Government would make India self-supporting in all kinds of armaments and whether aeroplanes would also be manufactured in India.

Mr. Hossain Imam would neither support the motion nor the Government.

He doubted the legality of His Majesty's Government moving troops out of India without necessary legislation by the British Parliament. For he was confident that under the existing law Indian troops could not be employed out of India at India's expense.

Mr. Sapru feared that

the Chatfield Committee had dealt a death-blow to India's claim for Dominion Status and with dyarchical control of Indian army they could never have Dominion Status within the meaning of the Statute of Westminster. "If my reading is correct then you are not true to the pledges given to India regarding Dominion Status."

Mr. Ogilvie, Defence Secretary, replying to the debate said that

most of the discussion was outside the purview of the adjournment motion, while as far as the constitutional and political aspects were concerned, it was no concern of the Government of India, the British Government or the Chatfield Committee. Similarly Indianisation did not fall within the terms of reference of the Chatfield Committee. The defence secretary was satisfied that most of the members of the Council and a large number outside were satisfied with the decision of His Majesty's Government. "I have hardly seen a decision of the Government so favourably received as this one." He was sure that India within or without the Empire could not tolerate enemies prowling in the Middle and Far East.

Referring to the demand for the manufacture of armaments in India Mr. Ogilvie said that

machinery for most of the armaments was "phenomenally expensive." Similarly India today was unable even to manufacture motor cars. He, however, assured the Council that all possible industrial activities would be encouraged by the Government.

The motion was lost without a division.—*A. P.*

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Why is India, with all her vast resources and a people not less intelligent and industrious than any other, too poor to be able to purchase the "phenomenally expensive" machinery required for the manufacture of armaments? Why again does she lack capital and expert scientific knowledge and mechanical skill to manufacture motor cars? If she came to possess these qualifications also, what would stand in the way of her going ahead industrially?

98 Indians Banished from Malay States and Straits Settlements

SIMLA, Sept. 18.

It is reported that altogether 98 Indians have been banished from Malaya States and Straits Settlements during the period between 1935 and 1938. In 1935, 26 Indians were banished from Perak, 6 from Selangor and 1 from Negri Sembilan. In 1936, 15 were banished from Perak, 8 from Selangor and one from Pahang, in 1937, 7 from Perak, and 9 from Selangor and in 1938 altogether 25 Indians were banished from different regions in Malaya and Straits Settlements.—*United Press.*

What were the reasons for their banishment?

The Muslim League on the War Issue

NEW DELHI, Sept. 18.

The Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League concluded this evening after passing unanimously a resolution containing 1,200 words dealing *inter alia* with the international situation and the Federation. Portion of the resolution dealing with the international situation says:

"If full effective and honourable co-operation of the Musalmans is desired by the British Government in the grave crisis which is facing the world today and if it is desired to bring it to a successful termination, it must create a sense of security and satisfaction amongst the Musalmans and take into confidence the Muslim League which is the only organization that can speak on behalf of Muslim India."—*A. P.*

All that is necessary for the salvation of Poland and the victory of the Allies is the recognition of the Muslim League as the sole representative organization of Indian Muslims and of Mr. Jinnah as the arbiter of India's and the British Empire's destiny. It is surprising that the British Government has to be reminded of this simple and obvious fact.

Over 1000 Nazis Executed Owing to Anti-War Activiteis

LONDON, Sept. 20.

The German Freedom station, broadcasting to-night, told the story of the reported arrest of the Jew-baiter Julius Streicher.

It is said that he was arrested after a quarrel with a Reichswehr general and was only saved from execution by Herr Hitler's personal intervention.

The announcer declared that over a thousand Nazi members and sixty sub-leaders had been executed for sabotage and anti-war activities since the war began.

The broadcast urged Germans to get rid of the "criminal regime" and sabotage production of arms and help the fight for freedom and peace. The broadcast ended with an appeal to Austrian Catholics to defend their faith against the Nazi regime and help the fight for a free Austria.—*Reuter.*

These mass executions show that Herr Hitler does not possess the support of a united nation. That there are at least some Germans who do not like Hitlerism must raise that nation in the estimation of the freedom-loving world.

Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya's Retirement

Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya has retired from the Vice-Chancellorship of the Benares University. He has rendered such signal service to it as a man of his personality alone could have rendered. It is not that university alone which he has served during his distinguished career as a public man. During the last fifty years and more his patriotic services to the country have been so many and of so varied a character that a brief note cannot do justice to them.

Sir S. Radhakrishnan suceeeds him as Vice-chancellor of the University. As one of the most distinguished intellectuals of the country his claims to this high office are undisputed.

Calcutta University's Linguistic Hospitality How Far Reciprocated

That the Calcutta University has recognized the leading languages of India for decades for different xaminations has been repeatedly mentioned in this journal as a proof of its national character. *The Hindusthan Standard* has published the following facts with reference to the move of the Calcutta University for the inclusion of Bengali as one of the subjects for different examinations of the Universities of different provinces of India:

In Agra University:—It does not conduct the Matric or High School and Intermediate Examinations. Bengali has been recognised as one of the optional subjects for the B.A. Examination but no course has been prescribed. Bengali has also been recognised as one of the optional subsidiary languages for the M.A. Examination in Hindi. No modern Indian language has yet been recognized as a medium of instruction.

In Benares Hindu University:—Bengali has been recognised as one of the modern Indian languages for composition for the admission (Matric), Intermediate and B.A. Examinations. Arrangements for teaching Bengali have also been made. With the exception of Hindi no other modern Indian language has so far been recognised as an optional subject for the Intermediate, B.A.

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and M.A. Examinations. Hindi is the medium of instruction for the admission examination and also for some of the subjects of the Intermediate Examination.

In Allahabad University:—High School and Intermediate Examinations are at present conducted by the Board of High School and Intermediate Education U. P. and not by the University.

In Bombay University:—Bengali is not among the modern Indian languages for the Matric or Intermediate Examination. The approved modern Indian languages for the Matric or Intermediate Examinations and media of instructions are Marathi, Gujarati, Kannada, Sindhi, Urdu, Tamil and others.

In Madras University:—Bengali is not included in the list of subjects prescribed for the Matric or Intermediate Examinations. English is the medium of instruction and Examination except in the case of Indian languages.

In Nagpur University:—Matric Examination is not conducted by the University, Hindi, Urdu and Marathi are the only optional modern Indian languages for the Intermediate Examination. English is the medium of examination and instruction except in case of classical and modern Indian languages.

In Patna University:—Bengali may be offered at the Matric and Intermediate Examination for vernacular composition and as principal subject. Bengali is one of the languages as medium of instruction and examination and it has been decided to hold the first examination through the medium of vernaculars in 1943.

In Mysore University:—Bengali is neither a compulsory nor an optional subject for any of the examinations. English is the medium of instruction in the University. In the High Schools Kannada is the medium of instruction in subjects other than English for only those whose mother-tongue is Kannada.

In Osmania University:—Bengali is neither compulsory nor optional in any examination of this University. Urdu is the medium of instruction and examination in this University.

In Delhi University:—The University does not conduct the Matriculation Examination. Bengali has been allowed to be offered as a compulsory or an optional subject for the Intermediate Examination. English is the medium of instruction and examination in the University.

In the Secondary Board, Central India:—Bengali has been recently prescribed as one of the Modern Indian languages for the High School Examination. It is not prescribed as a subject of study (compulsory or optional) for the Intermediate Examination. Only English, Hindi, and Marathi are allowed as medium of instruction.

In Aligarh University:—Bengali is not prescribed as optional subject for the High School Examination candidates whose mother-tongue is Bengali are permitted to offer that language at the examination. Urdu is the only medium of instruction recognised for the High School Examination.

In the Secondary Board, Delhi:—Candidates whose mother-tongue is Bengali are required to offer this language for the High School and School Leaving Certificate examinations. English is the general medium for answering questions in examination; answers to questions on History, Geography, Economics and Domestic Science may be given in Urdu or Hindi or even in other languages on payment of an extra fee of Rs. 2 per subject. In the Group of Vernacular or Classical Languages, Bengali knowing candidates are allowed to answer their papers through the medium of Bengali. Bengali is the medium of instruction in the Bengali Schools in this province.

In the Punjab University:—Bengali is a subject for the Matriculation Examination. Female candidates can take up Bengali as a fixed subject for the Intermediate Examination as an alternative to a classical language; there is an additional paper in Bengali which can be taken up both by the male and female candidates for the Intermediate Examination. English is the medium of instruction and examination. Questions set by the examiners are set in English except in case of Sanskrit and Hindi; in the case of other modern Indian languages, *i.e.*, Urdu, Hindi, Punjabi and Bengali, questions are set in the language concerned.

In Lucknow University:—Matriculation, School Final, or Intermediate Examinations are not held by this University.

In the Secondary Board, Dacca:—Bengali is included as a Vernacular and a compulsory subject for the High School and Intermediate Examinations. Proposals of introduction of Vernacular as a medium of instruction and examination in High Schools and High Madrasas are under consideration.

In Andhra University:—Bengali is not provided to be offered as a compulsory or optional subject in the Matriculation or Intermediate Examinations. Telugu is recognised as medium of instruction and examination.

In the Secondary Board, C. P.:—Candidates can offer Bengali as an optional subject for the High School Certificate Examination irrespective of his mother-tongue being Bengali or any other languages. English, Hindi, Marathi and Urdu are the medium of instruction.

In Dacca University:—The University does not provide teaching for or hold the Matriculation or Intermediate Examination.

In the Secondary Board, U. P.:—Bengali as modern Indian language is prescribed as a compulsory subject for the High School Examination and an optional subject for the Intermediate Examination. Bengali is prescribed as the medium of instruction and examination as modern Indian language only. English, Hindi, and Urdu are the medium of instruction in all subjects other than English.

Work in Connection with Federation Suspended

"Given the necessity of concentrating on the emergency that confronts us, we have no choice but to hold in suspense the work in connexion with preparations for Federation, while retaining Federation as our objective," said His Excellency the Viceroy, addressing a joint session of the two Houses of the Central Legislature on September 11.

This announcement, necessitated by the outbreak of war, has not pleased any party. But so far it is only the Muslim League which has been emboldened by the Viceroy's words to ask for the total abandonment of the British Government's Federal scheme, as the following purport of the resolution of the Working Committee of the Muslim League on the Federation issue passed at its recent Delhi session will show :

As regards the Federation, the Committee in its resolution wishes that the Federal scheme embodied in the Government of India Act, 1935, instead of its being sus-

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pended, had been abandoned completely and desires to convey to His Majesty's Government that they should do so without further delay.

152 Million More Sand-bags Ordered

An order for 152 million sand bags, in addition to the 60 million ordered earlier in September last, has been received by the Indian Jute Mills Association from the British Government through the Government of India.

This order is expected to be completed by the end of the year and will be executed at the same F. A. S. price as that prescribed for the previous order.

The working hours of the mills will be increased from 45 to 54 per week.

More business means additional profits for the mills. Will the mill operatives share the advantage? And what share will the peasants who grow jute get?

An Appeal to Defenders of Cultural Treasures

Professor Dr. Nicholas Roerich has addressed a timely appeal to "all defenders of cultural treasures", of which the drift will be understood from the sentences quoted below.

The thunder of the European War again demands that active attention should be paid to the defence of cultural treasures. A pact to this effect is under consideration by many of the European Governments and has already been signed by 21 Governments of the Americas. No doubt, since military operations have already begun, it is hardly to be expected that any agreement could take place during actual warfare. Yet the activities of our committees should at all times be fruitful.

The Khaksars and the U. P. Government

The Government of the United Provinces have rightly felt compelled to place restraints on the activites of the Khaksars who wanted to fish in troubled waters there. In our last issue we called attention to two articles on the Khaksars in the *Asia* magazine of New York and *The Hindu Outlook* of Delhi. If our Governments were as well informed as some journalists are in all matters directly and indirectly connected with the maintenance of law and order, they could be forewarned and forearmed.

Subhas Chandra Bose's Tour

Wherever Srijut Subhas Chandra Bose has gone in the course of his tour, he has been enthusiastically received by very large crowds. Though Calcutta dailies have not been able to publish the full texts of his speeches in many places, from what we have read of them in the dailies of other cities we find that he never concealed his opinions and sailed false colours. So it was not by being things to all men that he could secure audiences to listen to his speeches; rather, the contrary, it is because large masses of people feel as he feels—whatever the of their political information and the of their political thinking—that they been drawn to him.

As regards the war situation, he adhe to the "Ultimatum" idea enunciated in Tripuri Congress speech. It is not because do not think that India is entitled to and for freedom, that in noticing his Con speech we expressed our difference with him regards the giving of an ultimatum to British Government; it was for other reas and these we stated at the time, and need be repeated.

Patna Black Flag Demonstration Against Subhas Babu

With regard to the engineered black demonstration against Subhas Babu in Pa which did not express the opinions of the mass of either the people of Patna or Bihar in general, Mahatma Gandhi write *Harijan*:

I have read Rajendra Babu's eloquent statement the unhappy incident. It is so true and so heart-st that it admits of no addition or embellishment. I e every word of that noble pronouncement. It is duced below in this article.

The demonstrators showed an unworthy into Subhas Babu has a perfect right to agitate agains action of the Working Committee and canvass opinion against it. The disciplinary action free from any liability for restraint save what every Con man, pledged to the credal article of the constitu bound to put on himself. That action should sav from any further demonstration of public displeasure those who disapprove of the action of the Working mittee are certainly entitled to join any demons in favour of Subhas Babu. Unless this simple observed we shall never evolve democracy. In my o the black flag demonstrators have rendered a di to the cause of freedom. It is to be hoped that the demonstration will prove to be the last of such by Congressmen. The question may be asked, are those who endorse the action of the Working mittee and disapprove of Subhas Babu's propagand show their disapproval?" Certainly not through flags and disturbing of meetings in honour of Babu. They can express their disapproval by counter meetings, not at the same time as the other either before or after them. These meetings, and against, should be regarded as a means of edu public opinion. Such education requires calm ings. Black flags, noisy slogans, and hurling of and shoes have no place in educative and instructive paganda.

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The Subhas Babu against whom disciplinary action was taken remains the same Subhas Babu. What he has a perfect right to do *now*, he had not the right to do *then* (in the opinion of the Congress Working Committee), only because he was then president of a provincial Congress Committee. That is a merely technical reason.

"Not Just Now Thinking of India's Deliverance"

Reproducing in *Harijan* his letter written to Herr Hitler on the 23rd July from Abbottabad, Mahatma Gandhi observes below it :

"How I wish that even now he would listen to reason and the appeal from almost the whole of thinking mankind, not excluding the German people themselves. I must refuse to believe that Germans contemplate with equanimity the evacuation of big cities like London for fear of destruction to be wrought by man's inhuman inhumanity. They cannot contemplate with equanimity such destruction of themselves and their own monuments. I am not therefore just now thinking of India's deliverance. It will come, but what will it be worth if England and France fall, or if they come out victorious over Germany ruined and humbled ?"

That Mahatma Gandhi has said, "I am not therefore just now thinking of India's deliverance," has given rise to some adverse criticism. But it is not proper to be over-critical. It is certainly true that, speaking generally, those Indians who are patriotic should be *always* thinking of India's deliverance. But it is not and cannot be *literally* true that all soldiers of freedom in India—and there is none more sincere than Gandhiji—are *always* thinking of India's deliverance. Some acute distress of their own selves or of other people *for a while* (but not for long) make them oblivious of India's sad plight. At present India is undoubtedly in a worse condition than India *just now*.

Where we cannot agree with Mahatma Gandhi is where he says, "what will it (India's deliverance) be worth if England and France fall, or if they come out victorious over Germany ruined and humbled ?" It is true that the full welfare and happiness of mankind implies the welfare and happiness of all races, peoples, or nations, and, therefore, no people can be perfectly happy or in a perfectly enjoyable condition until all other peoples are free. But that is no reason why the deliverance of any people should not be sought or should not be considered valuable, because some other peoples are or may be in an evil plight. In fact, the larger the number of the nations who are free from bondage, the better it is for mankind as a whole—and that adds, too, to the possible number of workers for world freedom and world welfare.

So far as India is concerned, she can do her best for herself and for the world outside, including Britain, France and Germany, only if and when she is free. Therefore, her deliverance is worth something, whatever may be the fate of other countries.

This does not mean that she is or should be indifferent to the fate of other countries. No, she is not and should not be.

We do not, of course, desire the deliverance of India at the price of the fall or ruin of any other country. We do not desire the defeat of Britain and France in the present war, nor do we wish that in any future time they should be enslaved by any other country. May they remain free for ever and become the cause of freedom of other countries. But, except as the welfare of every country is dependent on the welfare of the rest, there is no necessary inter-dependence between the welfare of India and that of France and Britain in particular. Nor is it true that civilization and democracy would perish if Britain and France fell, much as we desire the indefinite prolongation of their independent life, much as we value their culture, and much as we appreciate what good they have done to the world, including India. Should Britain and France fall, which God forbid, other civilized and independent countries, including democracies like the United States of America, would remain to hold aloft the torch of modern civilization and democracy. India herself may remain to do so.

There was a time when the regions now known as France and Britain were not known by those names and when they were uncivilized. At that time our country was civilized, without deriving any cultural help or inspiration from France and Britain. There may similarly come a time in the future when spirituality, culture and civilization may radiate mainly from India.

We have no quarrel with the *people* of Germany or with any other peoples. We earnestly desire the early termination of this war without the ruin of any of the belligerent countries.

On a previous occasion Mahatma Gandhi wrote :

As a passive resister . . . . I discovered that the British Empire had certain ideals with which I have fallen in love, and one of these ideals is that every subject of the British Empire has the freest scope possible for his energies and honour and whatever he thinks is due to his conscience. I think that this is true

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of the British Empire as it is not true of any other Government.

It may be admitted that it is true of the British Empire, without expressing any opinion as to its being or not being true of any other government. But it may also be hoped that "every subject of the" free India of the future, too, will have "the freest scope possible for his energies and honour and whatever he thinks is due to his conscience," whatever may befall other countries. And we wish the best of luck to all of them.

Political Assassination in Rumania

LONDON, Sept. 21.

The Rumanian Government announced this afternoon that the Prime Minister, M. Calinescu, had been assassinated.

He has been Prime Minister since March last. His appointment by King Carol was hailed as indicating an uncompromising attitude to pro-Nazi elements and the Iron Guard.

According to the Havas correspondent in Bucharest, M. Calinescu, the Rumanian Prime Minister, was assassinated this afternoon by a group of Iron Guards. M. Calinescu was returning home at that time.—*Reuter.*

The assassins and more than 350 other pro-Nazi Iron Guardists have been executed.

Inquiry has established that the crime had no foreign or international significance. It is semi-officially stated it has been established that the assassination was carried out by remnants of the illegal Iron Guardists. The political circles exclude any possibility of external influence being involved. It is pointed out that Prime Minister was resolutely following a policy of correct and strict neutrality.—*Reuter.*

It is to be hoped, therefore, that Rumania will not become a fresh storm centre in Europe.

New Rumanian Government

BUCHAREST, Sept. 22.

The Rumanian Government has been reshuffled and now includes three Generals.

The new Cabinet has issued a proclamation reasserting Rumania's determination to preserve strict neutrality and friendly relations with her neighbours.

3 GENERALS TAKE UP POST

Three Generals have taken the posts vacated by the assassination of M. Calinescu, namely, M. Argeseanu, Prime Minister, M. Ilcus, Defence Minister and M. Marinescu, Minister of the Interior. Other Ministerial posts are unchanged. Complete calm and order prevail throughout the country.—*Reuter.*

"Bargaining," and "Conditional" and "Unconditional" Co-operation with the Government

In some of the statements on India's duty in the present situation unconditional co-operation with the British Government has been urged and "bargaining" has been condemned. We also are for co-operation and do not want that India should ask for any baksheesh for such co-operation and lay down the payment of any baksheesh as a condition for co-operation. But if anybody said that India should be placed in a position to wholeheartedly and sincerely co-operate to the best of her ability would that be bargaining? Supposing some one is asked to do some work which requires physical fitness, would it be bargaining to expect that he would have nourishing food? Co-operation for the preservation or the restoration of the liberty of a people requires a strong spirit. What can strengthen the spirit more than freedom? Is it bargaining to expect such food for the soul?

Many who condemn 'bargaining' and are for unconditional co-operation, at the same time appeal to or urge or expect the Government to do this and that. Of course Government will be entitled to expect them to co-operate even if it does not find it practicable to respond to their appeals!

For various reasons we have not agreed with Sjt. Subhas Chandra Bose that an ultimatum should be sent to the British Government that if within six months India is not made free she will know what to do. Many have criticized him saying that legislation necessary for serious constitutional changes cannot be undertaken in war time. But when some of the critics appeal to, or urge, or expect, or by implication expect the Government to do also requires legislation. If, however, these critics can be satisfied with some sort of gesture or assurance, perhaps Subhas Babu may also be so satisfied, though we are not in his secret. Moreover, what he wants is not substantially different from what other nationalists want.

Mahatma Gandhi himself is all for unconditional co-operation. Yet even he writes with reference to the central demand contained in the Congress Working Committee's statement on the present situation:

"If anything big or worthy is to come out of the Committee's action, the undivided and unquestioning loyalty of every Congressman is absolutely necessary. I hope, too, that all other political parties and all communities will join the Committee's demand for a clear declaration of their policy by the British Government with such corresponding action as is possible under martial conditions."

This shows that Mahatma Gandhi desires that the British Government will do something concrete that is possible under the circumstances, to prove that the British people believe in democracy in their relations with India

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Evidently that is absolutely unconditional co-operation!

Patna University Recognizes Maithili Language

PATNA, Sept. 21.

Government have sanctioned the Patna University's recognition to the Maithili language, which will now be one of the optional languages in the University.—*U. P.*

This is a recognition of the fact that the Bihari variety of Hindi is not the only main language spoken in all parts of Bihar proper. Maithili has been recognized as a language for examination by the Calcutta and Benares Universities for years.

Success of Satyagraha in Jaipur

Mahatma Gandhi writes in the course of an article in *Harijan*:

The Jaipur satyagraha has ended satisfactorily as announced in Seth Jamnalalji's public statement. He has had several interviews with the Maharaja Saheb. The result has been that the regulation regarding public meetings and processions has been withdrawn. So has the ban on newspapers. Amelioration in several other matters has been assured. For this happy result both the Maharaja and Seth Jamnalalji deserve to be congratulated—the Maharaja for his just mindedness and Gandhiji for his wisdom and moderation in conducting the negotiations on behalf of the Jaipur Praja Mandal.

The Seth is entitled to additional praise for the sufferings he has undergone and the sacrifices he has made for the welfare of the people of Jaipur.

Gandhiji expresses the opinion tacitly that the goal of full responsible government cannot be reached immediately in Jaipur, as is the case in most other States. Says he:

From the very beginning the demands were restricted to the barest minimum necessary for self-expression and political education. The goal of responsible Government has been always kept in view, but it has never been offensively or aggressively advanced as if the insistence was for an immediate grant of full responsibility. The Praja Mandal has wisely recognised its own limitations and the backward state of the people. Practically, no political education has been hitherto allowed in many of the Rajputana States. It will be solid gain if civil liberty in the real sense is assured to the people of Jaipur. For as much will depend upon the wisdom with which it is used by the people as upon the restraint of the authorities.

Seth Jamnalal On European Dewans in Indian States

Mahatma Gandhi writes in *Harijan*:

In this connection Seth Jamnalalji has raised a most important question. He insists that no European should be appointed Dewan. I have had to perform the painful duty of criticizing the Administration of the State by one of its English Dewans. I have no doubt that an English Dewan is any day a misfit in an Indian State. He has to serve an Indian chief. They cannot understand the caprices of Indian Princes and will not accommodate themselves to them.

The chiefs themselves never feel at home with English Dewans. Moreover, no matter how conscientious they are, Englishmen can never understand the people of the States or have patience with them, and the people can never take the same liberty with them that they can and will with men who are drawn from among themselves. Thus an English Dewan is a double handicap in an Indian State and robs it of what little scope there is left in it for indigenous development. Add to this the fact that the appointment of English Dewans in States is a cruel encroachment upon the very narrow field left for the expression of Indian administrative talent.

Many Indian Dewans of many States have distinguished themselves as statesmen—both as able and good rulers of the people and as wise advisers of the Princes. English Dewans are, therefore, not only misfits but also quite unnecessary, except as required for serving the imperialistic purposes of Britain and promoting the economic interests of some Englishmen.

Dr. Sudhindra Bose on "The Oriental Point of View"

Dr. Sudhindra Bose of the State University of Iowa delivered a course of six Campus Lectures during the summer session of the current year. The *Press-Citizen* of Iowa has summarized some parts of his last lecture, which was on "The Oriental Point of View."

Pointing out that there has long been a cultural misunderstanding between the Orientals and the Occidentals, the lecturer attributed this situation in part to the fact that the greatest heroes of the Oriental nations were the scholars and prophets, while the greatest hero of the European countries was the warrior, "who is still regarded as the highest type of man."

"Western historians have conferred the title of 'Great' upon Alexander, Cæsar, Constantine, Louis XIV of France, Peter of Russia and Napoleon Bonaparte—men who appear to an Oriental as first-class cut-throats, ruffians and glorified gangsters," Doctor Bose declared. "The efforts of some sentimental historians to put halos around the heads of these madmen are amusing," he added.

"In the eastern perspective, the virtuosity in the art of murder is no title to greatness," continued the speaker. "Westerners still live in an age in which the voice of the cannon is worshipped as the voice of God . . . When the world becomes really civilized, it will perhaps learn to commit all blood-thirsty people to an asylum for the violently insane. For that is where they belong."

Dr. Sudhindra Bose on Chinese Ideals

In the course of his lecture on the Oriental point of view, turning to China, Dr. Sudhindra Bose remarked:

"It may give you a shock to learn that until very recently the Chinese have had scarcely any respect for

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those nations which still regard their soldiers, their bankers and their prize-fighters as their finest citizens." He discussed Lao-tze and Confucius as China's two great men.

"Lao-tze was the forerunner of Confucius, just as John the Baptist was the forerunner of Christ," explained the lecturer. Both, he said, believed that perfection is possible to man, that "all our happiness and all our trouble come from within ourselves."

Doctor Bose laid special emphasis on the Chinese and Hindu attitudes toward war as being fundamentally different from those of Europe. "Europeans have always worshipped the military hero and, since the rise of Christianity, the martyr," he contended. "Not so the Chinese. The ideal human being, according to Confucian standards, is the just, reasonable, humane and cultivated man, living at peace in an ordered and harmonious society."

"The European admiration for military heroism and martyrdom," the lecturer went on, "has tended to make men believe that a good death is more important than a good life, and that a long course of folly and crime can be cancelled out by a single act of physical courage."

Autocrats Fighting in Defence of Democracy!

Some of the most autocratic Indian Princes have been the foremost in offering their help to the British Government in the war in which Britain is now engaged. Britain has declared that she is fighting in defence of democracy in Poland. It is expected, therefore, that those who will help Britain will be themselves democratic in mentality and in practice. So, the Congress Working Committee is quite justified in pointing out that the Indian Princes who have promised to co-operate with Britain should cease to be autocrats and grant at least some civic and political rights to their subjects to begin with.

Do Democratic Countries Alone Deserve to be Saved from Conquest by Foreigners ?

It has been remarked that Poland has not been in reality a democratic state, but rather an oligarchy or a half-Fascist one. Without stopping to discuss whether that is a correct remark, we must observe that every country, whatever the form of its government, deserves to remain independent or to regain its independence if in subjection. No country, however enlightened and up-to-date its form of government for its own people, has any right to invade and conquer another country in whatever way governed by its own ruler or rulers. For example : it may be that Italy has made greater progress in science and industry, art and literature and is more "civilized" externally than Abyssinia, and it is also true that the latter has not been a democracy. Nevertheless the invasion of Abyssinia by Italy was not approved but rather condemned by Englishmen, Frenchmen, Americans, etc., though they did not help the Abyssinians.

Therefore, irrespective of the consideration whether Poland has or has not been democratically governed, it deserves help for the restoration of its independence.

Status of Indian Women and National Economic Planning

An exhaustive questionnaire has been prepared by the National Planning Committee for its Sub-Committee on women's role in planned economy, for distribution among women's organisations and persons interested in the question. The questionnaire has seven sections namely, I. General : Social, Economic, and Legal Status; II. Family Life and Relationships; III Marriage, Maternity, and Succession; IV Conditions of Industrial Employment for Women; V. Deleterious Social Customs acting as hindrance to Women; VI. Types and Methods of Appropriate Education; VII. Miscellaneous Problems concerning Women.

It is emphasised that it is not necessary that every question should be answered, but only those specially interesting to the person or institution replying.

The text of the questionnaire is too long for reproduction in this journal. But it deserves serious attention. On a cursory glance at part of question 21, printed below, appears to us old fogeys rather ultra-modern for India.

Q. 21. Is it desirable, or necessary, in your opinion, to maintain the Family as a social unit, so as to facilitate the provision of social security, or insurance against the contingencies of an average working life, on a family basis ?

Defence of India Bill

In countries engaged in actual warfare some curtailment of civil liberties during war time may be necessary, but not to the extent made in the Defence of India Bill. The only substantial amendments to the original draft relate to the provision for appeal to High Courts in cases of sentence of death, transportation for life, or imprisonment for ten years or more.

An encroachment upon civil liberties in Britain would not necessarily justify a similar encroachment in India, and that for various reasons. India is not and will not most probably be a belligerent country in the sense in which Britain is one. Civil liberties in India are already far too circumscribed to justify their further narrowing down. Public opinion no

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ing as powerful in India as in Britain, the ers with which the Executive authorities here be invested have a greater chance of being sed or of being used for purposes for which were not meant. The various uses to which 144 has been put is an illustration. Another how the Criminal Law Amendment Act has and is being used by the Congress Govern- in Bombay and Madras.

In the course of the debate on the Bill in Assembly Dr. P. Banerjea said that the Bill it had emerged from the Select Committee did appear to him to be satisfactory. There e four minutes of dissent appended to the ort. Mr. N. M. Joshi, the leader of the ouring community, took a fundamental ction to the principles of the Bill. The two esentatives of the Muslim League party raised very important objections to the . They also made suggestions for the tion of certain clauses. Sardar Sant Singh that the Congress Nationalist party and Muslim League party urged many impor- amendments, but they were not accepted. added:

"The Bill confers powers on the executive, both ral and Provincial, vast powers of legislation, power ersede the jurisdiction of ordinary civil courts of , to create new offences, power to radically change rmal procedure in the trial of such offences, power up new Tribunals with powers to pass any sentence rised by law without full record of evidence of the eses and power to curtail liberties of the people in t all spheres of human activity."

Mr. Akhil Chandra Datta said in his note dissent:

"Apart from this fundamental objection, the provi- go very much beyond the exigencies and requirements the war." The provisions are far more comprehensive, more repressive and restrictive, far more drastic and e than those of the corresponding Act of 1915, h the internal condition of India is absolutely peace- now."

"The Bill proposes to give the Central Government r to empower any authority (civil, military or police) ke orders providing for those identical matters for h the Central Government themselves are empowered ke rules. Not only this, even a single individual, er a public servant or not, is invested with that rial power."

In concluding his note of dissent he said:

"This Bill is calculated to make a serious invasion the primary rights of citizens and that the powers be abused by the irresponsible bureaucracy to put our constitutional activities in prosecution of the m movement and the movement for the rehabilita- of the economic structure of our country."

In the penultimate part of his speech Dr. ejea observed:

"Sir, I urge that the provisions of the Bill should be rigorous and more restricted in scope and that safeguards should be provided in the Bill itself and in the rules framed thereunder in order to prevent misuse of powers which are vested in the executive. That is my proposition. I want to make it quite clear that if this is not done and if the powers are misused, there is likely to be a great intensification of the discontent which already exists in the country. From that point of view the Government should do everything in their power to limit the exercise of the powers vested in the Central as well as the Provincial Governments."

Sanguinary Reprisals in Rumania

LONDON, Sept. 23.

A Bucharest message states that over three hundred Iron Guards were killed on Thursday night or yesterday. The official explanation says that this resulted from risings which occurred in various concentration camps and prisons when the news of the assassination of M. Calinescu was received.—*Reuter.*

Sir T. B. Sapru on Need for Change At The Centre

About a fortnight ago Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru issued a statement to the press. He observes in this statement that, so far as the Viceroy's appeal in his recent speech in Simla for united effort and co-operation is concerned, he has no doubt it will meet, as it should, with wide response in the country. One point of importance which emerges from the Viceroy's speech is that, due to the compulsion of the present international situation and the necessity for concentrating on the prosecution of the war, the Government has decided to hold in suspense the work in connection with the preparation for Federation while retaining Federation as their objective. It is quite clear, says Sir Tej Bahadur, that there cannot be that united effort if the public attention is diverted by controtroversial issues. The Viceroy has thrown no light on the question as to what is to happen in the meantime to the Centre as it is constituted at present, particularly in its relation to the autonomous provinces.

The necessity for having a Centre which can carry the largest amount of public opinion with it in India and work in close co-operation with provinces seems to Sir Tej Bahadur to be obvious. He thinks it would be impossible to effect any structural changes of a far-reaching character in the composition of the Central Government even for the interim period without the authority of Parliament but the exigencies of the situation will be a very valid justification for such authority being given by Parliament at an early date. It seems to Sir Sapru that it is too early in the day to speculate as to what will replace the federal part of the constitution after the war. It is then to be withdrawn or

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modified, but one thing seems to him to be pretty clear and that is that if, at that stage, the country is divided in the political sphere as it has been during the last six years or so, the suspension of this part of the constitution or even its revocation will not lead to satisfactory results. The situation created by the war seems to him to present a common platform for a united effort. Once a common platform has been created even for a limited purpose, it may pave the way for a better understanding among the different sections of the community all round. There is nothing which can unite the people more than a sense of the common peril and a joint effort made to meet it.

The views expressed by Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru in this statement deserve the serious consideration of all political parties in India. An irresponsible Centre and partly responsible provincial governments ill go together.

Connected with the problem to which he has drawn attention is the quesion, what will be done with the Central Legislature when the period for which its life has been extended expires. Is it then to be granted a further lease of life? Or will there be a fresh election? If so, will the old constituencies which elected the members now sitting exercise the franchise, or will there be re-constitution of electorates? If there be a fresh general election, the different political parties will have to carefully choose the issues on which they will fight the election.

Defence Ordinance Banning Meetings and Processions Affecting Public Safety

By a notification in a *Calcutta Gazette* Extraordinary His Excellency the Governor of Bengal has prohibited all public processions, meetings or assemblies, held for the furtherance or discussion of any subject which is likely to affect prejudicially the public safety, the defence of British India, or the public order or tranquillity,

(*a*) unless written notice of the intention to hold such procession, meeting or assembly, and of the time and place at which it is proposed to hold such procession, meeting or assembly, has been given to the District Magistrate or Commissioner of Police, Calcutta, as the case may be, at least, three days previously and

(*b*) unless permission to hold such procession, meeting or assembly has been obtained in writing from the District Magistrate or Commissioner of Police, Calcutta, as the case may be.

3. For the purposes of this order any procession, meeting or assembly which is open to the public or to any class or portion of the public, whether held in a public or a private place and whether admission thereto is restricted by the issue of tickets or otherwise, shall be deemed to be a public procession, meeting or assembly, as the case may be.

Before the promulgation of this ordinance the executive and the police were already in possession of sufficient powers to prevent the holding of meetings, processions, etc., which were likely to affect prejudicially the public safety or the public order or tranquillity. The ordinance, with its elastic wording, makes them still more powerful. They are to be able to prevent even meetings in private places. These powers are liable to be misused.

As soldiers are not recruited in Bengal, or at any rate ordinarily or generally, and as even camp-followers are not recruited here, it would require some hard thinking or imaginative effort to discover how meetings and processions in this province could prejudicially affect the defence of India. It would seem that the people of Bengal, though deemed unfit to defend India were regarded as capable of seriously obstructing the defence of India!

Free Gift to India for Mechanization of Army

On the 4th September the Government of India published the substance of the main recommendations of the report of the Chatfield Committee in the form of a despatch from His Majesty's Government to His Excellency the Viceroy. It contains 15 paragraphs of close review of the present position of the army in India and proposals for organising, equipping and maintaining the forces in India in accordance with modern requirements.

The proposals affect the army, air and naval forces maintained by the Government of India. It is stated that to bring the equipment and organization of the defence forces in India into line with modern conditions both internationally and technically, India requires a capital sum of Rs. 45 crores.

Grant From Britain

The first outstanding fact of this despatch is the free gift of 33⅓ crores by the Government of the United Kingdom and the loan of the remaining 11⅔ crores free of interest for the next five years.

The second point of interest is the reduction in the establishment of the British troops in India by about 25 per cent of that obtaining on the 1st July, 1938. This comprises two regiments of cavalry, the equivalent of 3 regiments of artillery, and 6 battalions of infantry.

Conditions

The sole conditions attached to that magnificent gift is that India should bring her defence forces up to the standard of equipment necessitated by modern warfare and adjust her strategical plans to the conditions obtaining in the world to-day.

There was no Indian on the Chatfield Committee. No Indian took any part in evi

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the proposals. That shows that in the ion of the British people the defence of is a matter with which India need not le. In fact the expression "army in ia," *not* "India's army," means that there one army, the army of Great Britain, part which is stationed in Britain and part in ia. If our interpretation be correct, then ain should meet the whole cost of mechani- ion of both the two parts of *her* army, instead making to India a free gift of $33\frac{1}{4}$ crores lending her $11\frac{3}{4}$ crores free of interest for years.

The grant has been called a free gift. considering to what a great extent and in many ways Britain's prosperity is due to possession of India, one should hesitate to it a gift.

In a recent broadcast from London Lord ey recalled that during the last great war made a free gift of 150 crores to Britain. e passage of money in the two different tions on these two different occasions is not the same character.

Every nation, whether independent or endent, naturally dislikes receiving a dole another nation, just as any private idual dislikes a dole. Apart from that senti- al consideration, as Britain is in *real* mies indebted to India, whatever Britain hand over to India is in fact a repayment on.

e Sino-Japanese War

News from the Sino-Japanese war front anty. It is not yet evident what change, ay, has been made by Japan's new cabinet her policy. How the Russo-Japanese pact the Soviet-Japanese agreement on the churian front will affect the situation as een China and Japan is not also clear.

erican Neutrality

The European situation will be influenced great extent if America ceases to be al or if she modifies her neutrality law. world is in an expectant mood in regard y likely action on her part.

estine

There has not been any important news Palestine for some time. Perhaps it d be too much to hope that the racial t was at an end there. But what a relief d it be if it were so!

Anti-Hindi Agitation in Madras

The Anti-Hindi agitation in Madras continues, with the prosecution and conviction of some of the agitators as its, non-natural and not inevitable, consequence. Soul-force could not stop this agitation. So the non-violent Madras Ministry have had recourse to physical coercion.

Sixty Chinese Divisions Threatened

TOKYO, Sept. 24.

According to the Domei Agency field despatches claim approximately sixty Chinese divisions are threatened with annihilation as the result of a Japanese offensive on the borders of Hunan, Hupeh and Kiangsi provinces. Japanese troops are operating from Lake Tungting 115 miles south of Hankow, Tungchen in Hupeh and Hunan in Kiangsi.—*Reuter.*

But China must and will triumph in the long run and survive.

Do Congress Committee Meetings Fall Under Ordinance?

The United Press is informed that Dr. Rajendra Prasad, the Congress President, has written to the Secretary, Bengal Provincial Congress Committee, in reply to the latter's letter expressing apprehension whether meetings of Committees like the Executive Council of the Provincial Committee can be held under the Ordinance, that the Congress President has wired to Sir Nazimuddin, the Home Minister, Government of Bengal, to clarify the position.

"If his answer is favourable," adds the Congress President, "you will hold your meetings as usual; if not favourable and your apprehension is found to be correct, we will certainly authorise you to fix a date for submtting a list of Congress members and quotas of the primary Congress Committees. I will wire to you again as soon as I get a reply."

Calcutta University Students' Literacy Campaign

It is satisfactory to learn that the Calcutta University Institute Social Service section has decided to continue its Literacy Compaign during the ensuing Durga Puja holidays. Students of other Calcutta students' societies and students outside Calcutta can spend their holidays in a similar useful manner.

Vitamin A Content in Indian Fishes

Indian fish liver oils are very rich sources of vitamin A, some of them containing 50 per cent. of halibut and 25 times that of cod.

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This has been established as a result of research work carried on at the Calcutta School of Tropical Medicine in 1938 under the direction of Brevet-Col. R. N. Chopra, the Director of the School and in close collaboration with the Department of Biochemistry, All-India Institute of Hygiene and Public Health.

Prof. Sigmund Freud Dead

The death has occurred at his London residence of Professor Sigmund Freud, the founder of psycho-analysis. He was born, of Jewish extraction, at Freiburg in Moravia on May 6, 1856. Since the age of four till June, 1938, he always lived in Vienna, which city he had to leave on account of the persecution of the Jews following the annexation of Austria by Germany.

The following biographical sketch, slightly abridged, is taken from the 14th edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica* :

He felt no inclination towards medical work, being more interested in purely scientific research. Influenced by Goethe's essay *Die Natur*, however, he embarked on a medical curriculum. In his preliminary studies he was chiefly interested in botany and chemistry. He worked from 1876 to 1882 in the physiological laboratory under Brucke and later in the Institute for Cerebral Anatomy under Meynert. The concurrent medical studies progressed slowly and he qualified only in 1881. Financial considerations compelled him to renounce his research work and he decided to become a clinical neurologist. In 1884 a Viennese physician, Dr. Breuer, related to him an extraordinary experience in which symptoms of hysteria were cured by getting the patient to recollect in a state of hypnosis the circumstances of their origin and to express the emotions accompanying this. This "cathartic" method of treatment was the starting-point of what later became psycho-analysis. In 1885, Freud went to Paris to study for over a year under the great neurologist Charcot, whose moral support stengthened his determination in the then revolutionary step of investigating hysteria from a psychological point of view. Just before this he had been made a Docent in Neuropathology for his pathological and clinical investigations. His psychological studies, however, met with immediate disapproval on the part of his colleagues. In the next few years he published important works in neurology, particularly on aphasia and the cerebral paralyses of children.

His interest in clinical psychology continued during these years, and in 1893 he persuaded Breuer to publish his remarkable case and to collaborate with him in a book called Studien uber Hysteric (1895). In 1894 the partnership dissolved and soon afterwards Freud took the decisive step of replacing hypnotism as a means of resuscitating buried memories by the method of "free association," which is the kernel of the psycho-analytic method. This led him to make important discoveries concerning the structure and nature of the various psychoneuroses and to extend these discoveries to the normal mind. The three most fundamental of these were (1) the existence of the unconscious and the dynamic influence of this on consciousness; (2) the fat that the splitting of the mind into layers is due to an intra-psychical conflict between various sets of forces, to one of which he gave the name of "repression;" and (3) the existence and importance of infantile sexuality. The particular mechanisms he had found in the neuroses he demonstrated in detail in many other spheres, such as wit, dreams, literary products, art, mythology and religion.

For ten years Freud worked alone at psycho-analysis. About 1906 he was joined by a number of colleagues, Adler, Brill, Ferenczi, Ernest Jones, Jung, Stekel and others, who met in 1908 at the first International Congress of Psycho-Analysis, since then a biennial institution. A couple of years later an International Association was founded, whch now has branches in most countries of the world (the British one dates from 1913) and which maintains three official organs devoted to the subject. The influence of Freud's work, however, has extended far beyond the special activities of the 200 specialists in the subject. It has met with keen opposition, which he ascribes to the powerful resistance always operating against the recognition of the unconscious mind. Nevertheless it is recognized that he has given a powerful impetus to psychology in general and that in time this will probably affect many other fields of mental activity. On his 70th birthday Freud was the recipient of congratulations from learned societies in various parts of the world and was accorded the Freedom of the City of Vienna. (Earnest Jones.)

Siam to be known as "Thailand"

The Siamese Government Gazette, dated June [illegible] 1939, announces that, as from that day, substitutions are to be made in the English language of the word "Thailand" for the former territorial designation "Siam" and of the word "Thai" for the former designation "Siamese." The notification adds that this change shall not affect the existing legal enactments in which the word "Siam" has been employed.

The Board of Trade Journal in England has been requested by the Thai authorities that correspondence from foreign countries should be addressed to "Thailand (Siam)" the addition of "Siam" in brackets being for the purpose of ensuring delivery.

"Thailand" means the land of free [illegible]

Early Publication of Our October and November Numbers

As owing to the Durga Puja holidays [illegible] October and November numbers have to be published earlier than on the usual first day of the month, we have finished writing the [illegible] for the October number on the 25th Septem[illegible]

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Temple Entry Proclamation at Travancore
Bas relief by Debiprosad Ray Chaudhuri

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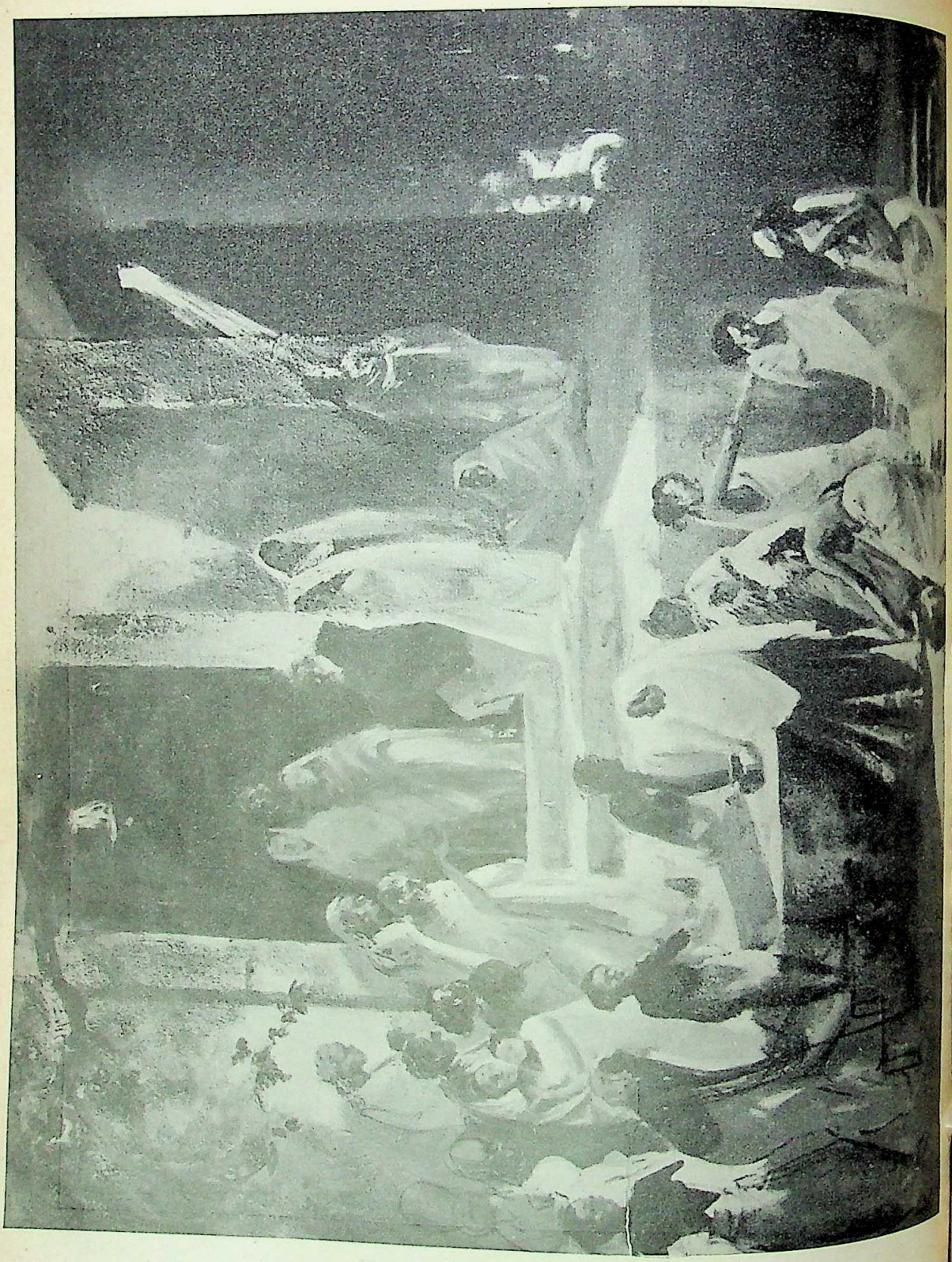

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EMERSON AND MARGARET FULLER

By J. T. SUNDERLAND

THEN, in 1840, the first number of *The Dial*,—child of the Transcendental movement,—appeared, Margaret Fuller was its editor. She had been identified with the movement and was considered one of its most brilliant interpreters. Emerson esteemed her highly and during her editorship she had the benefit of his assistance and advice and the assurance of contributions from his pen. In fact Emerson and Margaret Fuller herself were among its most generous contributors. In reminiscing about *The Dial*, in his "Life and Letters in New England," Emerson speaks of the "noble papers by Margaret Fuller" which were published in it. After her health obliged her to give up the editorship, Emerson himself assumed the responsibility, with Thoreau as his assistant.

Margaret Fuller was the daughter of a typical New England lawyer and politician who, after some years of public life, in the course of which he had held several offices of importance, gave up law and politics, left his office in Cambridgeport and retired to a farm, where he died, leaving a wife and a large family of children with little to live on. This placed a burden upon Margaret, the eldest daughter, and she met it by becoming a teacher in various private and public schools in Boston and Providence, in order to contribute toward the support of the family.

From her earliest years, her father had recognized in her a gifted child, and determined that she should have the best possible education. At six years of age she began the study of Latin and at thirteen Greek. Later she took up German, French and Italian and became more or less proficient in all. She was encouraged to read omnivorously the best books. As result of such forcing her health was permanently impaired, but she became a prodigy of learning.

Her brilliant intellect and her extraordinary knowledge attracted attention everywhere she went. In Boston, where she lived for several years as a teacher and writer, she held "Conversations" attended by the leading women of the city. She published two or three books, one of which, "Women of the Nineteenth Century," created a distinct sensation. It was a strong plea for a broader life for women, and especially for equal rights for men and women before the law. It was the first work of its kind to appear in America.

She wrote striking and able book-reviews for leading papers. These drew the attention of Horace Greely who, two years after she had given up the editorship of *The Dial*, induced her to come to New York and accept a place as literary critic on the *New York Tribune*. There, for several years, she led an active and influential life, engaging in various philanthropies and social reforms, and writing reviews and other articles which made her known throughout this country and in England.

In 1846, when she was thirty-six years of age, she went to Europe, travelled widely, made the acquaintance of many distinguished people, and finally settled down for study and writing in Rome. There she married an attractive but impecunious Italian nobleman, Marquis Ossoli; took part with him (she as nurse, he as officer) in the defense of the city against the siege by the French, and, on its capture, embarked for America with her husband, her child, and the manuscript of a book which she had written relating the history of the war in which she had participated. But she never reached her native land. The steamer on which she sailed was wrecked almost in sight of New York, most of those on board going down, including her husband, her child, herself and her manuscript.

Emerson's acquaintance with Margaret Fuller began when she came to Boston to teach in Bronson Alcott's school. He at once recognized her ability and was attracted by her brilliance and her learning. He invited her to his home where she became a frequent and welcome visitor.

While Emerson admired her gifts and found her conversation in a high degree entertaining and stimulating, yet at first he discovered in her certain egotisms and eccentricities which were distasteful to him. Of one of her early visits he wrote: "She made me laugh more than I liked. I found something profane in the hours of amusing gossip into which she drew me. When I returned to my library I had much to think of the crackling

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of thorns under a pot. I did not wholly enjoy the presence of her rather mountainous *me*." However, later he writes: "But she soon became an established friend and frequent inmate of our house, and continued thenceforward, for years to come, once in three or four months to spend a week or fortnight with us. Her ready sympathy endeared her to my wife and my mother each of whom highly esteemed her good sense and sincerity."

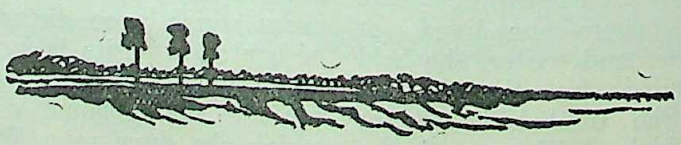
The more Emerson saw of her the better he liked her. Of her peculiar gifts he wrote "She was an active, inspiring companion and correspondent; and all the art, the thought and the nobleness of New England seemed at that moment related to her and she to it. She was a welcome guest not only in my home but everywhere. The houses of her friends in town and country were open to her, and every hospitable attention eagerly offered. Her arrival was a holiday, and so was her abode. She stayed a few days, often a week, more seldom a month; and all tasks that could be suspended were put aside to catch the favorable hour, in walking, riding, or boating, to talk with this joyful guest, who brought wit, anecdotes, love-stories, tragedies, oracles, with her, and with her broad web of relations to so many friends, seemed like a queen of some parliament of love, who carried the key to all confidences and to whom every question had finally been referred."

Again, in describing her visits at his home, he tells how in the evening she would come into the library and "many and many a conversation was there held whose details, if they could be preserved, would justify all encomiums. They interested me in every manner; —talent, memory, wit, stern introspection, poetic play, religion, the finest personal feeling, the aspects of the future, all followed each other in full activity, and left me, I remember, enriched and sometimes astonished by the gifts of my guest." And again he declares that, though he knew her intimately for ten years, he "never saw her without surprise at her new powers."

Miss Fuller became very fond of Emerson's children and we have her own words as to her great sorrow at the death of little Waldo, the rare boy whose loss was such a sore grief to his father. She wrote: "I am deeply sad at the going of little Waldo. I cannot yet reconcile myself to the thought that the sun shines on the grave of the beautiful blue-eyed boy and I shall see him no more. I loved him more than any child I ever knew; he was of a nature more fair and noble."

Emerson's influence upon Margaret Fuller increased with their acquaintance. At first he appeared to her cold and intellectually aloof; he impressed her as having "faith in the universal but not in the individual man." As she knew him better, she learned that while he had indeed a great faith in the universal, he also had a mighty faith in the individual, and she could say: "My inmost heart blesses the fate that gave me birth in the same clime and time and that has drawn me into a close bond of friendship with him." Again she wrote to him: "Emerson's influence has been more beneficial to me than that of any other American. From him I first learned what I meant by an inward life. Many other springs have since fed the stream of living waters, but he first opened the fountain. Several of his sermons stand apart in my memory, like landmarks of my spiritual history. It would take a volume to tell what this influence has done for me."

There is plenty of contemporary testimony to the fact that Margaret Fuller possessed the usual qualities of both intellect and heart. Emerson stresses her "joyful conversation and large sympathy." The important place she held in the esteem of her generation is shown by the fact that soon after her death a volume of Memoirs of her was compiled by men of such eminence as Emerson, William H. Channing and James Freeman Clarke, and biographies of her were written by Thomas Wentworth Higginson and Julia Ward Howe. Horace Greely wrote of her: "Margaret Fuller was the most remarkable woman that America has yet known; the loftiest, bravest soul that has yet irradiated the form of American womanhood."



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INDOLOGICAL STUDIES IN EUROPE TODAY

By Dr. AMULYA C. SEN, M.A., B.L., Dr. Phil. (Hamburg).

Having worked with some of the leading Indologists in Europe and having come in contact with the general body of European scholars engaged on Indian studies, the impression has gained ground in my mind that the heyday of Indological studies in Europe is over and that the future of these studies lies now in India.

Germany has been the home of Indian studies and even today the output of German scholars in various fields of Indology exceeds by far the work done by Indologists of other European countries put together. From Germany the interest in the civilisation and culture of ancient India spread to other countries which followed Germany's lead in this direction, although lagging far behind her in their output of work.

My special interest in Jaina literature took me in 1933 to the *Indisches Seminar* of the University of Hamburg to work with Prof. Schubring. Only a small fraction of his work having been translated into English, Schubring's long and painstaking researches into the ancient lore of the Jainas are not so widely known in India as they should have been, for, the literature of the Jainas is no less important than Brahmanical and Buddhistic literature for the exploration of the past of India. Even in Europe, the number of scholars who have devoted themselves to Jaina studies has been very small and special thanks are therefore due to Schubring for having devoted his life-long hours to this difficult and neglected field where co-workers are few. Schubring's very valuable work has won him amongst European scholars the position of the leading authority on Jaina lore. In India the interest for Jaina studies is very little in evidence; the Jaina community with all their financial resources is sadly indifferent to the cause of scientific studies on their own sacred scriptures.

The University of Hamburg (now re-named the "Hanseatic University" by the National-Socialist Government, as it serves the area covered by the three partners, the cities of Hamburg, Bremen and Luebeck, of the old Hansa League") is the latest German, and for the matter of that the latest European University, having been founded after the War in 1919, and is the biggest German University next to Berlin, which attempts to maintain a standard also as high as that of her rival elder sister in Berlin. The *Indisches Seminar* of Hamburg, founded by that celebrated senior Indologist Prof. Sten Konow and forming part of the former Colonial Institute of Hamburg, is the best equipped of the Indian Seminaries of all German Universities, as regards collection of books on India, ancient and modern.

In Hamburg I was a frequent guest in the house, a charming villa out in the open country in the outskirts of the city, of Prof. Meyer (formerly Meyer Benfey) and his talented wife Frau Prof. Meyer-Franck. Meyer is a Comparative Philologist and Germanist; modest, shy and unassuming almost to a fault and in appearance the most harmless of men, Meyer is yet, said a rising German Indologist to me, "a very dangerous man, for, he would understand, no matter in what language you speak or whisper in his presence, because there is hardly a language in the world which he does not know!" Meyer studied Sanskrit with Kielhorn in Göttingen in his younger days and Frau Prof. Meyer-Franck is the principal translator of Tagore's works into German. She knows Bengali herself and her husband collaborates with her in the work of translation with his knowledge of Sanskrit. I had the pleasure of contributing my humble share to their Tagore-translations latterly and found that their renderings of Tagore directly from Bengali were far more expressive and true than any translation I have hitherto seen. Tagore, alas, is no more in vogue in Europe, far less in Nazi Germany, and it is doubtful therefore, when, if at all, these translations by us of some of Tagore's latest work would see the light of publication, although there still are people in the Germany of today who would like to read more of Tagore.

Although neither an academician nor an Indologist, yet the name of Frau Helene Fera must be mentioned whenever Germany and India are thought of together. Frau Fera is a lady of very high social standing in Hamburg and is a member of the Indian Committee of the Deutsche Akademie of Munich. Highly intelligent and intellectual, she has also the charming womanliness and the kind heart of

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an Indian mother. She devotes now all her personal gifts and social resources to the needs of foreign students in Hamburg. Her house is the meeting place of foreigners from all parts of the world, particularly students, for whom she is "At Home" with suitable entertainments at frequent and regular intervals; she gives German lessons, single or in groups, to all who need it, entirely free of charge; she has just published a cheap but very useful Manual of Practical German in four languages; and, she takes care of and helps in all possible ways foreign students from all countries, particularly from India. The Germans are ordinarily known as a nation of scientists and savants; great is their love of culture and unbounded also is their friendliness towards foreigners, but most particularly to the houses of the Feras, the Meyers and the Schubrings am I indebted for some of my most abiding impressions of the German home and the German heart.

Among my fellow workers in the *Indisches Seminar* of Hamburg, Dr. Alsdorf who has done excellent work on Apabhramsa, is now Professor in Muenster University in succession to Schmidt, famous for his work on Vatsyayana's Kama-sutras; Dr. Hansen is a Dozent (Asst. Professor) in Iranistics in Berlin; Dr. Zieseniss is a Dozent, now working on Saivism, in Hamburg; and Mr. Matsunami, a young and very industrious Japanese gentleman who worked devotedly for five years without caring for the Doctor's Degree and returned home to join the Imperial University of Tokyo.

While in Hamburg, I paid a visit to Kiel University, sacred to the memory of Deussen, the historian of the Upanishads, and met Prof. Otto Schrader, formerly of Adyar Library, who is now working on Brahmanical philosophical texts. In my first summer-vacation in Europe, I went over to London and inspected the rich collection of Indian MSS. in the India Office Library. I need not dwell on the work of British Sanskritists whose names are well-known in India.

A German University permits its students to keep his semesters (*i.e.*, terms) at one or more of the other German Universities, and even at an approved non-German European or American University, subject to certain restrictions. I availed myself of this facility and spent a half-year in that great European seat of learning, the University of Berlin, and studied with that veteran scholar Prof. Lueders, at the *Indo-Germanisches Seminar*. Lueders is a man of brilliant versatility and to many a field in Indology he has made distinguished contributions. Not only eminent for his researches, Lueders is also famous as a teacher for his method of massing comparative material from sources far and wide and of using the available evidence with his constructive genius and acumen. I have met in different European cities Sanskritists approaching the age of seniority, who were proud to recall that they had sat at the feet of Lueders at some time or other of their life.

In addition to my special Jaina work, I studied with Schubring portions of the Rigveda (regarded by the German school of Indologists as being indispensable for an Indologist), Classical Sanskrit texts, Pali and Apabhramsa. With Lueders I studied some of the most abstruse Hymns of the Rigveda, the Gupta Inscriptions, and the *Kavyadarsa* by which was reviewed the entire field of Sanskrit Poetics. Lueders is himself a great authority on Prakrit philology but if I asked him anything on Jaina literature (composed entirely in different variants of Prakrit) he always referred me to Schubring—an instance of scholarly modesty. Yet another incident I would like to mention about Lueders in illustration of the attitude of European scholars. Lueders is perhaps the greatest living Indian epigraphist; but, on a day when he should have lectured to us on the Gupta Inscriptions, he came prepared by mistake on the *Kavyadarsa*; when we told him that the day was fixed for the Inscriptions, he discovered his mistake and regretted it, but yet we had to do *Kavyadarsa* for that day, for, he was not prepared for the Inscriptions! For an Epigraphist of his calibre it would not have been difficult to supervise the work on the Inscriptions for that day, from memory and at sight, but in Europe ever fresh and wider investigation is the method of scientific enquiry, and not great feats of memory.

Lueders was one of the Permanent Secretaries of the Prussian Academy in Berlin, the highest scientific body of Germany. His wife is also an Indologist, having won the Doctor's degree by her own work, and she has published work independently and also in collaboration with her husband. I was privileged to be in the last batch of Lueders' pupils, before his retirement. He is now engaged in re-editing the *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum* in the light of his life-long epigraphical research and has been succeeded in the Berlin Chair by Prof. Breloer who has published a few volumes on *Kautilya Arthasastra* and has been called to fill a Berlin Chair, the highest academic

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honour in Germany, at a comparatively younger age.

In German Universities, every Seminar has its own fully equipped library. There is besides, in every city the huge City Library which functions also as the University Library and is extensively drawn upon by University students in supplementation to their Seminar libraries. In Berlin, the Seminars keep only the most essential books, for, there is the separate great University Library next door, side by side with which again, there is the colossal State Library which has perhaps the largest collection of Indian MSS. in Europe. A German library offers all possible facilities to those using it and the staff is only too glad to render every possible assistance.

From Berlin I returned to Hamburg and having finished my work there, I came to Prague early in 1936 to work with Prof. Winternitz. Prague has two Universities, the German and the Czech. Winternitz had then retired from his Chair in the former and was succeeded by Prof. Otto Stein who has worked on Indian History and Archaeology. Prof. Lesny is in the Sanskrit Chair of the Czech University and he has worked on Comparative Indian Grammar. I worked in Prague in the National and University Library, housed romantically in the cloisters of a magnificent medieval monastery, the Indian collection of which is however, rather poor, but Winternitz kindly allowed me to use, as all German Professors do to their pupils, his own private library, his life-long collection. It is very fortunate that Winternitz who was as rich in human qualities as his scholarship was vast, could complete the revised and enlarged English version of his magnum opus, the *History of Indian Literature*, before his death. Lesny was writing his recent-published book on Tagore when I came to Prague and it fell to me to render him assistance in handling Tagore's works in original Bengali. I was also appointed to lecture on Bengali at the Oriental Institute in Prague, a State institution, in the activities of which, orientalists of all the universities in Prague participated. Prof. Pertold who holds the Chair of Comparative Religion in the Czech University is also a Sanskritist.

In course of my two years' stay in Prague I visited various European countries and cities and acquainted myself with the work of Indologists there. In Vienna I met Prof. Jensen; in Budapest I met Prof. Germanus who is an Islamist; in Paris I visited the *Institut de Civilisation Indienne* at the Sorbonne where Profs. Bloch, Renou and Przylusky work; in Warsaw I visited the Oriental Institute where Prof. Scheyer works; in Copenhagen I met Prof. Tuxen who is successor of the veteran Pali scholar Dines Anderson whom I later met in Stockholm; in Uppsala, the very old university town of Sweden, I met Prof. Velmer Smith who is successor of Jarl Charpentier; and I was also in Oslo where Sten Konow has been succeeded by his son-in-law.

From Prague I returned again to Hamburg to work for a year with Schubring on some Jaina MSS. obtained from Berlin and Strasbourg. I was appointed also to lecture in the *Indisches Seminar* on Bengali and Oriya. I made use of this time spent with Schubring by studying with him the Asokan Inscriptions also. At my request he held some lectures for me on Comparative Philology too, mentioning with characteristic scholarly modesty at the very outset that these lectures should have been held for me not by him but by Prof. Meyer, who is now retired.

Amongst Indologists whom I could not meet but only corresponded with, are Prof. Vogel of Leyden, Prof. Scherbatsky of Leningrad, Prof. Foucher of Paris, now retired, and Romain Rolland who is no Indologist but an eminent European authority on India. Prof. von Glasenapp of Koenigsberg, who is perhaps the most prolific writer amongst German Indologists, I had already met outside Europe. Besides, in course of my wanderings in Europe and while addressing audiences in public, as also in private social life, I have come across many people, lay or eminent in science or other walks of cultural life, who are keenly interested in India, ancient and modern.

I said at the outset that the future of Indological studies lies no longer in Europe, but in India, and on this many European Indologists have agreed with me. Much water has flown down the Thames since the discovery of Sanskrit and the ancient lore of India by Europe. The curiosity of those earlier days regarding India has been to a great extent satisfied by European research during the last one and a half centuries, and today, as an eminent European Indologist put it to me, they have a fairly good idea of the history and culture of ancient India. In earlier days students also came in numbers to study Sanskrit, because almost every respectable university had its Indian Department where Professors and Asst. Professors were needed and big libraries also required Sanskritists in their staff, and therefore, employment was easy to obtain. Today

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the curiosity and interest have abated, the sources of employment are full, and hence hardly a Professor of Indology has regular students. It seems that the present generation of Professors of Indology in Europe are the last; in future it is very likely that separate Chairs for Sanskrit would no longer be maintained in European universities but, as in many of the small Swiss universities, the Professor of Classical languages, the Professor of Comparative Philology and the Professor of Sanskrit would all be combined in the same person.

Contrasted with this, we find in India a widening field for Indian studies and the number of Indian Sanskritists trained in the critical and comparative method of the West, is on the increase. Lueders told me once that in his student days one could read up all that was published on Indology, but today the volume of output on various branches of this subject in different countries was such that it was no longer possible for one scholar to do so, and the books and journals published from India alone were sufficient enough to tax one's energies to the fullest extent. That of course is as it should be, for, the centeres of the study of ancient Greece, Italy, Egypt, etc., are in those countries themselves and it is unnatural that we in India should have to go abroad for acquiring the material and the method for the study of the past of our own country. Again, the study of Indology by Indians themselves will be more fruitful in that the country and its culture being our very own, we are fit to be better in understanding and interpreting our heritage than foreign scholars who, in spite of their great scholarship and devoted industry, are liable to misunderstand our past owing to the great distance of space and time and the differences in ways of life and thinking, between them and us.

And yet unfortunately, the study and knowledge of ancient India are confined in India till today amongst a very limited few. In Europe I came in contact with young students from such ancient lands as Greece, Italy, Egypt, Turkey, Iran and China, who were specialising not in the ancient history of their respective countries but in such modern subjects as law, medicine, economics or the natural sciences, etc., but yet I found that they were all very well informed about the results of scientific studies on the past of their countries. Contrasted with them, an average Indian student, even a graduate, is extremely ill-informed regarding the scientific findings on the past of India and the history of his culture. The fault, I think, lies in our system of education which fails to direct our patriotic sentiments along sound lines of fact. The teaching of Indian History ought to be far more extensive and modern in our school and under-graduate curricula, and our universities should have taken up with alacrity the lead given to Calcutta by Sir Asutosh Mukerji in the matter of intensive study and research on Indian History in the post-graduate classes.

It pained me to read the other day in the Press that to a question in the Bengal Legislative Assembly regarding the creation of a Chair of Ancient Indian History in the Dacca University, the Minister of Education to the Bengal Government had replied that no such Chair was contemplated by the Government as there was no demand for it in Dacca. A more enlightened Government and a more patriotic nation-building Ministry should have, in my view, taken pains to foster and promote such interest and demand in the country, even if it was not there. In the words of that eminent French Indologist, the late Sylvain Levi, in his Address to the Calcutta University: "It is not enough only to love your Motherland; you must also *help* her."

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HYDERABAD REFORMS

A Study in Camouflage

By S. RAMA CHAR

"The elephant has two sets of teeth, it does not eat with the teeth it displays," is a Urdu proverb. The much advertised Hyderabad Reforms which have been published remind one of this homely saying.

As long ago as the year 1919 the Nizam in a special Firman directed the then president of the council, Sir Ali Imam, to prepare a scheme to expand the present so-called council. Unfortunately for Hyderabad, Sir Ali Imam left the State early on account of his differences with the Nizam and nothing could be done. At last on 29th September, 1937, the Nizam's Government announced the appointment of a packed Committee for "investigating and reporting on suitable alternatives for more effective association of *different interests with the government*" (Italics mine). It is the report of this Committee that is before us with the sanction of the government in the form of "Reforms." How far do the reforms satisfy the aspirations of the people of the State for a greater share in the administration of their affairs?

At the outset the report says:

"The Head of the State represents the people directly in his own person, and his connection with them therefore is more natural and abiding than that of any passing elected representatives. He is both the supreme head of the State and the embodiment of his 'people's sovereignty.' Hence it is that in such a polity, the head of the State does not only retain the power to confirm or veto any piece of legislation, but also enjoys a special prerogative to make and un-make his executive or change the machinery of the Government through which he meets the shifting needs of his people. Such a sovereignty forms the basis on which our constitution rests, and has to be preserved."

As far as I can see, the terms of reference to the Committee did not include the clarification of any "fundamental declaration." Now that the Dewan Bahadur's Committee has thought fit to lay such a "fundamental declaration" let us consider how far it is consistent with the principles of constitutional monarchy. According to this definition the powers of the Nizam are absolute, uncontrolled, arbitrary and despotic. In short it does not admit of any kind of limitation. His Exalted Highness the Nizam cannot be unaware of the fact that even His Majesty, whose Faithful Ally he is, has never claimed such a power and authority for himself. Since the days of the Stuart Kings no king of England has claimed such power and authority for himself. Of course the *King in Parliament* is the legal sovereign of England, but the political sovereignty rests with the people. Though the King of England has the power of vetoing the measures of Parliament, we know that such power has for long not been exercised. This power of vetoing has been recognised as a constitutional formality, which even when exercised is done according to the advice of the Cabinet, who are the chosen representatives of the people. And what more, the Government of H. E. H the Nizam cannot be unaware of the fate that ultimately overtook the past advocates of this faith. Should the lessons of history go in vain?

The reforms contemplate the expansion of the size and powers of the present toy-council which consists of 4 elected members in a council of 21 members. The Reformed Assembly will consist of 85 members among whom 42 will be elected members. The democratic method of representation by territorial constituencies has been abandoned in favour of the Fascist method of "economic interests." The 42 elected members will represent the following interests:

(1) Samastanas and Jagirs		.. 4
(2) Mashdars		.. 2
(3) Agriculturists		
(Pattadars	.. 8)	
(Tenants	.. 8)	.. 16
(4) Labour interests		.. 2
(5) Industries		.. 2
(6) Commerce		.. 2
(7) Banking		.. 2
(8) Legal profession		.. 2
(9) Medical profession		.. 2
(10) Graduates		.. 2
(11) District Boards		.. 2
(12) District Municipalities and Town Municipalities		.. 2
(13) Hyderabad Municipal Corporation		.. 2
Total		.. 42

Why have the Nizam's Government

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abandoned the well recognised system of representation by territorial constituencies? Government say:

"Worked on the basis of joint electorates and within the principle of economic interest, Government opine that such reservation of seats would help to eliminate rivalry between candidates on communal lines which may otherwise lead to communal friction."

At best this is a pious hope. I do not think that the communal rivalry can be eliminated by such a scheme. And to call the system of electorates as proposed in the reforms as joint electorates is a deceit, for the simple reason that no candidate will be declared elected until he receives at least 40 per cent votes of the community to which he belongs. The economic interests have been created because of the fear of "professional politicians." Under the new reforms no man can represent an economic interest, unless he is engaged in that profession. For example a doctor can stand only from a Medical Constituency and not from Labour. A pleader can stand only from Legal Constituency and not from Agricultural Constituency. For the Government say that

"the council is fully convinced that the agriculturists or the labourer possesses it fully and does not stand in need of being represented by others....."

In short all the people that enter the Reformed Assembly should go there to serve their own ends and not of the people at large. The object of this novel scheme is to collect together a handful of "Jo Hukums" and parade them as the representatives of the people. This point will be clear if we only look into the constituencies that have been created.

Full justice at this stage cannot be done to the subject of representation, as the Franchise Committee's report is not before us. The question of Franchise is such an important one that one wishes the government had announced their decisions with the reforms. Four seats among the elected representatives will go to the Jagirdars. Under no circumstances Jagirdars will criticize the government leaving alone the question of opposing, as "their stability" rests "on their loyalty to the ruler and government" as the reform report itself points out. Who exactly will represent Labour is not known. The only organized Union in the State is of the Railway workers who are about 25 thousand. The Reforms Report says:

"The Railway Union has asked for representation but the members of this Union mostly live outside the States jurisdiction and are all *employees of the State*. The Union will therefore not be entitled to any representation. We, therefore, think that until the general labouring classes organise themselves into associations of their own *Government will have to secure their representation only by means of nomination.*" (Italics mine).

So there will be no genuine representative of Labour in the future Assembly. As according to the Reforms Committee report most of the medical men in the State are government servants, we can conclude without fear of contradiction that only persons in the good book of the government will be elected. I expect the following 16 elected members to be mere puppets of the government, Jagirdars (4), Mashdars (2), Labour (2), Medical profession (2), District Boards (2), District Municipalities and Town Municipalities (2), Hyderabad Corporation (2). This means a solid block of 49 members (including 3 nominated) who would be too willing to carry out the behests of the Government whip. Even among the rest of the 26 elected members who represent the following constituencies: Agriculture 16, Industries 2, Commerce 2, Banking 2, Legal profession 2, Graduates 2, very few can be expected to voice the popular cause. Under such circumstances to say that the Reformed Assembly will have a non-official and elected majority is to throw dust in the eyes of the people. What the people of Hyderabad want is not the association of any "interests" with the Government but a share in the administration of their affairs.

The New Legislative Assembly will have powers to discuss certain items of the budget but will have no power to reject it. Every bill passed in the Legislative Assembly will have only a recommendatory value. The President in council will have the full powers to veto any measure passed by the Assembly. Even harmless subjects like the Salaries and Allowances of the Government Servants cannot be discussed in the Assembly. One thing that surprises me is that while the Assembly is empowered to discuss education, Osmania University has been made a reserved subject. This reservation becomes significant when viewed in the context of the recent mass emigration of the Hindu students of the Osmania University to other Universities. The President of the Executive Council will be the ex-officio president of the Legislative Assembly. Even an unofficial deputy president has not been conceded as has been done by the Maharaja of Baroda and Kashmir.

About 82 per cent of the population of the

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State are Hindus and ten and a half per cent Muslims. On the plea that

"the two communities together form the majority of the population of this State and practically compose the entire society,"

Muslims have been given 50 per cent of the seats in the Assembly. While Harijans who form 15 per cent of the population and are the real sons of the soil have been given only 5 seats and that too by nomination. As members of the Executive Council will also be ex-officio members of the Assembly and as 5 out of 7 members of the Executive Council are Muslims, Hindus will be reduced to a statutory minority in the Reformed Assembly. It is stated that

"the importance of the Muslim community in the State, by virtue of its historical position and its status in body politic is so obvious that it cannot be reduced to the terms of a minority in the Assembly."

What will the Nizam say if the Hindu minority in Kashmir is given the majority of seats in the Assembly on the plea of its connection with the ruling family? What will the Nizam's government and the Musalmans of India say if the 15 per cent Sikhs in the Punjab be given equal representation in the Punjab Assembly by the British Government on the plea of their "historical importance"? Surely the Muslims of India cannot eat the cake and have it too! But this much is clear that the government of H.E.H. the Nizam are bent on establishing a Fascist cum Muslim state in India.

As far as Civil Liberties are concerned the government claim to have gone a step forward. Instead of taking permission for holding a meeting the organisers are requested to inform the police in advance. But the police have been given the power of forbidding the holding any meeting. This is no improvement. This absolute denial of all Civil Liberty which is the birthright of every individual. As for the Press Government have promised a press regulation on the model of British India. We have yet to wait and see. But one wonders, why the government is desirous of giving liberty to the Press why they still continue the ban on hundreds of newspapers! The Government say, "no law exist in the state regulating the formation of Association". We do not know what exactly the Nizam's government mean by this. Perhaps they mean that no statutory restrictions are imposed. This is not a fact, for we know that in Hyderabad even schools and Akhadas cannot be opened without the previous sanction of the Government. And Hyderabad State Congress is even today an unlawful organisation. It is a pity that even after realising the fact that the Press and the Platform

"psychologically the two agencies serve as safety-valves of public life, the closure of which often develops the canker of discontent in the body politic."

the Nizam's government have not thought it fit to break the shackles that bind these agencies. And what more the government want to revive the old practice of holding conferences by the Subedar. The Reforms Committee suggest

"that persons attending the conference should be entertained and looked after at Government expense and that suitable arrangements should be made to make their stay comfortable."

We may only ask if it is necessary to hold conferences to receive petitions? Cannot the Subedar redress the grievances of the public without these conferences?

In short the "reforms" proposed in the Reform Scheme are reactionary and out of date. It is a denial of all democratic system of Government. It is a challenge to those who talk of Responsible Government. It is an United Front of all capitalists—Jagirdars, bankers, commercial magnates, to suppress all forms of opposition. The entire scheme of reform is a mere bluff. At best it has been a practical joke played on the people of Hyderabad. Yet I feel, from this evil good will come out. When the Hindu capitalists and the Muslim capitalists will join hands in suppressing the economic and political aspirations of the masses, the Hindus and the Muslims of Hyderabad will realise that tyrants do not care for caste or creed. This will divide the Capitalist classes and the Exploited classes into two divisions and will help to remove the present division of the people on communal lines. That will be time for the people of Hyderabad to strike and attain Responsible Government.

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PLIGHT OF INDIANS IN CEYLON

By Dr. M. S. NATA RAJAN, M.A., Ph.D.,

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Ceylon Emulating South Africa

For all practical purposes it appears as if Ceylon would very shortly outbid South Africa in her treatment of Indians. Her political leaders are all setting up as Pinchbeck Hertzogs, Smuts and Stuttafords. A series of anti-Indian enactments have been passed in that country during the last few years discriminating variously and stringently against Indian labour, capital and enterprise. A short outline of some of the disabilities imposed in Ceylon on our nationals has been drawn in the publication of the Bureau entitled, *A brief Note on the Present Position of Indians Abroad*, published during the Delhi Session, 1938. Since then the situation has been growing from bad to worse. On all fronts the Indian community in Ceylon is today faced with ruin and distress. The Government of India have studiously kept themselves aloof from interfering in the affairs of the small island. The attitude adopted by India is that she with her far superior power as a major state should not appear to be harsh and exacting towards the petty island in its continuous attempts to make both ends meet. It is unfortunate that Ceylon should have misunderstood that noble attitude and become so very arrogant.

Repatriation of Indians from Ceylon

The unreasonable obstinacy of Ceylon Government to repatriate Indians in their Departments is the burning problem of the day. At the present moment the Ceylon Government is concentrating on sending back all Indian daily paid employees in their services. It is their aim to repatriate from Ceylon nearly 20,000 daily paid workers even at an enormous expense of Rs. 2,50,00,000. They propose immediately to expel all Indian daily paid labourers engaged after April, 1934, with some cash inducement and repatriate those who have put in more than five years' service under the so-called scheme of voluntary repatriation. The Ceylon Government have already begun eliminating from their services and repatriating to India nearly 1,000 Indian daily paid employees. They have also embarked on a systematic policy of inducing Indians by threats of subsequent dismissal without any provision for compensation of an additional 8,000 daily paid Indian employees to voluntarily resign and leave Ceylon before the end of the current year. The modifications that have been introduced in the scheme, such as, exemption in the case of such of the Indian employees as have married Sinhalese wives are all very minor ones and do not affect the proposals in any material form whatsoever.

It is needless to add that such dismissal of Indian employees who have for so long and so faithfully served the Ceylon Government is one of the most inequitable things that any civilised government could do. The provocation is that there is much of unemployment among the Ceylonese and it is the bounden duty of the Ceylon Government to provide for their own people. No one denies that the Ceylon Government could very naturally and legitimately restrict emigration and offer all future jobs exclusively to their own people, but it is extremely unfair that the present employees, most of whom have made Ceylon their home land; should be turned out in order to provide for the Sinhalese. It should not be forgotten that the present Indian employees were engaged by the Government only because suitable Sinhalese were not available. In any case arguments that emigration causes unemployment or that some jobs are taken away from indigenous people by outsiders are entirely fallacious. Mr. Norman Angell, a great authority on the subject, wrote very recently in this connection :

"Underlying many confusions about unemployment is the idea that there is a fixed quantity of work which needs doing so that if A takes a job, it is lost to B. But when a man earns money by taking a job, he has to spend it, and that spending of it on housing, furniture, newspapers, books, food, drink, fuel, obviously creates work, gives some one else a job. To the degree to which a given 1,000 men take jobs, they also create jobs.

"What is necessary is greater flexibility, 'fluidity' as the economists call it, so that, among other things, men can be shifted readily from one job to another. To find the right man for the right job is to increase the chances of more jobs becoming available. Immigration increases that flexibility and fluidity. The Home Secretary stated in the House of Commons that the settlement

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of 11,000 German refugees in England had been the direct cause of giving employment to 15,000 British workmen."

Franchise Denied to Indians

Discrimination in political franchise is another serious grievance of the Indian community in Ceylon. Indians demand nothing more and nothing less than political franchise on a par with other communities. They form one-fifth of the island's population and yet during the last few years they have not been able to get more than three seats in a legislature of fifty. During the first few years of the Ceylon Constitution there was one Indian Minister on the Board of Ministers. During the last five or six years, however, anti-Indian feelings have grown to such an extent that no Indian has been on the Board of Ministers and full control of the Island's affairs have been taken over by anti-Indian Sinhalese politicians.

The Donoughmore Commission recommended the adoption of an universal franchise to all British subjects who have been resident in Ceylon for five years. Five years' residence was considered a sufficient test of a person's permanent interest in Ceylon. This, quite a just proposal, was, however, upset by the agitation carried on by Sinhalese politicians and Indians came to lose voting rights. Under the Passfield Constitution, the Donoughmore Commission's test of residence has been whittled down by discriminatory domicile provisions and the potential voting strength of the Indian community seriously reduced by a system of delimitation of constituencies in which balance of advantage has always been in favour of Sinhalese. An Indian resident in Ceylon, if he is desirous of possessing franchise, must prove "Domicile." The law of domicile in Ceylon is worked in an obscure and uncertain manner and administered by unsympathetic anti-Indian executive officers. Naturally all this has resulted in the number of enfranchised Indians being just a fraction of the total population in Ceylon. Franchise is everywhere considered an inalienable right of a citizen. The deprivation of Indians of their franchise by gerrymandering provisions is one of the most unsavoury product of the present Ceylon Administration.

Indians and the Village Communities Ordinance

The Village Communities Ordinance which engaged the attention of the Indian Government and people for the best part of the year 1937 and 1938 constitutes another grievous harm done to the Indian community. The Ordinance which was passed in 1934 enlarged the scope and discretion of the communities in such a manner as to convert them practically into self-governing units. Amendments were moved to this act during the last few years in such a way as to exclude Indian labourers completely from the village franchise. This, as could be expected, led to a great agitation and strong representations from the Government of India. The Government of Ceylon thereupon introduced a further amendment taking away from the Ceylonese estate labourers as well their franchise in this connection. It is the contention of the Ceylon Government that discrimination as such has been removed by treating all estate labourers equally. Indians could never agree to such a course. It has always been the Indian viewpoint that both the Indian labourers and Sinhalese villagers are alike entitled to work for the betterment of the rural life of Ceylon. It must, again, be noted that the removal of the "discrimination" against Indian estate lobourers is a very unreal one. While there are about half a million Indian estate labourers, the total number of Sinhalese labourers employed by the estate is about 91,000 of which 28,000 were resident, 43,000 non-resident, 9,000 regular contractors and 11,000 casual contractors. It would be clear that the vast proportion of the Sinhalese workers of Ceylon estates are non-resident and under the provisions of the amendments to the Ordinance they would be entitled to vote for the village communities without any hindrance.

Rice Control

All is grist that comes to the mill, is the motto of the Ceylon Government and they are out to cripple Indian interests in whatever manner they can. The "Essential Commodities Reserves Ordinance" No. 5 of 1939, which was passed early this year, has for its object the maintenance of reserve stocks of commodities which would be essential for the vital needs of the community in the event of war or any major crisis. Rice has been declared to be an essential commodity under this Ordinance and importers, in addition to being obliged to register themselves, have the following conditions imposed on them :

(*i*) The importer shall import during the specified period not less than the specified quantity of rice;

(*ii*) the importer shall carry at all times a prescribed quantity of rice as reserve stock;

(*iii*) the importer shall maintain the prescribed books and records for the purpose of this Ordinance;

(*iv*) the importer shall increase his reserve stock

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in the prescribed proportion in the event of his importing more than the minimum quantity allotted to him.

Violation of these conditions renders the importers liable to heavy penalties as well as cancellation of their licences.

While the Ceylon Government are undoubtedly justified in taking such proper precautions as are necessary for conservation of food supplies, they should not be so unreasonable as to put the entire responsibility on the shoulders of private importers. The creation and maintenance of reserve stocks for war and emergency purposes are of national interest and as such the community as a whole should bear the cost involved in them. The proper thing for the Ceylon Government to do, in view of the war scare, is to maintain themselves the necessary reserve stocks or compensate the private importers against the loss which their scheme would inevitably lead to as a result of the deterioration in quality, price fluctuations, etc. of the stocks held by them. It is highly unjust to make the importers of rice, who are all Indians, to bear the extra cost and the loss resulting from the creation of the war time reserve.

Fresh Indignities on Indians

It is to be carefully noticed that many stringent measures against Indians are on the legislative anvil or are being promised. While the exact nature of the proposals are not quite known, the restrictions that are going to be imposed on the immigration of Indians are, however, to be effected "in the interests of health, public tranquillity and on the ground of lack of means of the immigrant." It is learnt that non-Ceylonese would be asked at the time of their entry into Ceylon to complete a form indicating the purpose of their entry into the island. Non-Ceylonese are to be given besides passports, identification cards carrying their finger-prints, a duplicate of which will be kept by the immigration authorities. Persons with such identification cards will be expected to report monthly during their first three months of stay in Ceylon. No non-Ceylonese is to be allowed to stay in Ceylon for more than 3 months. Permits to stay in Ceylon for more than three months will not be granted to persons desirous of carrying on business or of being engaged in profession or employment in Ceylon, unless the immigration outhorities are satisfied in the case of business that it is in the interests of Ceylon and will not compete unduly with Ceylonese business, and in case of employment that no Ceylonese is available for the post. It is also feared that in regard to the estate labourers, they would be given identification cards marked "Estate Labourer" and they will not be allowed to take up any other occupation. It is further anticipated that a quota will be fixed limiting the number of non-Ceylonese labourers that can be employed in each industry and a tax is to be levied on these firms that employ non-Ceylonese labour. The Ceylon Government seem to be taking delight in finding out ways and means of humiliating Indians who may have the misfortune to visit Ceylon either for business or pleasure.

What Ceylon Owes to India

The debt which Ceylon owes to India is not only great culturally and spiritually but also materially. The prosperity of the Island is mainly bound up with one commodity, viz. tea. It is on the annual crop of tea and the price she can obtain for it, depends the prosperity of the entire Island. Her annual income from tea is more than Rs. 15 crores and if the price of leaf were to fall by so much as a few cents a pound, Ceylon's internal economy would be sadly dislocated. It is a well-known fact that the Ceylon tea plantation industry would not be what it is today nor would it continue to be what it is today but for Indian labour. The Sinhalese labour has been tried and found to be unable and unfit to stand the strain and stress and the ravages of malaria. The analysis of the export trade of Ceylon shows that while tea comes first with 57½ per cent, cocoanut oil and copra comes third after rubber with 10 per cent. Ceylon holds no monopoly for its tea, rubber or copra. Ceylon also knows that a very considerable quantity of her production of cocoanut oil and copra finds a market only in India. Not only in her plantation and agricultural industries is India's contribution great but the entire economic structure of Ceylon owes its foundation and maintenance largely to Indian investment and enterprise. But for the Nuttokkottai bankers and other Indian businessmen, Ceylon would have but little to her credit as regards any of her economic activities. It is often stated by the Sinhalese politicians that they are the only people of Ceylon. On the other hand, it is conveniently forgotten that Sinhalese represent only about 64 per cent of the total population of the Island. The Indian population of the Island, it should be noted, is as much as about 20 per cent. The rest, again, is largely composed of the Tamils settled centuries ago in Ceylon. The Burghers and other European elements form a very small percentage. It is a widely known fact that

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from the purely economic point of view the minorities in the Island, specially the Indians, have a stake in the Island which is perhaps more than that of the Sinhalese but never more.

Pandit Nehru's Mission

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, an accredited leader of the Indian people, was sent recently as an un-official ambassador to the Island on behalf of the Indian National Congress to find out the ways and means to ameliorate the conditions of our nationals and cement the friendship between the two countries. The great patriot was able to influence the masses and carry them away with him. But the classes as represented by the politicians proved a different proposition. Nehru's mission, thanks to the obduracy of the Ceylonese Ministers, has proved almost a failure.

Retaliation Against Ceylon

The Government of India stopped Assisted emigration some 18 months ago and now they have stopped all emigration of Indian labour to that Island. Planters there would very soon come to know what it is to have the source of labour supply cut off. Further retaliatory measures are widely talked about by Indian politicians and economists against Ceylon's unreasonable attitude. Retaliation could be effectively used both extensively in its scope and intensively in its application. It should, according to many, immediately repatriate the Indian labourers who are the mainstay of the plantation industry and the public finance of the Island. In addition, as the editorial of the *Indian Finance* of June 17, 1939 runs, India should peremptorily demand financial and economic safeguards, through the Colonial Office, for over 60 crores of rupees standing to the credit of the Indian nationals in the Island. India should also dispense with the services of a number of civilians hailing from Ceylon thus giving effect to the Reciprocity Act, for which there has been a general demand. India should charge the Colonial Office substantially for the service that she renders Britain in policing her coast, as the legitimate guardian of her peace in the Indian Ocean. Commerce, agriculture, industry and finance, which gives her the maximum possible accommodation, regardless of consequences or risks, and whatever the amount of trade credits involved is at stake, stringent steps should be taken to safeguard prompt payments before exports are permitted to leave Indian ports. These measures may seem drastic but there is no question of their practicability.

No doubt India's trade with Ceylon shows a favourable balance to India. The balance of the Indian exports over imports from Ceylon amounted to Rs. 286 lacs, 362 lacs and 392 lacs in 1936-37, 1937-38 and 1938-39 respectively. On the face of it, it might look that if India adopted retaliatory methods it would be disadvantageous to India. A comparison of Ceylon's share in India's trade would, however, prove how trifling is Ceylon's participation in India's trade. Imports from Ceylon in relation to the total Indian imports amount to about one per cent while exports to Ceylon form about three per cent of the total Indian exports.

Although there may be some loss to India as a result of retaliatory trade methods, the loss is not likely to injure or harm India beyond repair. It may be noticed that Ceylon is patronising India's products not for any sentimental reason but because it is advantageous for her to do so. Both on account of proximity and freight considerations Ceylon cannot help purchasing commodities from India. India could very effectively cripple the copra industry of Ceylon. On several occasions in the past, the claims of the Indian cocoanut industry for protection have been withheld on the score that Ceylon's position warranted some indulgence from India. If Indians in Ceylon are to be treated as helots, the Indian cocoanut growers would naturally be the first and the foremost to advocate swift and deliberate reprisals.

The Indo-Ceylon Trade Talks

The Indo-Ceylon trade talks are expected to be initiated in October next. It goes without saying that India should not be a party to any trade agreement with Ceylon until all the existing political and economic disabilities on Indian nationals in Ceylon are removed and Ceylon gives an undertaking that there would be no more discriminatory legislation. It is necessary to provide that neither of the two countries should enhance the scale of duty or the tariff valuation on articles imported, without prior consultation with the country affected. It is needless to add that it should be the primary aim of any such trade talks to procure from Ceylon preferential tariffs for Indian rice, manure, cotton seeds, curry stuff, ghee, coffee and steel.

The Twelve Points of the Ceylon Governor

On the 1st August, 1939, Ceylon Government brought into operation its scheme for the

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repatriation of Indians from Ceylon. On the same date the Government of India with the full approval of the Government of Madras and most probably with the concurrence and co-operation of the Indian States, Travancore and Cochin, prohibited emigration to Ceylon of all unskilled Indian labour. On the same date His Excellency Sir Andrew Caldocott speaking on the occasion of the opening of the Bank of Ceylon came out with his twelve points with a view to clear "misconceptions and misunderstandings." His twelve points and their refutation (taken from an article from the *Hindu* of the 8th August, 1939), are given below:

Governor's Twelve Points and their Refutation

Firstly, there had not been, said the Governor, and is not, under consideration by Government any proposal or scheme that would involve or affect estate labour.

Refutation

The Indian complaint is that the policy in the minds of responsible and influential Sinhalese leaders including Ministers as disclosed by their utterances is to confine the Indian labourer to estate work and other menial or insecure jobs. His Excellency does not appear to appreciate the fact that proposals affecting non-estate labour such as the present scheme of discontinuing Indians from Government employment do affect estate labour. H. E. apparently assumes that the estate labourer does not or has not the right to seek work outside estates for himself or his progeny. Is H. E. certain that among those dismissed from service there are none who had served as estate labourers or are descended from them?

Secondly, any legislation to restrict immigration or limit the employment of immigrants by quotas or to impose a tax on their employers could not be assented to by the Governor, but would have to be reserved under Royal Instructions for the signification of His Majesty's pleasure.

Thirdly, on June 27, an undertaking was given to the Government of India that they would refer for the expression of their views any definite proposals that might be placed before the Governor for restricting immigration into Ceylon.

Fourthly, no such proposals had as yet been tendered to him.

Refutation

As regards 'facts' Nos. 2, 3 and 4, the necessity for reserving Bills to restrict immigration, or to limit the employment of immigrants by quotas, or to impose a tax on their employers, for the signification of His Majesty's pleasure is no guarantee that such legislation will not be passed, particularly when His Excellency does not desire to discuss policies with any of his subjects save the Ministers nor is likely to differ from his constitutional advisers. An undertaking to refer any definite proposals to restrict immigration into Ceylon when made, for the views of the Government of India, is of use but gives little sense of security to the Indians in Ceylon. Their experience in connection with the Land Development Ordinance and the Village Communities Amendment Ordinance has been by no means reassuring. What has been and is obvious is that these reservations and consultations have not up to now checked measures adversely affecting Indians. The reserve powers have been used only to protect European employees and European interests. If the proposal affecting future immigration needs consultation with India, does not the proposal resulting in the loss of livelihood of Indians already migrants deserve more urgently such consultation? Opportunity for such consultation at the time of the trade talks was close at hand. What is the particular need to hasten tighten up a policy five years old?

Fifthly, there had never been any scheme, much less legislation, for compulsory repatriation of anybody. If such legislation would under Royal instructions need to be reserved for the signification of His Majesty's pleasure.

Refutation

As to 'fact' No. 5, there was never a complaint of compulsory repatriation by legislation or otherwise. The complaint is that the choice is a Hobson's choice and that the right of election left to the Indian workers is a mockery. The fate of those who are unable to repatriate themselves for the sake of gratuity is truly pitiable because they have not the faintest hope of starting a free life here or in India.

Sixthly, what the State Council passed and what in due course ratified was a supplementary provision to defray retirement bonuses and travelling expenses to their home country for such daily-paid employees of Government as might apply for them on discharge or retirement under the conditions announced by the Financial Secretary.

Refutation

As regards fact No. 6, the ratification of the supplementary provision to defray retirement bonuses and travelling expenses for the discharged or retired Indian daily employees of the Government obviously implies the ratification of the administrative measures of dismissal and compulsion to retire by threat contained in the conditions announced by the Financial Secretary and amplified in the circular of the Chief Secretary to the Heads of Departments.

Seventhly, one month's notice of discharge was given to all daily-paid non-Ceylonese employees engaged since April 1, 1934, that is, after the passing by the State Council of the resolution that immigrants should be engaged only if Ceylonese with requisite qualifications were not available.

Refutation

As to the fact No. 7, has His Excellency satisfied himself that every one of those dismissed on a month's notice was taken after 1st April, 1934, although Ceylonese with requisite qualifications were not available? Was it never resolution of March, 1934, acted upon? Was it necessary to act upon it? These are questions which demand answers.

Eighthly, none of the persons so discharged were recruited by Government from India; they were engaged locally and were perfectly free to stay in Ceylon if they wished and obtained non-Government employment. The discharge by Government was not under any special but in the exercise of the ordinary rights of an employer.

Refutation

About fact No. 8, when the Ceylon Government as late as 1922 deputed to Simla an official to plead for favourable treatment under the Indian Emigration

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was it ever hinted that Indians outside estates are unwelcome? Why was the Government of Ceylon paying a contribution to the Indian Immigration Fund even after 1934? It was for defraying the cost of immigration of estate labourers who filtered down into works of Government Departments.

Ninthly, notices had been or were being withdrawn in the case of any non-Ceylonese (a) registered as married to a Ceylonese wife, (b) registered as the father of a child by a Ceylonese mother or (c) who was married to a Ceylonese spouse whose employment was being continued. The Leader of the State Council in introducing the budget on July 25 also announced that special cases of hardship would receive individual consideration.

Tenthly, that the services of non-Ceylonese would be terminated before those of the Ceylonese, was announced as a principle of retrenchment; and a scheme of bonuses had been offered to those non-Ceylonese who desired to avoid the risk of retrenchment by voluntary retirement this year.

Eleventhly, the Ministers recently agreed to an important modification in principle, which I have just mentioned. The modification was that for the purposes of retrenchment non-Ceylonese employees with more than ten years' service under Government would be treated on a par with Ceylonese.

Twelfthly, the modification of the retrenchment principle and the special cases now provided in respect of employees under notice had been brought to the notice of the Government of India, to which an undertaking had been given on May 8 last, that no scheme for compulsory retirement of daily-paid non-Ceylonese other than the present one which affected only persons engaged since April 1, 1934, would be approved without an opportunity afforded for making representations.

Refutation

As regards the last four facts, the Indians protest against the principle underlying the proposals; little alteration to the incidence of hardship can not justify a wrong principle or rectify the subtantial injustice done. Has the modification in respect of employees of 10 years' service been effectively brought to the notice of those who have been stampeded to consent to retirement and repatriation? Indians who have worked as supernumerary men for over ten years under conditions which recognised their service in the computation of gratuity and for leave on the same footing as others in Government employ have been discharged even without a month's notice.

The Indians had asked for an opportunity to place their case before His Excellency long before the scheme was discussed in the State Council, but were given that opportunity after His Excellency had ratified the proposals.

A perusal of the refutations would clearly show how hollow are the reasonings of the Ceylon Governor. While Ceylon is to be congratulated on getting a Governor who agrees to abide by the actions of the Ministers, it is to be pointed out how regrettable it is that His Excellency should have broken the general self-denying rules imposed on themselves by various Governors of the different dominions and colonies regarding discussion of policies of their respective Ministers and legislatures.

Flouting the Instrument of Instructions

It may also be mentioned that there are certain obligations which the Governor of Ceylon has to discharge under the Instrument of Instructions given to him. It is provided that "any bill diminishing or prejudicing any of the rights or privileges to which, at the date of these our instructions, persons emigrating, or who have immigrated to the Island from India, may be entitled by reason of such emigrating", shall not be assented to by him. Again, the Governor is required not to give his assent to "any bill the principles of which have evoked serious opposition by any racial, religious or other minority." The recent history of Ceylon, however, shows in what deliberate manner there has been flouting of the provisions of the Instrument of Instructions to the Governor.

EXHIBITION OF INDIAN PAINTINGS IN CEYLON

By S. N. C.

[illegible] the time when Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru came back from Ceylon, somewhat disappointed [illegible] good-will mission to win over anti-Indian [illegible] expressed in the repatriation ordinance, [illegible]tural mission was sent from Bengal to that [illegible]nt island—that geographical pendant and [illegible] seat of cultural continuation of Indian [illegible]ntal civilization. It was not a mission [illegible]king human agencies, but a mission of the [illegible] ambassador of Art. It was a small [illegible]tion of selected Masterpieces of Indian [illegible]ing from the collection of the well-known [illegible]sseur and historian of Indian Art, Mr. O. C. Gangoly of Calcutta. It comprised only about 75 pictures, but it was a very representative collection embracing all departments, phases, and schools of Indian Painting from the early Buddhist Schools down to the new developments under the guidance of Dr. Abanindra Nath Tagore, a fairly expansive map illustrating the development of Indian Painting, covering a period of over two thousand years. The frescoes of Ajantā and Bāgh had necessarily to be represented in copies, but all the later phases, embracing the Pāla School, the Western Indian or Gujarati

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Schools, the Schools of Rajputana, the Hill Schools of Chambā, Basholi and Kāngrā and the Mogul School, were represented by actual masterpieces typical of each phase; while the neo-Bengali School was fully illustrated by typical masterpieces from the brush of Dr. A. N. Tagore, and Mr. Nanda Lal Bose, Director of the Kalabhavan, Visva-bharati. The most peculiar feature of this Exhibition was the fact that it was sponsored and patronized by educational authorities, and keenly inspired by teachers of the schools and colleges of Northern Ceylon who originated the inspiring idea of having an Art Exhibition in connection with an Educational Conference. This was a very happy venture and the teachers in Ceylon have perhaps set the first example of linking up Art with Education—an union which has yet to be accomplished in the fields of Indian Education, where Art still continues, with some rare exceptions, to be a Forbidden Fruit in the Gardens of Indian Education. The first exhibition of Indian Painting was opened at the Parameswar College Hall at Jaffna (northern Ceylon) by Mr. R. Patrick, the Acting Director of Education. Mr. V. Veerasingham, the Chairman of the Exhibition Committee, made some very apposite remarks, which are worth quoting:

"In this Exhibition we find history repeating itself. The first exhibition of any kind of original paintings in Jaffna is very appropriately a collection of Indian Paintings. The greatest compliment that could be paid to Ceylon in its Indian relationship is that it is a spoilt child of India. The cultural conquest of Ceylon by India is complete and cannot be repatriated. Let us repatriate if necessary, things mundane. We should not and could not divorce ourselves from spiritual and cultural kinship with India."

Mr. Patrick in declaring the Exhibition open remarked that

"he was very much impressed by the beauty of the collection of Paintings shewn at the Exhibition and that he was confident that people visiting the Exhibition would see something really beautiful. It was essential that teachers and students should learn to admire and appreciate Art. The Northern Province Teachers' Association has broken new grounds by organizing the Exhibition."

A well deserved tribute was also paid to Mr. K. Navaratanam, who took an active part in bringing over the Exhibition to Ceylon with commendable aesthetic foresight and enterprise. The success of the Exhibition at Jaffna induced the Ceylon Society of Arts to invite the Exhibition to Colombo, where the pictures were exhibited for a week at the well-known Art Gallery at Colombo. The Colombo Show was organized by G. Malayasekhara, the well-known Buddhist scholar, and it was opened by Sir Baron Jayatilaka, the Prime Minister. The Exhibition was also honoured by H. E. the Governor of Ceylon who paid a private visit to the show. His Excellency is a great connoisseur of pictures and the tributes paid by the Governor had the inspiring effect of bringing large crowds to the show. That the citizens of Colombo, which include a large number of connoisseurs and artists, came to offer appreciative admiration of Indian Paintings, demonstrated the spiritual link which still binds India and Ceylon together. Dr. Andrew Nell, who gave a Talk on Indian Art, in connection with the Exhibition happily emphasized on this cultural kinship :

"Ancient and Mediaeval Art in old Ceylon was closely linked up with art movements in India that study of Indian Paintings is necessarily helpful to understanding of what is left in Ceylon—survivals from an immense quantity in former times. Ignorance of the value of the old paintings and indifference to their fate still prevails in Ceylon in official and unofficial circles, though to a less extent than a few decades ago. India emerged from that slough of torpid disregard of old Indian Masters much earlier, greatly owing to the appreciation by British and European officials and unofficials, soon aided by co-operation from Indians. We are moving, only slowly in Ceylon, towards such a happy realization."

Dr. Nell could have added that the pace of that slow movement has been considerably accelerated by the examples of modern and ancient Indian masterpieces, represented in the Exhibition. Buddha-ghosha, the majority of whose works were written in Ceylon, had helped that child of Indian culture to pay back the debt that the island owed to Asoka, the Indian Constantine. One can reasonably expect that the modern artists of Ceylon, led by such talented artists as Mr. Harry Peiris, would, one day, repay the debt in the field of Pictorial Art.

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HILL TRIBES OF ASSAM

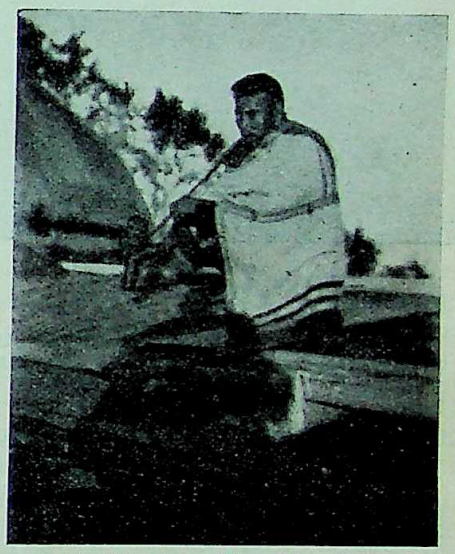
By D. C. KAITH, B.Sc. (Edin.)

Chief Forest Officer, Bijni Raj Estate, Assam

ssam is made up of valleys and hills. Civiliza-n of the valleys of Assam has under-ne many changes. There were Cachari and om kings, there were Burmese raids and nder feuds,—these are all things of the past. ace has come to prevail. With all these, re has not been very marked change in the e habit, customs of folks living in the hills of ssam. They are objects of anthropological ly more or less. We know, their ancestors China and Tibet have a very old civilization d a highly developed one even today. tory has it that after they were driven out China they came and hid themselves in ssam and Burma hills. High virgin tropical ests of the eastern Himalayas gave these es food and shelter. Cut off from civiliza-n they settled down in these hills. For a e they lived entirely on fishing and hunting. rwards circumstances compelled them to a few eatables by cutting a patch of forest nd which has gradually increased so much o become a menace to the valleys. Good

Kukis

days were those when there were no caste cial distinctions. Even Pandavas roamed ly about these hills in their exile. One is ed to believe the folk-tales of Pandava es 'wooing' the Naga girls when one sees the features of Angami and Thangkul Nagas. Hills ex-communicated them from the inhabitants of the valleys and even from one tribe and the other. Each tribe occupied a hill and had its own manners, customs and language. They must have been a peace-loving and contented people at first, but later on, as every-



A Kabui smoking his pipe

where else, village feuds and tribal factions began to increase with the struggle for existence. Thus developed a war mentality for the preservation of their race. Now we see nothing good in them except that they are head-hunters, warriors, suspicious looking and dirty people not to be bothered about. As long as one village lives in peace with the next village, one tribe with the other, there is nothing to worry about.

Villages are scattered about and generally situated on hill tops, well fortified with big boulders, cactus, etc. against any aggressor, and they are linked up by short-cut routes. Graded paths are disliked by the hill people, they always prefer a short-cut.

Hills populated by a particular tribe derive their name from that tribe which is further divided into sub-tribes or clans. Garo Hills are occupied by the Garos, Lushai hills by the Lushais, Cachar hill by the Cacharis, Khasia hills by the Khasis, Naga hills by the Nagas, Abor

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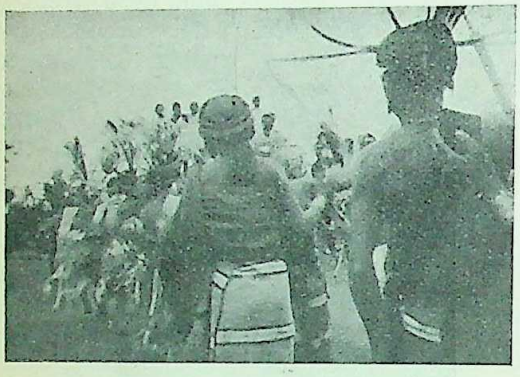
hills by the Abors, Mikir hills by the Mikirs and so on.

All the hill tribes are wandering in habit. You may see a village on a hill-top this winter, next winter, it may have shifted itself to another hill-top, five miles away. The reasons invariably are based on supernatural misconception followed by some deaths in the village or constant sickness or repeated bad harvests. Villages are generally populated on pure tribal



Kabui dance

basis, *e.g.*, a village may consist of only Kacha Nagas or Lota Nagas or Thangkul Nagas or Thado Kukis, etc. Their houses are artistically built. A typical house is a 'Chang' house of one large room with two doors in extreme ends stuck up on bamboo or wooden supports. Bamboos, thatch and timber posts are used in construction.

Cooking, sleeping, planning are all done in that room. Their domestic pets are generally pigs and goats for which there is invariably an enclosure nearby. Life is all struggle. In winter men, women and children are all engaged in cutting a 'jhum.'* Jhums are sown with paddy millet and cotton. Most of the cotton supplied to Assam and Bengal comes from the jhums of the hills of Assam.

After paddy harvest is over real fun begins. There is general rejoicing in the hills as every where else in India. Pots are cleaned and rice put in with some barks for rice beer to brew. Beer being ready, there is general excitement in the village. Dance and merry-making are held in the house compound of the village chief. Sacrifices of fowls, pups and goats are made to appease the spirits. Drinking and merry-making starts in real earnest. Old men and women, youngsters all join in the dance. There

* The term "jhum" is applied to felling a bit of forest and burning it when dry for cultivation just before the rains.

the gong is being beaten continuously for mo and there is singing, which may go on till ea hours of the morning when men and wom may be seen lying about dead drunk and try to have another drink if possible. These con tions prevail all over the hills after the pad harvest. Drinking parties are given and the is always a brewed vat lying handy in a cor to entertain a visitor. I suppose, without a dri hill men would not exist. Like the Fren temperance will make a hill man's life mo miserable. Give them meat and drink, tea them any religion, work them any way you lik

Rice, salt, chillies, a few jungle leaves a roots form their delicious diet. Now and th fish or a wood-cock trapped by a youngs forms a part of the menu. Meat of all kin is eaten. Tigers, elephants, mithans, do snakes, mice are relished by one or the oth of the hill tribes. Probably a fat tummy of valley man makes a hill man's mouth wate too! Milk is of no use to the hill men.

Marriages and ceremonies are sim Polygamy is not practised as a rule. A girl taken away after payment of beads necklace may be a few rupees, goats, fowls, pigs mithans. If contracted numbers of articles animals are not given by the groom, the gir father has a right to recover the daughter, ma be with half a dozen of kiddies. Such a disput

Another view of a Kabui dance

may be decided by the village chief and eld If they can't bring about a settlement, a c against the groom may be brought by the gi father in the court of the nearest polic officer. There justice is simple and sure. summary enquiry is made and verdict give

There are no civil procedure code, no co

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no pleaders and no botheration. When a knotty problem comes up for dicision, about a plot of land and it is difficult to to a correct judgment, the parties agree dive in a tank, whoever comes out first loses case. Parties are quite happy with the dict. They quietly walk away. Here and villages want to fight out a point and then trouble starts. Fights and raids take place. officer in charge has to rush out with a of constables and bring the parties under trol. The greatest punishment a village have is to set the whole village minus their ngings on fire. It is with such severe ishments that hill tribes are kept back from head-hunting which is believed to be necessary increase the spiritual force for the welfare the village.

Chiefs of villages are expected to go and rt points of interest to the officer in charge ever they can, otherwise, there is no agency bringing reports from the villages. In fact, re is not much to report from the villages.

Some tribes are healthy while others are Death rate is appalling. Epidemics of llpox are common. Tuberculosis is spread- amongst the hill tribes probably due to

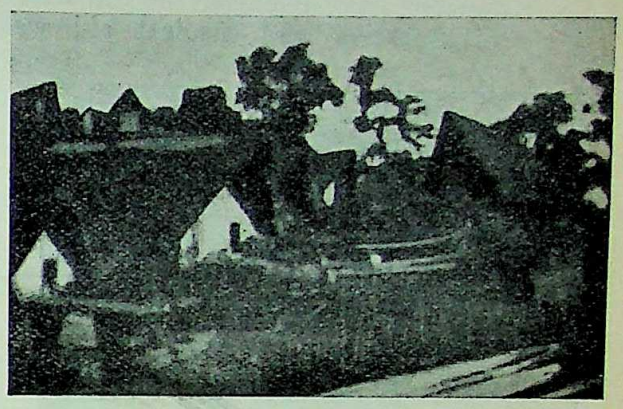
A hill-side Kabui village

s in dark and dingy houses full of smoke non-observance of hygienic rules.

Generally men wear a loin cloth and a big e-made wrapper to cover their bodies. en have one-piece wrappers artistically n at home and wrapped round their breasts s off when hoeing a jhum on a hot day. e you may see followers of 'Van Vagel' ir natural beauty!

Here and there they are changing their garb to expensive hats and coats but they are not learning how best to create h to buy those luxuries!

Each tribe and sub-tribe has its own language and there are perhaps more than one hundred dialects spoken in the hills of Assam. Very few tribes can communicate themselves with their neighbours of another tribe. Un-



Kabui huts

fortunately no definite policy has been laid down for the education of the hill tribes. A few mission schools teach the Bible in their own language written in Roman character. One feels sorry for the hill men when they come down to the valleys to sell their produce being cheated by the clever valley traders because of their absolute ignorance of the language of the valley people. Here is an opportunity to introduce the Assamese language first written in Roman characters all over the hills of Assam in a uniform manner.

Medical aid is scarce. Ojhas who are quite ignorant of medicine, rule supreme. They treat by doing some sort of sacrifices and magic followed by a drinking party, that is all the treatment they know. It is these Ojhas who take advantage of the ignorance of the hill tribes and foment trouble asking them to revolt against law and order. These blood thirsty Ojhas preside over ceremonies which are held to celebrate slaughtering of innocent human beings.

Every tribe seems to have its own ideas of religion. There is always a fear of the unknown. They feel that there is something like the spirits over which they have no control. Here and there Christian missions have imparted to them the spirit of Christianity. Each mission has given a Bible in the language spoken by a particular tribe and this is written in Roman characters. In mission schools teachers and pastors selected from hill men are being trained and taught to read these Scriptures. These trained men in turn go out in the hills to spread the gospel of love and peace to the hill tribes.

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Unfortunately these young men too educated in mission schools cannot carry on trade with the outside world as they are ignorant of the language spoken by others outside the hills.

There is no denying the fact that what Christian missions have done for the hill tribes by way of education and medical aid was

Kabui Naga dance

never done before by any society. This debt the hill tribes will have to owe for generations.

Modes of Livelihood

But still their wants are few and simple. Women are hard working, they cut jhums, hoe the soil and ashes, plant and harvest crops. They rear children, do fine weaving and cooking. The lot of the hill women is a hard one but they are a jolly lot and quite unlike womenfolk in India. Men and women carry their produce for sale in baskets hung on their backs to the nearest markets in the plains below, may be a distance of 30-40 miles through densely wooded hills.

Marketable produce is cotton, bananas, potatoes, pieces of hand-woven cloth, lac, horns hides, honey, cane work, oranges. In exchange they buy salt, oil, tobacco for smoking and chewing, tea, beads and necklaces. Some might spend their entire earnings in a liquor shop. Having come to a distant market they must anyhow dispose of their produce and return home. They seldom get a square deal in a distant and unhospitable market, the tactics and language of which are very little comprehended by the simple folks of the hills.

Here and there, they are employed to construct and repair roads and bridle paths running through the hills.

Hill men form excellant forest labour. Forest contractors go into the hills to exploit timber and employ the hill men to carry out various operations. With great regret it must be said that forest contractors seldom pay according to contracted rates or don't pay at all on some pretext or other. Relations become strained and the result sometimes is that the contractor's elephants are shot dead and operations have to be suspended in those remote parts of the hills. General nervousness prevails over the hills and hill men non-co-operate with the contractors and harass them. Without the co-operation of local hill population timber operations become difficult and expensive. Rice and rations in general have to be carried by expensive imported labour into the hills. Hundreds of workers from the valleys have to be taken into the hills annually to exploit timber. Near a forest camp a jhum will be cut and planted with paddy with a view to pick up quarrel when elephants of the contractor will surely get loose and destroy the jhum. Money has no attraction to the hill tribes and they cannot be coerced to do any work against their will. Fear one with them, they are your slaves.

Causes of Backwardness

Cut off from civilization the hill tribes really got stranded in the hills surrounded by cleverer people and people suffering from superiority complex in the valleys down below. The hill tribes could not keep pace with them in material and moral progress.

They came from the jungles and the jungles have claimed them as their own.

A Naga dance

Aryans and other advanced inhabitants neglected them and called them 'Rakshasas' fit to be exterminated. Like everybody else in the tropics they felt lazy and enjoyed a happy-go-lucky life. They could not mix freely with various people due to jungle and hill barriers and lost all contact with the civilized world. Jhums yielded plenty of paddy to eat for the whole year. Cotton for cloth was grown in

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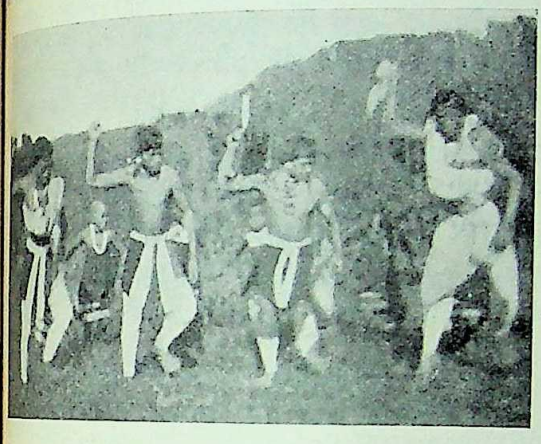
ms and they hardly cared for the outside rld. Village feuds always kept them busy d on constant guard. No progress could be ide. Suppressed and shunned by the valley en the hill tribes began to retaliate and ecame turbulent and started head-hunting ds on the villages in the valleys. They ew more suspicious of strangers and murdered



Another view of a Naga dance

m whenever possible. Such were the condi-s prevailing in Assam when the province s annexed by the British and remained so long r. To keep the hill men in check from raiding villages in the valleys, the hill districts were reated and the boundary line was called 'inner line' into which no man was allowed cross without a permit and armed escorts the Political Officer-in-charge of the rict. There is no free access to most of districts for the valley men. In half century or so hill tribes have cooled down ause of the isolation policy of the govern-t. The customs of these people have under-e little change except of those who have influenced by Christian missionaries. No er mission cared to take them over.

Such are the conditions in which we find hill tribes today. It is beginning to be sed that the lot of the hill tribes is hard something must be done to improve it that quickly. They can not be segregated er. With the march of civilization they be taken along by the more advanced le.

The clearing and felling of forests for jhum-in the hills is increasing; that is a danger of first magnitude. Floods in the valleys are ning an annual affair. With the increase population, the pressure for jhum lands has sed and forest officers have not been far d in warning the public about the impending disaster which must follow when hills are denuded of forest cover. Going over the hills one is struck with the varied climate, soil, altitude and laxurious vegetation of the hills of Assam. Khasia hills with their wavy tops look like Scottish highlands. Naga hills have 6000′ to 8000′ hill tops. Manipur has temperate climate all the year round. Cherrapunji, the heaviest rain station in the world, is situated in Assam hills. Vegetation both alpine and tropical meets the eye in many hills.

Suggestion for the development of the hills for the benefit of the hill men in particular and valley people in general may interest the readers.

Forest Development

Departmental operations may be undertaken in forests within the 'inner line' for the welfare of the hill tribes. With cheap labour and supervision and assured wages hill men will be too glad to do felling, logging, rafting, floating of timber to the forest depots. Each village on the bank of a floating creek can

Nagas with spears

co-operate in the operations. Bamboos for export to Calcutta paper mills can be cut and sold departmentally too.

Collection of minor forest produce like agar, chal moogra seed, lac, tea seed, Terminalia fruits, Semul cotton, canes, musk, skins, honey, live animals, resin, gum, bee's wax may be done departmentally.

No supervisor recruited from hill men need be paid more than Rs. 10 per month, that is a decent remuneration in the hills.

In the depots logs will be sold by the

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forest department and proper wages paid to workers. In this way all village chiefs will start taking interest in forest conservation and like to hoard money and have a better standard of living.

All the minor forest produce will be collected and disposed of at the recognised depots and wages paid by the department to the collectors. Wages can be paid in cash or

Nagas

in kind or in both. If some hill men restrict jhuming they can be given wages in paddy. Some forests should be constituted into village forests so that village chiefs might take care of them. Hill people in this way may learn timber operations, catch and train elephants and keep them for their own good.

Agriculture

There are vast possibilities of development of agriculture in all its branches.

Crops

Cultivation of potatoes, tobacco, American cotton, chillies, Tung oil, pine apples, etc., may be extended. There shall have to be established big nurseries and seed depots for propagation of these crops at all important subdivisional headquarters like what the Forestry Commission has in Great Britain for forest development. Co-operation of doctors, overseers, road moharirs of hill districts may be sought for distribution of seed and grafts. Hill men should be trained as 'Malis' in large numbers in government farms. Terraced cultivation shall have to be seriously introduced in some hills to save hill-sides from erosion.

Animal husbandry

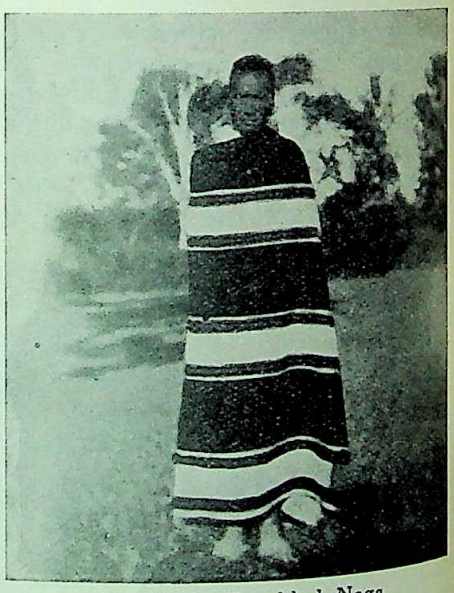
Cattle, pigs, silver foxes, or mules which may be raised in Manipur, can be reared in the hills. Milk is disliked by the hill men but they can utilize milk in making Ghee. In important 'bazars' demonstrations of ghee manufacture may be arranged for training hill men. Silver fox farming can be experimented upon in suitable hill localities. Bee keeping and poultry can be introduced in places; these should be kept in hill farms for distribution.

Horticulture

Assam hills can be great suppliers of fruits to eastern India. Khasia hills are a living example for fruit growing which should spread all over the other hills. Pine apples, oranges, etc. should be pushed out from the nurseries to the hills. Apple may flourish in places.

Special Cultivation

Cinchona—Assam hills (Mhow in Naga hills) can grow its own Cinchona, a great modern necessity of our times. Naga hills have soil



An elderly Tangkhul Naga

and climate good for Cinchona cultivation. Fox glove (Digitalis) may be tried on some high altitudes. Tung oil cultivation may be experimented upon. Pán is there, black pepper may be tried.

Sericulture

Rearing of silk worms of various species can be made popular. Mulberry will grow well in some hills. At present hill-folks do cotton growing and weaving only.

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Industries

Carpentry should be made compulsory in all primary and higher schools of the hills. Hill men will supply ready made furniture, toys, boats built from timber from their village forests, which will command respect there.

Baskets, mats, umbrella handles, cane sticks can be easily made, and with a little modern training by a demonstrator going round the villages, the hill men will work wonders. The department of industries has so much to do in these areas.

Weaving

Nearly all the hill women are expert weavers and some of them so good. Modern methods can be introduced for better speed and design.

Marketing

Special funds should be created to finance marketing of special produce brought down by the hill men to important bazars of the valleys. A successful example of marketing of musk at Sadiya by the authorities may be quoted. There all the musk is received, labelled and auctioned after due advertisement and the price obtained is paid to the sellers through Government agency. A small fee is levied on all sales for the creation of a fund for welfare of the countryside. An experiment on these lines can be conducted in bazars of some districts with special produce such as lac, musk, canes, etc.

Emigration to the Valleys

To remove pressure for jhum lands, surplus population of the hills should be coaxed to come down and work in the tea gardens. There are very few of them employed in the valleys. I dare say they will like hard labour in the gardens, but some will take up work seriously, others will run away. A systematic recruitment of families through Government agencies should be taken up. It is to be hoped that some will get stranded and settle down in the valleys for their own good and will make useful settlers like the Cacharis, Boros, Rabbas, Garos, Miris, who settled long ago in the plains.

The writer of this article had an opportunity to move amongst the hill tribes of Assam extensively when he was exploring the resources of Manipur forests during 1932-33. He has made an attempt to survey generally the life, habit, conditions and possibilities of improvement of the hill tribes in Assam. He will be only too glad to offer further suggestions and information about them if any one interested in the welfare of these people calls for it.

LEAGUE OF NATIONS ADVISORY COMMITTEE ON SOCIAL QUESTIONS

Recommendations of Mrs. Kiran Bose, the Indian Representative

A prominent part was taken in the discussions of the Advisory Committee on Social Questions by Mrs. Kiran Bose, the representative of India, who was unanimously elected as Rapporteur at its session which has just concluded.

The work of the Advisory Committee on Social Questions included this year a discussion of matters of social work which concern public authorities everywhere—the organization and administration of welfare work among young people, social assistance, training to be given to social workers. Special problems such as family desertion and the position of illegitimate children, were also reviewed with the help of preliminary studies prepared for the Committee. Another problem which came under the Committee's notice was the problem of prostitution. Here, the Committee's work laid special emphasis upon the preventive aspect : how to protect minors and young women from prostitution, and how to reinstate in society women who may have become prostitutes and protect their health and ensure their livelihood.

The Progress Report of the Director of the Social Questions Section also formed an important item of discussion. The Advisory Committee, moreover, reviewed the work of the Child Welfare Information Centre, a relatively new department of the Social Section of the Secretariat which secures an exchange of fresh and accurate information between child and social welfare authorities of different countries.

In order to extend this usual service of in-

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formation on matters of social organization, the Representative of India joined the Representatives of France and the United States of America in expressing the hope that means would be found to proceed with plans for publishing a periodical review on social question, from Geneva.

Discussing the Annual Report on Child Welfare prepared by the Secretariat, Mrs.

Mrs. Kiran Bose

Kiran Bose (Representative of India) described the difficulties with which the social worker and educationalist is faced in India. Few of the institutions which have been established in the West to deal with retarded children, the feeble-minded or delinquents, exist to any considerable extent in India. Those who wish to deal with mental disease from the modern scientific point of view are faced with great handicaps in terms of the current public opinion of the country.

"Unless and until we have free compulsory educatios in India it will be difficult to solve the many social problems confronting the authorities there today."

During the discussions of the Advisory Committee on the Legal Aspects of Illegitimacy and on the Social Position of the Unmarried Mother and her child, Mrs. Kiran Bose took the opportunity of describing in some detail the provisions made by law and custom in the different comumnities of India for the legal position of the illegitimate child. Here, she remarked, the problem was complicated by the existence of the caste system but public opinion was becoming aware of social questions generally and was inclining towards reform in modern terms.

Mrs. Bose also participated in the discussion on the question as to what sort of training was to be provided for persons engaged in social work. She also furnished special information about conditions particular to countries of the East, when the Advisory Committee on Social Questions concerned itself with the discussion of the problem of prostitution and measures for its prevention, with special reference to minors.

On Mrs. Bose's recommendations the Advisory Committee added to its list of corresponding members, the National Council of Women in India, to act for three years as from 1940.

Before the Advisory Committee concluded its deliberations, it paid tributes to the diligence of Mrs. Bose who, as the Rapporteur, had drawn up the report reviewing the work and decisions of the Committee.

Mrs. Bose has submitted a separate report to the Government of India in which she has drawn attention to a number of important suggestions, the acceptance of which she believes would make India's participation in the work of the League Committees, such as the Advisory Committee on Social Questions, active and effective. She is definitely of the opinion that even in such technical aspects as the social work, the League's activities show little relation to Eastern, particularly Indian, conditions. The essentially regional character of the League's social activities, she feels, restricts the scope of international co-operation and stands in the way of representatives of India contributing worthily and fully in the discussions of the peculiarly European problems before the League committees. The League's activities, particularly those relating to work in the social direction, she urges, should be characterised by their practical utility and universality. She suggests in her report to the Government of India that, in place of the present indifferent policy towards the work

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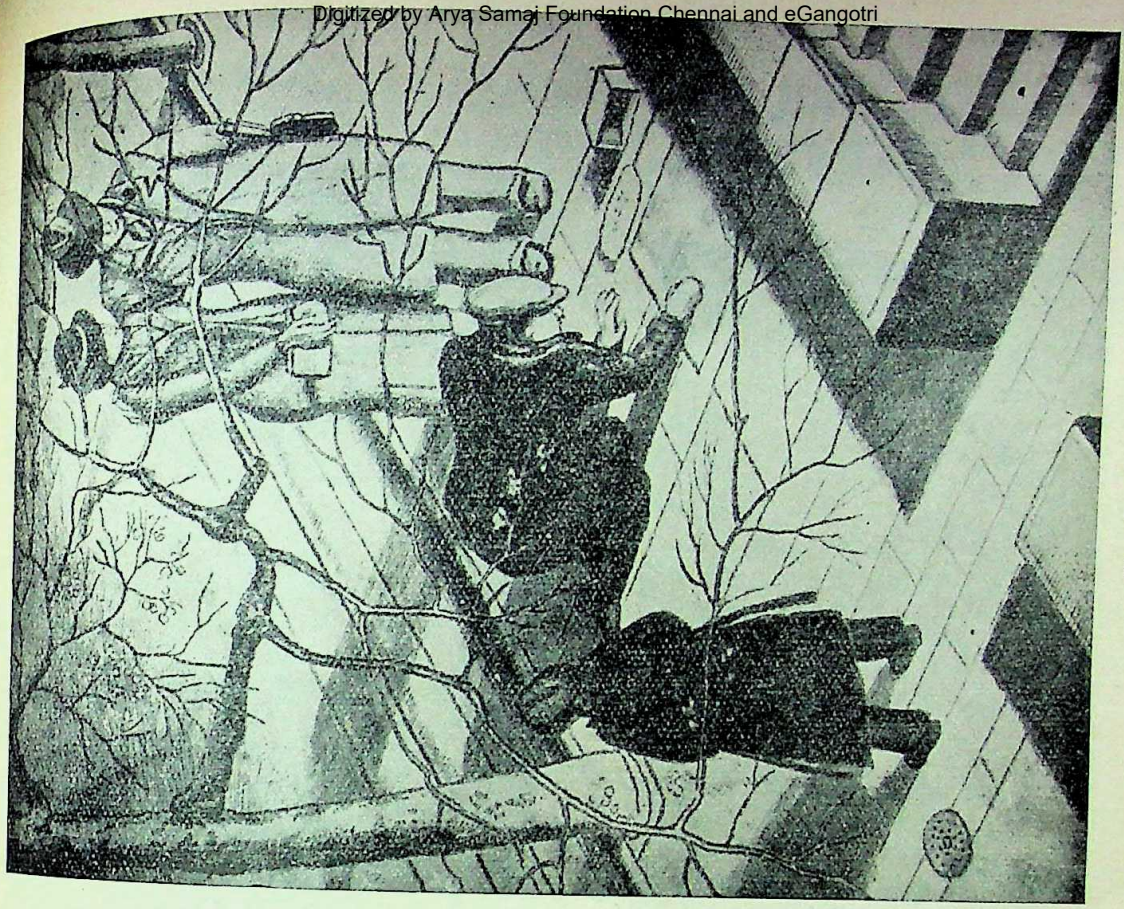
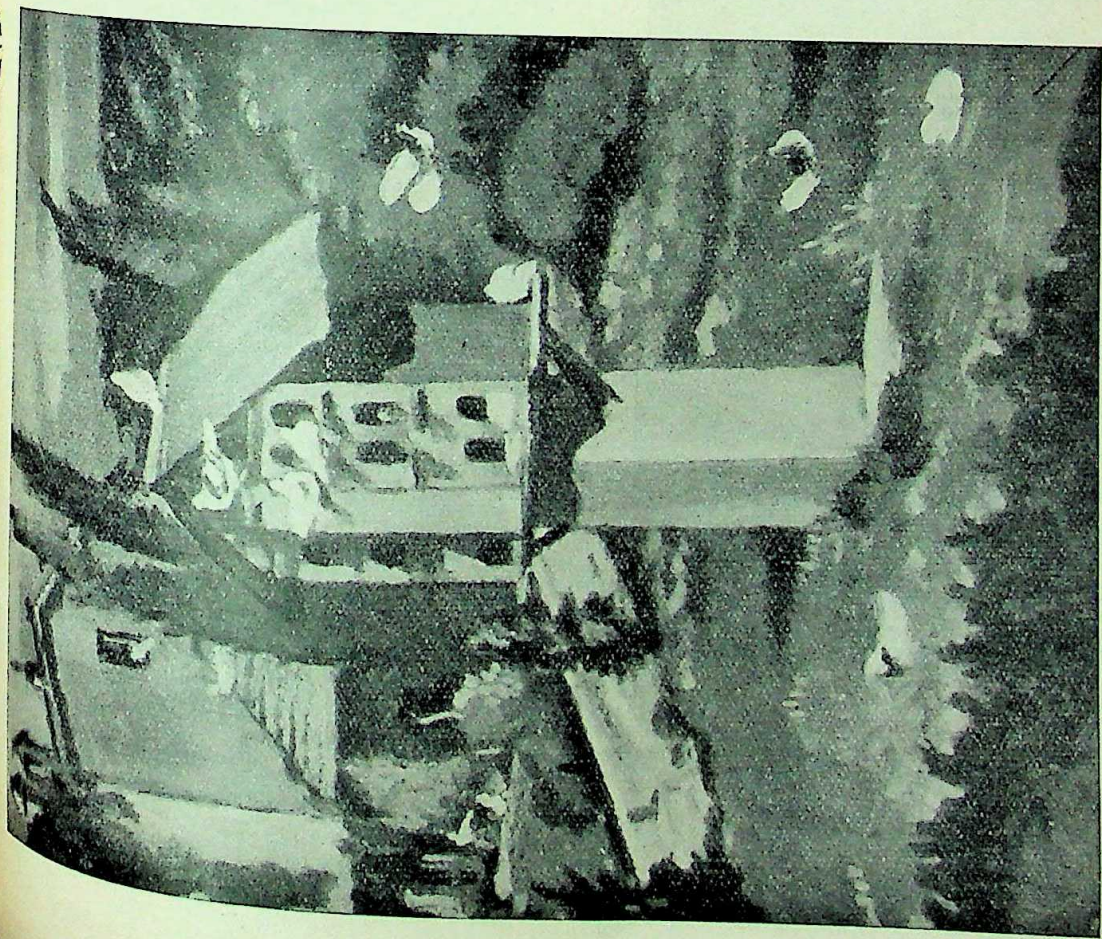


The Pavement Artist
After an Etching by R. N. Chakravarti



A Pigeonry
After a sketch in oils by R. N. Chakravarti

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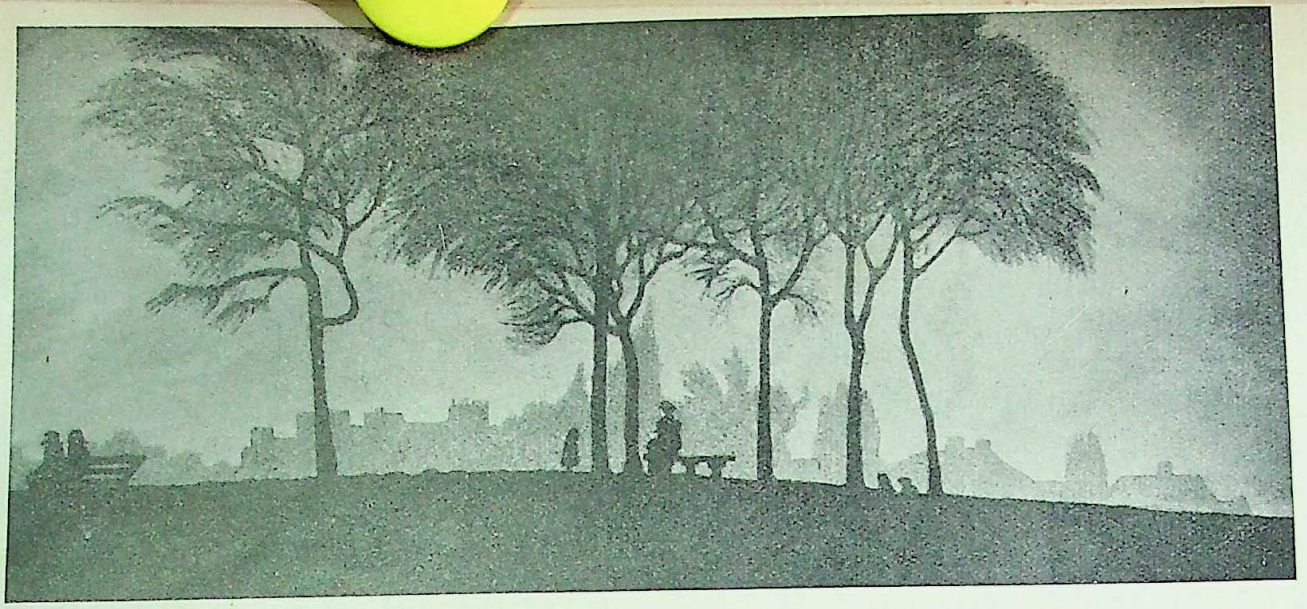
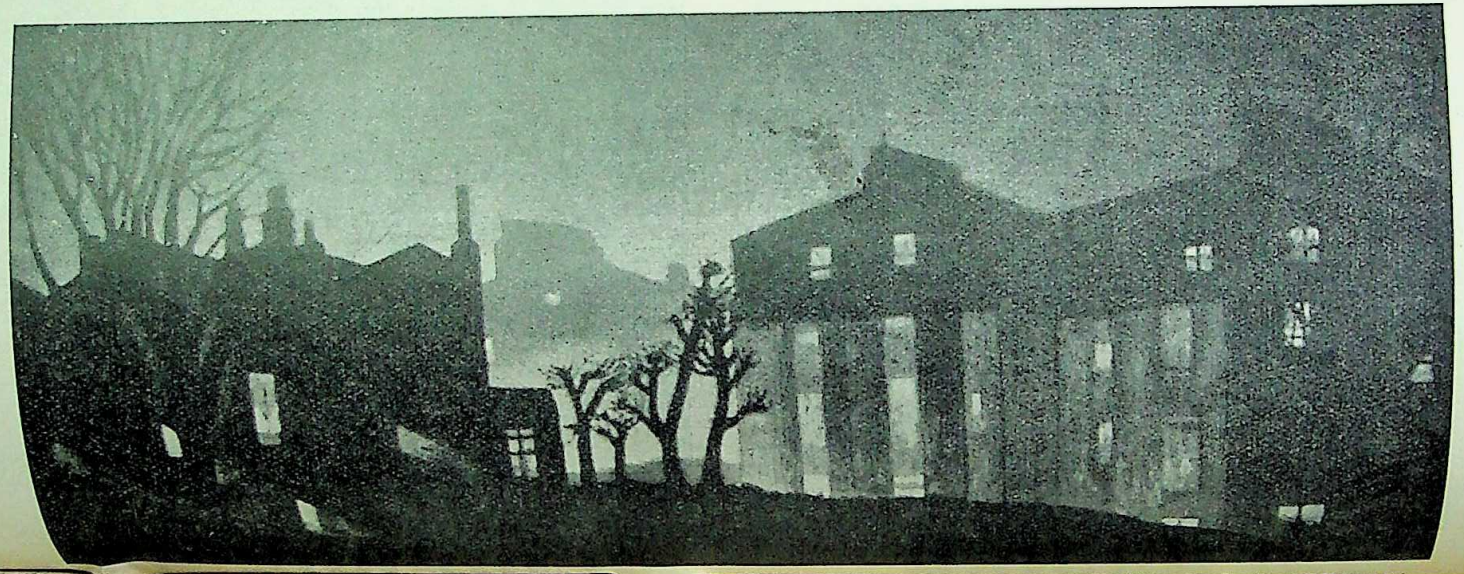


Hampstead Heath

Etching by R. N. Chakravarti



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activities of the League, a positive policy called for under which they should instruct Indian delegates to League Committees to leave manner of doubt on the point that no study investigation undertaken by the technical organisations of the League would be regarded complete and international in its character unless it took Indian conditions and needs into account.

She has also suggested that the Government of India should, as in her own case, maintain continuity of India's representation League Committees by sending the same delegate for at least two consecutive years; for she maintains that positions of influence in League Committees are naturally shared among delegates who represent their countries year after year and whose experience and knowledge of the peculiar procedure in methods of work enable them to play an important part in the Committee's deliberations.

One of her suggestions, made in her report to the Government of India, related to the appointment of the Representative of India on the Advisory Committee on Social Questions as advisor to the Indian Delegation to the League Assembly.

In her report she has also stressed the desirability of the Representative of India on the Advisory Committee on Social Qusetions, receiving the brief well in advance of the date of the meeting at Geneva so as to enable the Indian delegate to study and digest the implications of the problems on the agenda as revealed by discussion with prominent Indian social workers and Government experts on social questions in India. Mrs. Bose's report to the Government of India concludes with a plea for adequate publicity arrangements which would keep the public in India informed of the part India's representatives were playing in international discussions at Geneva.

VILLAGE IMPROVEMENT IN SURAT DISTRICT

By DURLABHJI PRAGJI

The District Local Board of Surat in Gujerat passed a resolution on July 23, 1938, appointing a Committee to draw up a scheme of "Village Improvement Week." The Committee thereupon prepared a scheme and it was sanctioned by the Board at its meeting held on September 9, 1938. In pursuance of the scheme, a circular giving an account of the reasons for starting the scheme, its objective, as also the details of the scheme was published and distributed in the whole District. It would not be out of place to give a short resumé of the reasons for launching this scheme. The District Local Board's main activities are at present confined to the construction and repairs of the major Taluka roads, to the maintenance of 12 human and 6 veterinary dispensaries and to running the vaccination department. It will be seen from this that the activities of the District Local Board only touch the fringe of the village problems. Villages are in the same condition as they were fifty years ago. The condition of the village roads, the sanitation of the villages and the condition of water supply are far from satisfactory. It is the opinion of this Board that the condition of the villages will not be better, unless the villagers themselves realise their sense of duty to these requirements. In order to do this, vast propaganda would be necessary. The villages may be improved and made habitable only if the villagers become self-reliant in the matter of the improvement of their villages. If the District Local Boards have done some service to the village people, a great amount of disservice has been indirectly done to them on account of the existence of these institutions. People have come to depend upon Government or the Local Board for all their common amenities. Unless this sense of dependence was removed and the people were made to realize the value of self-help, no improvement in the condition of these villages would be possible. If India is on the one hand poor, its immense man power is lying dormant. If this dormant man power were to be stirred up and vitalized and made to work for the common good the result would be wonderful. The apathy of the village people to their common needs in respect of village improvement born out of despondency due to poverty has to be removed. This could be done only by vigorous propaganda. The main point of the scheme was that as

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the rural people were not in a position to pay more taxes for the improvement of their villages, all able-bodied adult men and women were to give free their manual labour for seven days in a year according to their convenience and also to give free the services of their carts and bullocks for the same period for improving the villages. By their manual labour they could do the earth-work for their village roads, and also improve the sanitation of the villages. The services of the carts and bullocks could be utilized for making their roads pucca by bringing road materials from the nearest *khads* or rivers. Accordingly a seven days' work programme was laid down. The formal celebration of the week was to be made from 6th April to 13th April, but the people were advised to take up works according to their convenience. The programme for the formal week was this :

The first four days were to be devoted to the execution of some improvement of the road or other work of permanent utility. The fifth day was to be used for improving the sanitary condition of the village. All the age-long rubbish in the village was to be removed and any uncleanliness near the wells and other sources of water supply was to be done away with. The sixth day was meant for and named as tree plantation and industry day. People were expected to do some work which would add to their income. The last day of the week was the celebration day meant for enjoyment. Children's sports were to be organized in the morning and the evening was to be devoted to holding public meetings when a stock of the previous year's work was to be taken and a programme for the next year's work laid down. Resolutions about social and other reforms could also be passed at these meetings. People could also have Bhajans, dramatic performances by students and other amusements.

The modus operandi for successfully carrying out all the items of the programme in the *770 villages of the District* was not possible without a vast organization. Taluka Committees for each of the eight Talukas with a President and one or two Secretaries were formed and these Taluka Committees formed Village Committees in as many villages as they possibly could. All this was done in the course of the President's tour.

The apathy of the villagers was to be removed and as observed above the villages had to be stirred up and vitalized to carry through this scheme. The President of the District Local Board had in the first instance to carry on vigorous propaganda to carry out the object. Three out of the six working days of the week were therefore set apart for visiting one Taluka. A regular programme of the villages to be visited and of the time and place of the public meetings was prepared and pubished beforehand in the whole Taluka so that the public of the neighbouring villages might attend the public meetings. I am glad to be able to report that wonderful awakening was observed during this tour as these meetings used to be attended by large crowds of people, some of whom had come from long distances. The people took it to be a phenomenon that the President, District Local Board, was visiting small out of the way villages and explaining to them the real condition of the District Local Board and the duty of the people to their own villages. The following points were used to be emphasised in these public meetings:

(1) The detailed figures of the income of the District Local Board were given to the people. It was also explained to the public as to how this income was at present spent by the Board. This clearly and emphatically brought home to the public the utter straitened financial condition of the Board. The people for the first time realized why the Board was unable to spend anything towards the improvement of villages.

(2) The whole scheme of Village Improvement Week was explained at the public meetings as also why it was necessary to carry out the scheme through self-help.

(3) As the Board proposed to levy an additional Local Fund Cess of one pice per rupee of assessment for the purpose of the expansion and improvement of primary education, public opinion had to be cultivated in favour of accepting this additional taxation.

(4) In villages with backward population, the evil of drinking were explained to the people as also why Government undertook this reform first for the good of the public.

(5) The responsibilities of the voters in respect of their votes were brought home to the public. It was also explained to them that no democracy could be successful unless the voters knew their responsibility in this matter.

(6) The advantages of working en masse for the uplift of villages were also explained at these public meetings.

(7) The various ameliorative measures which the present popular Government was adopting were also pointed out and explained to the public.

(8) The necessity for the agriculturists to take to some handicraft, such as, spinning, paper-making, etc. was explained to the audience at these meetings. The fact that unless the agriculturists paid more attention to cattle-breeding, it was not possible to improve the material condition of the farmers, was brought to their notice.

200 public meetings must have been held in the whole District which were attended by the people of other villages in good numbers and

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it could be said that the message of self-help was by the District Local Board was conveyed the whole District of 770 villages.

Besides the Taluka and Village Committees, the co-operation of the officials was also sought for, for the successful carrying out of the scheme. The scheme was first approved by the Government through the Revenue Department and that Department and other departments of the Government issued necessary orders to the officials to give all possible help in the matter. I am glad to report that all Government officials in the various departments fully co-operated with me. But for the help of the Mamlatdars and the Circle Revenue Inspectors the removal of various encroachments would not have been possible.

The Vice-President of the District Local Board and the Chairman of the Local Board Taluka Committees worked whole-heartedly and devoted a lot of their time and energy to the carrying out of this scheme. All the members of the District Local Board accompanied the President, District Local Board, during the latter's tour in their respective areas. The District was divided into as many areas as the number of members and each member was asked to look to the works of Village Improvement in the villages within the area allotted to him. This duty was also fairly discharged by the whole.

Leaflets on the following subjects were published and distributed in the villages :

(1) A statement of the income and expenditure of the Board and its main activities and a scheme for Village Improvement Week.'

(2) Resolutions of the 'Village Improvement Committee formulating a prize scheme for works in connection with Village Improvement Scheme and the inauguration of the 'Village Improvement Week.'

(3) Village sanitation and how it can be maintained.

(4) An appeal to all the Congress Workers in the District to co-operate in the scheme of Village Improvement.

(5) Suggestions and instructions to the village people regarding the points to be borne in mind while doing earth-work of a road or excavating tank.

(6) A fresh appeal to the village people re-inviting their attention to the Board's 'Village Improvement Scheme,' and the leaflets already published, and requesting them to take up the work of improvement of the villages already done, and to observe instructions issued by the Board regarding sanitation, earth-work of roads,

(7) Songs specially composed in connection with Village Improvement Scheme.'

(8) Suggestions as to the steps to be taken after the work of a road to render it mudless, etc.

(9) Village sites and Padars (or open lands just outside it) and the steps to be taken to improve them.

(10) Tree-plantation and its importance in village life.

(11) Necessity of having trench-latrines for every home in the villages and the present insanitary condition in their absence.

The services of the Primary Education Department proved valuable in popularising the Scheme. The teachers were instructed by the District School Board to bring enthusiasm in the people by taking out *prabhat pherries* of students. This was instrumental in bringing about great enthusiasm in and awakening among the people. In some villages, the school teachers took the initiative in starting Village Improvement Works. The lady teachers and the girl students also gave substantial help in cleaning the villages. It was a novel thing for the people to see the educated ladies and girl students removing the rubbish from the village. It was an object lesson to the village people in self-help. A donor had given 6 prizes of Rs. 5 each for composing the best songs on Village Improvement Scheme. A Committee of the School Board awarded the prizes to the best composers and these songs on Village Improvement were sung in the *prabhat pherries*.

Achievement of the Scheme

The main objective of the Scheme was to improve the condition of the villages in respect of village roads, sanitation, etc., by self-help. I shall, therefore, deal first with the direct results of the movement and the indirect results will be treated later.

1. Improvement of Village Roads

The work of improving the roads was carried out in 362 villages out of *826 villages of the District*. In view of the fact that there is a large number of villages of backward Raniparaj (or Hill tribe) people in Mandvi, Pardi and Chikhli Talukas, the response of the people can be considered to be satisfactory. It will also appear from the facts that the total cost of the work done by the people comes to Rs. 1,32,452. Having regard to the fact that the District Local Board spends only about Rs. 70,000 per year towards the maintenance of the main roads of the District, the quantity of work turned out by the people themselves is really encouraging, specially as the scheme of self-help was introduced for the first time in the District. As regards the nature of the work done the following details are sufficiently explanatory :

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1. Estimated value of the earth-work done for the village roads	..	Rs. 1,01,576
2. Estimated value of metal, gravel, murum and sand used for the improvement of the new roads	..	„ 20,945
3. Estimated cost of building nalas and other constructions	..	„ 9,931
Total	..	Rs. 1,32,452

A leaflet containing instructions for making new roads of the village type was issued for the guidance of the village people and the overseers were also instructed to give necessary instructions and guidance to the people in carrying out these works but unfortunately the leaflet could be issued late in the year and so it was not fully availed of by many villages. The quality of the work turned out cannot, therefore, be said to be satisfactory. It is hoped that by experience and observation the people will come to learn the technique of making and maintaining village roads.

One main defect in respect of these newly made roads requires to be noted. This defect is that most of these roads are *kachcha* and therefore they will not go a long way in making the villages mudless. On the contrary, a great inconvenience in wading through these *kachcha* roads will have to be suffered till they are made *pucca* by spreading over them such road material as gravel, sand, *kanker* or Bhatha. Emphasis will be laid this year on the importance of making these roads *pucca* in the next monsoon. But there are two directions in which the people of these villages expect help either from the Government or the District Local Board. The collection of materials involves some expenditure but the people are unable to meet this expenditure. If they are given some small grants for the collection of materials, people will willingly bring the materials on the road site and spread it. The other matter in which help is required is the construction of small nalas, culverts and putting up Hume Pipes for drains. These works cannot be done by manual labour alone. They will require some money to be spent and the people cannot spare money for the works. The Government it is submitted should sanction a special grant for this purpose so that it may be an encouragement to the deserving people who have carried out such works by self-help.

2. Improvement of Villages in Respect of Sanitation

As observed above, one special day out of the week fixed for the celebration of the Village Improvement Week was set apart for this purpose. A leaflet on village cleanliness was also issued and distributed in the village. In accordance with the instructions contained in the leaflet, the people were advised to clean the whole village-site and remove all the refuge to a distant place and burn it. The subject of cleanliness is one which requires daily work and so, long before the day fixed for the purpose, the work of removing the dirt from the villages was started in many villages specially those having Local Board schools. Parties of grown-up students in the schools did this work voluntarily. To them it was an object lesson and the people appreciated the work done. The public realized the advantages of cleanliness. The day of cleanliness was observed in 305 villages in the District. These efforts though spasmodic had their own value in awakening the public sense to the necessity of keeping the villages clean. If the programme is kept up some few years more the people would form the habit of doing these things regularly. The surroundings of the wells which supply drinking water are generally insanitary as water is allowed to be collected and mud is formed. These insanitary surroundings were improved in many villages.

3. Sports day

The last day of the week was set apart as a sports day. The main object of doing this was that ordinarily village life has become dull. There are no organized sports or other amusements to put life into the public. In order to remove this dullness and the general spirit of despondency prevailing in the villages the last day of the week was fixed up for sports. On this day the front portion of the houses were to be fully swept and cleaned. People were advised to adorn their house-fronts with "Sathias" or Swastikas and *prabhat pheris* reciting Village Improvement songs were to be round the whole village. The morning was to be devoted to sports. The school teachers were to take a leading part in these activities. People were to be invited to see the sports of the school children and adults. Prizes were to be awarded to the best sportsmen. In the afternoon public meeting was to be held in every village where a number of resolutions regarding the improvement of the village in various ways were to be passed. In the evening Bhajans were to recited, or where possible dramatic performance might be held for the village people. This day was observed in 27 villages. It will take some years before the

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present dull atmosphere of the village is changed and liveliness is brought into it.

(4) The Tree-plantation and Small Crafts day

In the first place the date fixed for this was ill-suited to tree-plantation. Trees could not properly planted during the monsoon and people were advised to do this part of the programme then. As regards encouragement of crafts, nothing appreciable could be done. However, the Village Improvement Committee is considering this matter.

Indirect benefits of the scheme

1. A great awakening was brought about by the vigorous propaganda carried on. The spirit of helplessness and despondency prevailing among the masses was removed. The people realised for the first time that if they could manage to work in co-operation and in mass, much could be done by self-help. For the achievement of an object, faith in the cause has to be created among those who have to carry out the object. This faith was created in the public and as a result the villages started doing work long before the formal celebration of the week.

2. The people of the district had absolutely no idea about the resources of the Board and its activities. They for the first time came to know the income of the Board from various sources and how it was being spent by the Board. The result of this was twofold. In the first place the people realised how inadequate the resources of the Board were and that the Board was unable to meet the numerous needs of the public. Further, the people began to take greater interest in the affairs of the Board. All unauthorised and unreasonable criticism of the Board ceased. Upto now the people entirely depended even for small improvements in respect of village amenities on the District Local Board. This was a ground-work to make the people self-reliant and the idea of self-help was imbibed by them. People realised for the first time that they were capable of doing many things if they were so inclined. This moral uplift is the greatest achievement of the Scheme.

(3) Since the passing of the Primary Education Act in 1923, there has been no extension of primary education during the last 16 years. It is no exaggeration to say that this has been the dark age of primary education. During this long period there has been an increase in the number of children attending schools by more than 5000 children. In spite of this for want of funds the Board could not appoint even one extra teacher or open any new school. The School Board had to contribute $\frac{1}{3}$ share of the expenditure in all such matters; but the Board had no funds from which this could be done. The Local Board schools had to be run with a shortage of about 100 teachers. One can imagine what an amount of harm must have been caused to the cause of primary education in the District. Further, there are nearly 150 small villages in the district which have no school. The people of these villages have been paying Local Fund Cess without any return. This was highly iniquitous. In order to remove these shortcomings it was absolutely necessary to impose some additional tax. The Board proposed to levy an additional Local Fund Cess of three pies over and above the one anna cess levied at present. But the present Board wanted to establish a convention that no such tax should be levied without the consent of the taxpayers concerned. Advantage was, therefore, taken of the propaganda done for the Village Improvement Week. In the 200 public meetings held in the large villages at which the people of the neighbouring villages also attended, the whole position in regard to primary education was explained to the public and those present were asked to give their opinion on the proposed taxation by show of hands. I am glad to be able to state that the public supported the proposals in all the meetings. It is true that people are not in a position to pay any additional tax, but two causes contributed in inducing the public to give their consent. The first cause was an assurance given that the proceeds of the additional tax were to be reserved for the development and expansion of primary education and the second cause was the sound common sense of the people who realised the necessity of the measure.

(4) The village road works costing about a lakh and a quarter rupees are the direct result of the scheme but the new roads were originally so narrowed by encroachments that but for the good sense of the people and the hearty co-operation of the Revenue Officers, the problem of widening these streets would have been insoluble. Most of the roads made were so narrow that hardly one cart could pass. People in most cases voluntarily removed encroachments but even this would not have made the roads sufficiently wide. But

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people willingly gave away their valuable private lands required for widening the roads. Those who know village life have experience of the way in which people fight for small areas of land and how they ruin themselves in this fight. It is a wonderful phenomenon that these very people willingly parted with their valuable lands for a public cause. In certain cases the Revenue Authorities were helpful in getting the encroachments removed. Not only age-long encroachments were thus removed, but the roads were sufficiently widened in many cases. This was one of the results of the scheme.

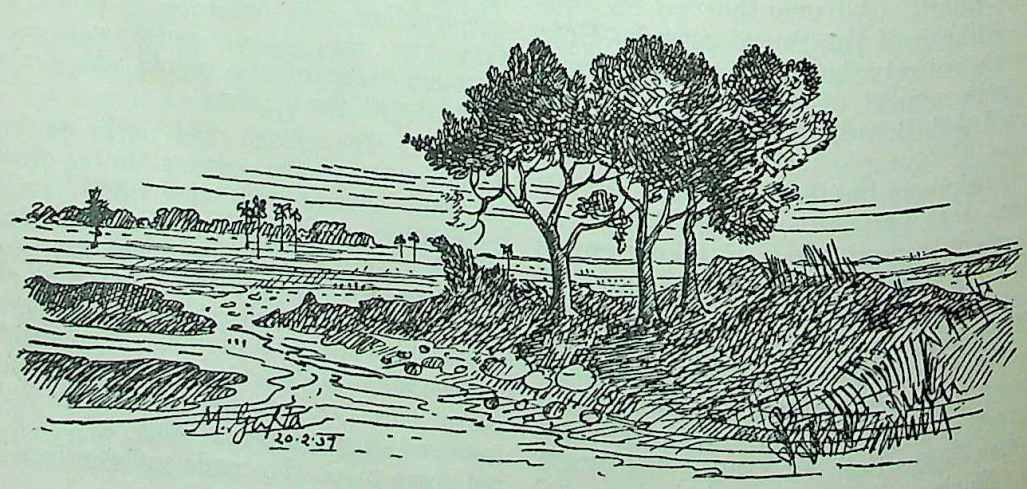
(5) In villages mainly inhabited by backward people addicted to drinking, the evils of drink and the present prohibition policy of the Government were fully explained. These people fully supported the Government policy and appeared to be anxious to have prohibition introduced in their villages as early as possible.

(6) As a member of the Anti-Corruption Committee I took advantage of the propaganda done for the Village Improvement Week Scheme and explained to the public at the 200 public meetings held, how Government wished to remove the prevailing corruption. The responsibility of the people for this evil was brought home to them and they were asked not to tempt any Government Officer by offering bribe or other inducement. In my opinion the public has got to be educated in this matter and if the work done in the year in this direction is continued in future years, I feel confident that the evil will be substantially reduced.

(7) The Village Improvement Week Scheme has been instrumental in removing party factions in some villages. Mass co-operation work is not possible unless the party factions are removed from the villages. Many such factions were removed in order to carry through this scheme. Some of the villages which could not make up the party quarrels failed to work out the scheme.

(8) In the villages, there are various classes of people such as the higher classes consisting of Brahmins, Patidars, Banias, etc. and the backward classes such as Dublas, Kolis, Harijans, etc. A great sense of superiority and inferiority exists in these various classes of people. It is highly desirable that the inequality prevailing in these classes should be, as far as practicable, reduced to the minimum. In the scheme of the Village Improvement Week, all classes of people high and low were expected to work shoulder to shoulder. This sort of work done in mass goes a great way in reducing the present inequality. I have myself seen Harijans working with the people of the higher classes. The present inequality between the higher and the lower classes would be reduced to some extent where work is done by all the people in a body. The Scheme has, therefore, been instrumental in partly removing disparities. It has thus a levelling influence.

The above is a short resume of the achievement of the scheme of the Village Improvement Week. Before I conclude, I may say that the programme of this scheme extends to five years, and I am just issuing a statement of the work to be done in the second year. As regards Mandvi Taluka, in which very little work was done in the year under report, the matter is receiving our serious consideration, and we shall try our best to do better work there in the second year. But the difficulties there are great on account of the backwardness of the aboriginal population and other people and also for the paucity of workers.



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RESEARCH IN APPLIED CIVICS : A GAP IN STUDY

By S. K. DEY, I. C. S.

The growth in the study of the social sciences—Politics, Economics and Sociology—has been remarkable in recent years; an ever-increasing number of students is attracted to our University courses in these subjects. What is, however, even more remarkable to an observer, placed as I am, is the singular lack of contribution by men trained in these courses to the analysis and solution of the numerous concrete problems which beset us in these spheres. I believe there is a widespread and acute consciousness of the urgency of these problems and the threat they offer to the ordered progress of society and the creative happiness of its members. As may be only expected, the classes who are directly faced with these problems are the men in active public life—the professional politicians; and the public servants who run the administrative machine—the executive officers of Government. These are the classes whose normal avocations bring them into immediate and intimate contact with the strains and stresses which arise from maladjustments in the social economy. These are the classes which represent the two organs of the State, the legislative and the executive, from which ameliorative State action is expected to flow. The clamour for redress, therefore, begins round them in the first instance.

But the function of the legislature is the final enunciation of policies, the authoritative prescription of remedies for civic ills. The permanent civil service steps in at a still later stage and is concerned with the execution of policies already laid down and the carrying out of the treatment after it has been once prescribed. An adequate comprehension of the problems themselves, a correct diagnosis of the disease for which a cure is sought, represent earlier stages of vital importance, which are in danger of being overlooked. It is unnecessary to dilate on the point that a complete understanding of the background and interactions of the social maladjustments calling for study is the first requisite to reform. We have no separate agency for this purpose. The diagnostic function is somehow expected to be performed by a harassed legislature and an overworked executive. Yet, it is a function which requires patient research, careful study, penetrating analysis and a comprehensive grasp. An adequate discharge of these duties calls for certain qualities in the functionaries as well as certain conditions under which they function. For one thing, it demands theoretical equipment of a high order and the capacity for detached observation; for another, ample time for sustained and undistracted labour. Neither the qualities nor the conditins may be postulated of the machinery which by implication is asked to shoulder this obligation today. Intelligent legislation and planned administration presuppose a sound theoretical groundwork furnished by a special agency which enjoys the facilities I have indicated above.

The lack of a research agency is a handicap to any democracy. It is possible to argue that the setback suffered by democracies in recent times is partly attributable to this vital and significant gap in their civic organization. Autocracies can ignore the clamour for immediate results, legislate without hurry and initiate long-range policies. No popular Government can command such privileges. It might be noted, however, that the need for investigation into sociological phenomena as a basis for sound State action has not been altogether without recognition in the older democracies. I am not aware if a fully equipped civic research service has been set up in any country as yet to organize the theoretical material for the shaping of legislative and administrative policies. But there is a large and steady stream of literature poured forth from the academic centres of a country like England on current public issues which goes a considerable way to fulfil this need. These studies are not partisan. They are not scientific and their principal object is dissemination of knowledge by analysis of the fundamentals of a question. Their influence on public thought and political action is undeniable. Josiah Stamp, Harold Laski and John Maynard Keynes are three names which leap to the mind in this connection. There are countless others, perhaps not so well established in reputation. The titles of contributions appearing in any serious British periodical will bear testimony to their activity. Then there are post-graduate students' organizations of a permanent character carrying on continuous researches into current problems and publishing their results in informative bulletins and brochures. I believe there is collaboration between the Economics Schools of London and

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Cambridge in a permanent enterprise of this nature. A survey of conditions in the County of London by such voluntary academic agency was also undertaken, and has been yielding data of immense value to the legislator and reformer. These investigations are, of course, purely unofficial and honorary. The direct contribution of the State in this sphere is confined to the publication of statistical informations, such as the figures supplied by the Board of Trade, and the reports of *ad hoc* enquiry committees appointed by the Government from time to time. The State might conceivably organize a separate official department for theoretical research into current problems. With the progressive enlargement of the scope of State activity and the increasing complexity of the problems it is called upon to solve, the setting up of a permanently operative research machinery for sociological investigations may become indispensable in the future. Such a department, however, can never aspire to be more than a central body concerned only with the widest national issues and co-ordinating the work of honorary investigators engaged on specific regional problems. The need for non-official work will thus remain, both because of the magnitude of the field to be covered and also to ensure complete independence to the enquiries undertaken. And the Universities of a country will continue to shoulder the biggest share of such work.

The young experiment in democracy that has been started in this country needs to take account of this situation in good time. The perils even in the western democracies with their long experience, seasoned traditions and vast resources are serious. As I am writing this paper now, I find in the editorial columns of the *Statesman* of today, the 15th of March, a reference to the same problem as it emerges in the European democracies. It is necessary to realize that the problem is even more pressing in this land. We have no philosophical guidance in civic work, no clear definition of long-period objectives. We have no equipment for sustained social research, no collection of material and data for such research. Our resources in statistics are so negligible that one would feel ashamed to mention them. It is futile and foolish to expect our Government to provide these needs when immeasurably wealthier States have had perforce to leave them to voluntary enterprise. It is this voluntary enterprise, deriving inspiration and incentive from our seats of academic learning, which must come forth immediately to fill this vital gap in our civic equipment. Else, legislation must be allowed to drift through makeshift palliatives, and administrative energy frittered away in vain attempts to suppress the outward symptoms of deep-seated disharmony in the body politic.

Our Universities have been teaching the Social Sciences for several decades now and generations of students, in largely increasing numbers in recent years, have passed out of them with high academic distinction in the study of political philosophy and economic theory. These men may be presumed to have the necessary training for contributing to the analysis and understanding of our practical civic problems. Yet the paucity of such contribution is remarkable. There is some amount of writing and public-speaking, but these are usually tainted with partisanship and sentiment. They are polemical, declamatory, demagogic. The scientific investigation of the trained student is nearly non-existent. I suspect that the fault does not lie so much with our students. I recall my own undergraduate days about fifteen years ago when my economics study consisted of texts by men like Marshall, Pigou and Taussig, who built up their generalizations from post-Industrial Revolution experiences in freely competitive societies. Our acquaintance with the problems of our own economic life was confined to one omnibus treatise claiming the title of Indian Economics and a few Blue Books. The former was entirely superficial and merely descriptive, a perplexing amalgam of desultory cataloguing and apologetic patriotism; while the latter were hardly more useful as keys to the understanding of the underlying interplay of forces in the situation. It was Keynes, I think, who said that the principles of economics provide no more than an apparatus of thought. Our teaching implied that its responsibility ended with the entrusting of this apparatus to our care. But it is a foreign apparatus that needs many subtle adjustments if it is to apply to Indian material. It is not fair to leave these adjustments to be made by individual students at the time of practical work. We want a body of coherent generalisations from the facts of our own past economic history and the conditions of our own present economic situation. The fundamental doctrines of pure theory are no doubt universal in their scope, since the fundamental economic needs of man are the same everywhere. But there are and must be regional variations in his reactions to these needs at any given time, conditioned by his social, historical and political environment.

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The economics of rural India is the economics of restricted contract and imperfect competition. The marginal analysis of the orthodox theory of value has only a remote and consequent application. The Ricardian analysis of rent breaks down where the demand for land bears little relation to its yield of profit. The No-rent Land theory disappears, and the schedule of agricultural costs assumes a different significance, since the theorem of rent not entering into cost carries no obvious meaning. The post-war western world has witnessed a great deal of deliberate interference with what used to be called the natural economic forces, through such devices as Planning and Rationalization, and there is a mass of recent studies on the subject. But the economics of such *Controlled Competition* are very different from the economics of the *Undeveloped Competition* that we meet in India.

If our class-room theories are to be of any use to us in fighting our domestic problems we must arrange for training in their practical application in the field of work that lies outside the University precincts. No study of the natural sciences is considered to be complete without a long course of laboratory experience. But a mastery of the social sciences dealing with infinitely more complex and variable material of human conduct is expected without any first-hand observation of this material itself. A laboratory for Economics or Politics can be set up within the University buildings, it is true, but the laboratory already exists, extending over the entire field of human intercourse and community-life. If our teachers and students had paid greater attention to this rich and varied life all round them, they could have not only furnished us with valuable practical guidance to social reconstruction, but would have also discovered the necessary correctives to their imported theories, which are found to have stultified in our native atmosphere. My argument for research in applied Sociology is thus two-fold. It is necessary for a sound lay-out for social progress, it is necessary even for a sound practical training for the student. The responsibility for a detailed organization of this research is primarily that of our University authorities. But I do not intend to leave the matter at that. The object of this paper is more than the statement of a present need. I also propose a scheme for an immediate beginning towards the fulfilment of this need. Dacca provides unique advantages in this respect. The Dacca University is an excellent recruiting ground for our workers. It cannot be too much to hope that the staff and students of the Schools of Politics and Economics may be persuaded to spare some time for a purpose so closely allied to their own studies. On the other hand, nearly all the pressing problems of the day are manifest in their most typical form in the conditions that prevail in the urban and mofussil areas of the district. It is as representative an area as we could wish for. The town of Dacca is a particularly happy ground. It is large and populous enough to promise rich material, yet not so large that collection and collation of data would be unmanageable. Several concrete problems suggest themselves for investigation at once. I am told this district had a flourishing trade in hide, and a prosperous industry in mother-of-pearl, and both have been languishing in recent years. Investigations into the causes of their decline would make useful studies. The conch-shell industry and the special type of weaving to which this district has given its name provide other interesting subjects. Groups could be set to collect all the facts connected with these industries, the number of individuals or families engaged in them, the sources of supply of the raw-material, the financing and other costs of production, the technique and scale of manufacture, the actual or potential competition from substitutes, the methods of marketing, the nature of the demand for the production, the rate of profits or remuneration available and the scope for further expansion and improvement. The export and import trade of Dacca, its organization and finance, would make another illuminating piece of study. A census of middle-class unemployment in Dacca town would bring to light many features of an urgent socio-economic malady, which are vaguely suspected and are the subject of isolated lamentations but call for clear definition and logical analysis. Housing conditions in Dacca and Narayanganj and the present state and future possibilities of motor transport services are two other topics I can suggest at random. The working of debt-conciliation and its economic reactions in one or two of the Debt Settlement Boards neighbouring this city could also be taken up with profit. For the student of political science, a review of the working of the elective machinery for representation on local bodies and national parliaments, the percentage of active exercise of the franchise, the considerations that influence its exercise, the emergence of political consciousness among the constituents and the extent of their appreciation of programmes as against personalities offer a most useful field for research. In the sphere of

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Sociology proper, my experience as a local Magistrate has convinced me that one of the most serious problems awaiting a scientific enquiry is the traffic in women that exists in this city. Disapproval of the traffic is emphatic; but uninformed, unintelligent and completely fatuous. Occasionally, some genteel association of fashionable and well-placed women or some obscure society of well-meaning but muddle-headed old men parades its righteous indignation against our toleration of brothels. But there is no serious attempt to understand the economic, social and psychological factors responsible for them, to trace the sources of what is called immoral traffic in this district. The Additional Superintendent of Police for Dacca city assures me that there is no statistical information about the so-called houses of ill-fame and their inmates there, so that we cannot even gauge the magnitude of the problem.

A band of learners from the University headed by some of their teachers can provide the nucleus of a research association for enquiries into these and many other similar problems in and around this city. But this academic band must not be left to itself. Left to itself, it would be in the predicament of the young lady who bursts into tears of bitter perplexity when her sheltered susceptibilities are outraged by her first contact with the nakedness of life. To their theoretical knowledge we want to harness our practical experience. Associated with them must be young representatives of the legal and other non-academic professions who can devote some time to this work, and officers of Government, particularly those of the executive departments, who are responsible for the collection of whatever material is available on these subjects at the present. Our field-workers must be drafted from such sources, while the directorate of research would be provided by the heads of the university and the district government, of public bodies like the Municipalities and the District Board and leading representatives of industrial and commercial interests. The directorate or a smaller committee of this body, if necessary, will determine the subjects for investigation, indicate the lines of work, edit the results and publish them in the form of suitable monographs.

This, in very brief outline, is my plan for immediate action. Before I conclude, however, I must refer to some of the arguments which may be advanced against its practicability. The question of finance, which is the stumbling-block to so many well-meaning schemes in this country, cannot be a serious difficulty in this instance, because the work is honorary and voluntary and any small incidental expenses such as for stationery or printing can be met without any appeal to outside charity. Larger funds may be required when the range of research is extended, as one hopes it will be in due course. But by such time the work will have demonstrated its practical value and subventions and endowments will be forthcoming without stint from a grateful State, appreciative Universities and interested public concerns. A more formidable protest may be on the score of lack of spare time on the part of those whom we expect to volunteer their services. I do not consider there is substance in such an excuse. Government officers in the administrative services are even now engaged in considerable work of this nature. My suggestion involves no more than theoretical co-ordination and expert co-operation in their work. There is no want of unemployed resources in the legal and other professions; while the routine work of University Courses leaves sufficient time for the proposed undertaking. There is plenty of surplus youthful energy which seeks release today in disturbing outbursts of noisy demonstrations and strikes and indiscipline. These manifestations are at bottom a reaction against the bias of abstract unreality in our educational equipment. They represent immature efforts to come to grips with the problems of life. What is wanted is an intelligent, enthusiastic imaginative lead to this healthy vitality for an organized attack on these problems. I have no doubt that the response of our educated boys to the practical idealism of such a mission would be large, spontaneous and immediate.

One other possible criticism, and I shall have finished. It may be enquired what the scheme proposes to do to remedy the defects that its researches will bring to light. To this my reply is that remedial action is a matter for political parties and is the work of the legislature and the cabinet of the day. Formulation of political programmes is beyond the scope of the undertaking I propose. That undertaking seeks no more than to lay bare the fundamental facts governing the problems which await solution. But by doing so, we shall add power to the elbows of those responsible for their actual solution; because the knowledge we make available *is* power. I started this paper by stressing the need for action as opposed to words. I shall conclude now by commending this motto for our enterprise—Action, rather than words, but thought and knowledge, before action.

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RE-ORGANIZATION OF VOCATIONAL EDUCATION AND THE GOVERNMENT COMMERCIAL INSTITUTE*

By Professor H. K. SEN M.A.

More than thirty years since the inception of the Government Commercial Institute in 1909, the Day course and curriculum had continued an even tenor of a strictly vocational type, without much of a theoretical import or any semblance of practical training.

In 1937 the curriculum was for the first time recast and reinforced by the addition of economics and English text with a view to make the training more liberal,[1] in keeping with the expanding needs of modern commerece. As a result of that, the course has become an eminently practical one. The addition of a few more subjects or more extensive courses which may be added in a third year class, together with a scheme of practical training as well as an apprenticeship arranged in the fourth year, would go a long way to produce "Business Executives" or undertakers of a much higher calibre than it has been possible for the academic courses of commercial education in the Universities to evolve so far. Simultaneously an Intermediate Junior stage may be set up in order to broad-base the new type of vocational studies. There is hardly any case for an extension of its activities simply to produce a greater number of students, given the same training as at present. Barring the great influx of students in 1919 as a result of the post-war trade boom, there never was any very great demand for this type of education for years (the Calcutta University had not instituted the B.Com. course till 1923) in Bengal except amongst the lower middle classes, sending their sons for mercantile clerkship in Government offices, and mercantile firms. This was due partly to the neglect of commercial life by the people of this province and secondly to a rather limited scope and possibilities of the young alumni and thirdly on account of the operation of a sort of Gresham's Law in favour of the University's academic products. But there has been a very healthy reaction in the outlook of the people of this province of almost all classes since about six or seven years now. This change has been due to a number of circumstances. The first and foremost reason is that outside the orbit of the University, the Institute Board has tried to maintain a standard of attainment, utility and usefulness of their products which the Universities, with their latterly instituted B.Com. degree failed to maintain in respect of even their commercial courses—in which, at any rate if not in the liberal degrees and art courses commercial principles might have been followed —assuring them higher value and practical courses and training.

Secondly, the Institute carried on in small manageable classes—as all technical institutions requiring individual care and attention must be—limited by a definite policy or principle, assuring a more intimate and fruitful contact between the teachers and taught which resulted in better values after all, in spite of the sad neglect of the Institute by higher authorities. The Chambers, the mercantile houses, the corporation and all employers readily patronized the students of the Institute, as they had a high intrinsic value and were more dependable and useful than average graduates. Lastly, a "Liaison" established with the Universities under which the Day Course Diploma of this Institute is recognized as equivalent to their intermediate courses (like Senior Cambridge) for the purpose of admission to B.A. or B.Com. Courses of the Universities of Calcutta, Dacca and Allahabad, has certainly widened the scope of the ramification of the Institute students. All these causes, together with a happy re-orientation in the outlook of our students, driven as much by the failure of a purely literary type of education as the sceptre of unemployment, have in recent years brought about considerable expansion in the demand for this type of education even amongst the higher middle and commercial classes. Yet it is very difficult to assert that the right type of students are coming in large numbers—students that are fit to be real executives and leaders in the commercial field. The physical, intellectual and

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*Written in reply to the Questionnaire issued by the Government Commercial Institute Re-organization Committee appointed by the Government of Bengal.

1. Cf. Spens Report on Secondary Education in England. "There is no subject in the curriculum of any type of vocational school for any age of boy or girl that cannot be liberalised, while at the same time, furnishes the highest degree of vocational effectiveness."

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emotional equipment of many of the applicants leave much to be desired. In the circumstances, an extension or simple duplication of the present day classes is not deemed expedient.[2] As a matter of fact, the further experiment of improving the standard of examination (1939 Regulation), admission, study and achievement should have been continued for some years before the opening of an additional third section which was introduced with effect from the present year, with inadequate, part-time and temporary staff. What we should have instead is a scheme of vocational training of the unorthodox type, different from the predominantly theoretical and academic specimen of commercial education, obtaining in the local Universities, in the interest of the rising generation of Bengali youths, who must be increasingly drafted into the different stages of commercial life, supplying able assistants and executives no doubt, but also developing independent businesses of their own. "To establish the rightful places of Bengalees in business in Bengal," as Sir Edward Benthall says,[3] "They must not be content to serve others but branch out in own business"—for which "commercial training of a higher quality and of a more practical character," than it has been the good fortune of this province so far to have, is necessary.

In our opinion the Institute should be allowed to retain its distinct individuality as primarily a Vocational Institution for more reasons than one. Firstly, the local Universities and some Colleges are conducting classes in commerce both under-graduate and post-graduate, dispensing degrees of B.Com. and M.A. in commerce in the midst of more or less a cramped cultural atmosphere, without a Faculty of Commerce instituted to guide them so far. Secondly, the intrinsic as well as the market value of a B.Com. is not much and its value is being continually depressed by haphazard instruction or indiscriminate affiliation or expansion, with hardly any regard for a standard, apart from the fact that "they do not adequately satisfy the requirements of our business and industry particularly in assuming executive responsibility." As such, as the Hon'ble Mr. Sarkar continued in his Presidential Speech at the Government Commercial Institute :

"there would be no point in duplicating the work the University is doing by setting up a separate commercial college of the same type."

The Sydenham College of Commerce and Economics in Bombay stands by itself, in which a high standard and a reasonable market value were assured from the very beginning by healthy centralization of the degree courses in a special atmosphere of its own, located in the centre of the business life, with able, adequate and well paid staff and other paraphernalia shrewdly instilled by the commercial genius of Bombay; and its monopolistic position has never been departed from, with the result that its products, carefully selected from the business communities and classes and given a more practical and extensive training, normally retain a high reputation and value in the market, supplying generally the "Staff grade" appointments in the bigger firms of that city and even all over India, though not without a considerable academic bias.

Unhappily for Bengal or Calcutta nothing like that was ever attempted; consequently even its commercial degrees went the same way as its liberal degrees, and command no high value or prestige in the market.

As such, it is not desirable that the Institute should fall in line with a none-too-old but effete system of education. The only circumstance under which it was possible to seek an affiliation with the Universities are, firstly, the University would institute a Faculty of Commerce with large representation of the commercial interests and public utility concerns, who would be the actual employers, and who could be relied upon to impart the necessary practical training. Secondly, there would be a reconstitution of the curriculum to make it more practical and possibly extend over a three years course in the B.Com. stage and thirdly, there would be the exclusive centralization of the Degree Course in the proposed Commercial College, the University divesting itself of all responsibility of teaching in commerce.

But we are afraid that the fulfilment of these conditions would be well nigh impossible since already a good deal of vested interests have been created in this field, and the Institute should, therefore, forge a new line of advance on the vocational side leaving the University and its constituent colleges to carry on their academic predilections, as for which also there is a demand and possibly a necessity under present circumstances in Bengal, as it creates at least a necessary commercial bias in the minds of some of our higher educated classes

2. The Abbot and Wood Committee's Report on vocational education was not in favour of producing technical products in excess of an effective demand or in advance of an industry's capacity to absorb.

3. In course of a Career lecture under the auspices of the Appointment Board of the Calcutta University.

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The attention of the Institute, however, should be increasingly directed towards the creation of a class of business executives or entrepreneurs, without which no country can never be commercially successful and in which Bengal is particularly deficient today. Indeed we require a new class of leaders, a new race and a new profession of commerce, able to lead, originate and to take the initiative in all stages and walks of commerce, as also persons lower down in the ladder, who would be able to successfully attack and regain the petty trades for themselves or to fill up creditably the more subordinate functions in the commercial line.

For the creation of such classes of persons it is necessary to reorganize the Government Commercial Institute into a full-fledged Commercial College of a vocational type and it should be developed as a separate, independent and self-contained entity or miniature University—with scope for further extension into a technological University in future, in which trade and craft schools also may ultimately fit in.

The present Day Course and curriculum, much improved in recent years (since 1937) though considerably higher in standard and unique than the University I.A. Commerce courses and certainly more useful than B.Com., not of a sufficiently high standard and what more, they lack a touch of practical training a close contact with actual commercial undertakings. Moreover, the training being limited to only two years, they do not succeed producing more than junior assistants or in instilling in them more than a certain amount of commercial bias which is likely to be lost as soon as they find themselves in a purely cultural atmosphere once again. The raw materials also leave much to be desired—having picked up more often an insufficient knowledge of English and Mathematics and very little of Geography of Commerce with a poor standard and equipment which the present degenerated Matric standard can possibly give. With a material such as this, though selected with some care in recent years, the result so far may not be regarded as unsatisfactory, since the students from this Institute have already made their work and reputation in the offices and to a much less extent in the business line, and the Institutes' reputation has travelled beyond provincial boundaries.[4]

There need be no conflict or competition between this type and the liberal type of commercial education imparted by the Universities. As a matter of fact, following the example of Japan or Germany a well planned vocational system may be allowed to develop in the educational programme of this province and it may be permitted to contract further "liaison" with the Universities so that there should be mutual collaboration rather than competition.

We would, therefore, propose that the present curriculum of the Institute be further extended so as to include a full three years' course like the Sydenham College of Commerce; and then a Senior or Advanced Government Diploma in Commerce (A.D.C.) be instituted. The 3rd year course will be given to those of the Institute students who will have taken the present improved (Senior) Diploma in Commerce (S.D.C.) They will be given one year's further training in special curriculum covering subjects like (1) Business English, (2) Commercial Geography, (3) Economics and Banking, (4) Commercial Law, (5) Advanced Accounts, (6) Business Organization and Market Report, (7) a paper in general knowledge and viva voce and (8) one special paper[5] supplemented by 30 visits to commercial firms and industrial undertakings, Museums, Exchanges, Docks, etc., and practical training by attachment to arranged firms for a limited period. After passing their Advanced Diploma examination, preferably within the still formative and pliable age of 18 or 19, these might next be drafted into the business line through apprenticeships for a year arranged with the co-operation of the Government and the Business houses. The apprenticeships or practical training may even be interspersed and extended over two years, along with the theoretical training and the subjects divided, if it is so desired, examination taking place at the end of the fourth year.

The standard must be high and exacting so that the new professionals may bear a guinea stamp succeeding anywhere they are placed. We must remember that in a matter like this it is quality or efficiency that counts and not quantity. Even these may, by arrangement with the University, be allowed to sit for the Degree examinations as private candidates

4. Sometime back the Orissa and the C. P. Governments interested themselves or enquired about the admission of their provincials in the G. C. Institute. Students from distant parts of India, and sometimes B.A. or B.Sc.'s seek admission in the day classes.

5. Out of a number of subjects, such as Transport, Insurance, Banking, Auditing, Costing, Jute, Tea, Cotton Industry, Produce and Share Market, Sales and Advertisement. Public Administration or a Foreign Language (French, German or Japanese).

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after lapse of a year or so, as will save the *amour propre* of the University.[6]

Even the B.Com. classes may be provided for in the evening to impart a doubtful academic polish or for the supposed rise in status but the Day Classes, at any rate, must be developed along new and more vocational lines, designed to draft the students directly into commerce and preferably into independent businesses of their own, for which also the right type and a limited number of students must be selected, as were able to benefit themselves and the community by their instructions.

Simultaneously with this extension at the top, vocational commercial education must be adequately broad-based, and to that end, it is first of all desirable that the private commercial institutions should be brought under unified and well directed control under a wholetime Inspector of commercial schools and colleges.[7] The courses also must be remodelled and varied to the particular exigencies of the province. In addition to individual commercial subjects, examinations may be held and affiliation in Junior Diploma Courses of a new type (J.D.C.) extended to recognized commercial schools or colleges of an intermediate standard. The Junior Diploma Course should be corresponding to and available at the Post-Matriculation stage with instruction preferably in Vernacular[8] in subjects other than (1) Elements of Commerce and English, such as (2) Commercial Geography, (3) Commercial Arithmetic and Subhankari, (4) Elements of Book-keeping, (5) Commercial Vernacular, (6) Civics and (7) Typewriting, with (8) Shorthand Salesmanship or spoken English as optional papers, may be instituted and may be recognized by the Universities.

Following the precedent of the Sydenham College of Bombay it may be ordained that admission to the First Year of the Senior Diploma Course (2nd stage) should be restricted to those of the matriculates, who have at least passed or completed their course in the first year of the Intermediate in Arts with Commercial subjects in the Universities or in the Junior Diploma Course. For it has been found by experience that most of the new recruits (Matriculates) to the present improved (S.D.C.) Course in the second stage, are not only unused to college lectures in English but then they find considerable difficulties in following their courses, to which they seem to be absolutely unbroken. Moreover, such an arrangement is likely to attract pupils, who have already decided on their career and may thus avoid many misfits.[9]

Each of the three stages, *viz.*, Junior Diploma Stage, Senior Diploma Stage and the Advanced Diploma Stage and other commercial classes must be self-contained and self-sufficient in each grade, so that from each stage young men may start out in life without the necessity of being drawn up from stage to stage unless they so desire and have the necessary equipment for the same.[10] For the whole range of commercial enterprises are to be covered, and to be attacked if the baffling problem of middle-class unemployment is to be solved, and decadent and desperate Bengal is to be restored to hope and prosperity or to be weaned away from disruptive paths of Anarchism and Communism.

The proposed type of training will also supply the Government, Railways, Companies, etc., with all classes of assis-

6. The Diploma instituted by the Government under the aegis of the Board must be recognized by the Chambers of Commerce, Universities, Public Service Commission and other Public bodies and employers as equivalent to University Diplomas and degrees for all purposes. Compare the Spen's Report.

7. For about 40 affiliated institutions and more in the making, there is not a single wholetime Inspector (the work done by lecturers) against the host of inspecting staff, costing about Rs. 13½ lakhs in the general line! The absence of such an agency stands in the way of further extension of this type of education.

8. As due to vernacularization the Matriculates under 1940 Regulation are still less likely to follow with advantage the courses and lectures in all subjects in English (apart from possible reactions on receptivity and intellect by this process).

9. "If however, the Junior Diploma Course be regarded as either too ambitious or impracticable at the present stage of commercial education, a shorter Junior Diploma Course with all the subjects mentioned above but without Vernacular and Civics may be adopted as a full one year Course, for acceptance by affiliated institutions—most of which want such an embracing and preparatory course to find the present (improved) or may be even the proposed Junior Course as too heavy or expensive in the initial experimental stage."

10. The Intermediate or Junior Diploma Classes (Super-secondary stage) may be tagged on to selected High Schools in important Commercial towns or to the first four classes of the High Schools (Secondary stage) as per recommendations of the Sadler Commission. Roughly speaking, the Primary or elementary stage of education to extend from the age of 6 to 10, the Secondary stage from 11 to 14; and the Intermediate or Super-secondary stage from 15 to 16—the last two with an ever-increasing vocational bias—technical and commercial in towns and agricultural in villages. Purely literary schools (of the type of Grammar schools in England) as we have them will continue to be the main feeders of the liberal side of education of the Universities.

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ents far more satisfactory and efficient than their compeers elsewhere. If there is a real efficiency drive, which is highly important at this stage of Bengal's economic and intellectual decadence and which should be possible by an autonomous Board, composed of the representatives of the business community and different classes of employers and educa-ists outside the orbit of the University demic litterateurs, lawyers and politicians, there is no reason why the scheme should not prove eminently successful. One element of success should be to keep the classes strictly limited and to choose the pupils with scrupulous care; secondly, there must be insistence on a high degree of competence as well as performance both by the students and the staff. And all these may be further reinforced by arrangement with the employers not only to provide facilities for practical training to our boys but also to absorb a stipulated number of students in em-ployment every year to give facilities for learning business—in which task the proposed students Re-union and Employment Bureau also may be helpful.

The eveing classes should be continuation classes of different types and normally should not try to duplicate any of the day courses.[11] Their importance will chiefly be due to the need for betterment of people already working independently or in banks, mercantile firms, etc. not for whole timers, and by way of other courses.

Apart from the present Modern (commer-cial) English, Typewriting, Shorthand, R.A. and Accountancy examinations, additional classes may be opened in subjects such as Banking, Insurance, Journalism, Spoken English, Adver-tising and Salesmanship, Auctioneers and Estate Agency, Secretarial practice, Ministerial Service Classes, etc., unorthodox but useful subjects that are not and cannot be attempted in the Univer-sities. The demand in this age is for specialists and for minute sub-division of occupations also in the commercial field, after a dependable general commercial education of a practical type. A mere theoretical knowledge of com-mercial subjects or degree hunting will not take our boys very far, since intrinsic worth and not cheaply obtained paper certificates or degrees will make for value and success; and a Government Institution must try to create such a type and standard instead of a cheap imitation of the ordinary arts and commerce colleges in Bengal. We have the sorry spectacle and the sad experience that inspite of a heavy output of commerce and other graduates in Bengal, not merely have we not been able to regain a particle of the share of the trade of Calcutta but that even the offices are being captured by outsiders through sheer diligence and efficiency, and it is these qualities which must be driven home amongst our youngmen through this "New Education" in Bengal.

The scheme of part-time theoretical train-ing and part-time practical work, under which employees or apprentices are allowed some days in the week absolutely free to attend commer-cial classes, appears to be an attractive propo-sition but it requires a degree of specialization, standardization of study, activism on the part of the students and co-operation on the part of the employers which may not be available at this stage of development of commerce and industry in our country or at least in this province. In any case such a possibility should be kept in view for adoption in future, when circumstances are more ripe. For such develop-ment, however, the location of the college should be in the heart of the city, within easy striking distance from the business quarters.

For the present it seems desirable that the practical training by apprenticeships arranged in co-operation with the mercantile firms and other employers should follow theoretical train-ing—which, also, must be of a more practical nature, by insistence on mechanical appliances like Epidiascope in the class room, charts, figures, objects (commercial museum) pictures, as well as by extensive study visits to commercial and industrial firms and undertakings, museums, exchanges, docks, etc., for which very liberal provisions and enthusiastic reception by the students must be provided.

The practical training should cover one full year at the end of the full commercial course, extending over three years, in which the Final or Advanced Diploma will be granted to students not after passing the final examination but after a satisfactory record of work during the apprenticeship period. In the proposed Junior stage (supplying junior assistants and small traders) the apprenticeship period for those that choose or are not allowed to go up the higher stage may extend from six months to a year, but this need not be obligatory and they may be given their diplomas as soon as they pass. In the senior stage also diplomas may be given after passing the examination without the obligation of going up for the Final or Advanced course or for an apprenticeship.

11. Except perhaps the Junior Diploma Course or the lower form in which affiliation will be granted to private institutions.

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The bulk of the students will naturally be Bengalees, whereas the trade of the city is almost entirely in the hands of non-Bengalees, who may not be expected to take a paternal interest in the affairs of the students. But there are considerations of enlightened self-interest, as also a little of mild pressure or influence on the part of the Government through orders or contracts which may prompt at least many of the public spirited firms to undertake giving practical training to most of the boys, limited as they will be in number.

Clive Street has already made a move in this matter and some European firms are taking Indian assistants in the higher grade. Very recently, in course of a career lecture in the Calcutta University a change in policy and outlook as well as European co-operation were announced by Sir Edward Benthall. Indeed as he said, it was necessary to turn the mind of the Bengali youth to a more self-reliant attitude or to a change in their outlook, both at home and in school. In support of this wise policy and to help to train youngmen to set up businesses on their own account, he promised the earnest co-operation of European business interests. Such practical training given to selected youngmen would be designed "to give an opportunity to learn from instruction inside our own businesses something of the methods we employ to achieve success." He also held out prospects of openings to boys who might go abroad for special training through special scholarships. He declared that,

"we will help you as much as we can but if you are to grasp the opportunities before you and to re-establish the rightful place of Bengalees in Business in Bengal, you must not be content to serve but must branch out also in your own business."

Sir Edward even encouraged and invited young Bengal to compete with all and themselves, as "European businessmen welcome competition, if it means expansion of industry and commerce on right lines," as this is bound to result in prosperity for all. It certainly marks a momentous change in outlook and policy of the European business interests in Calcutta just in keeping with the changed political and economic circumstances of the country.12

It is believed that the constituent firms of the Bengal Chamber and the Bengal National Chamber of Commerce, at any rate, will feel greatly interested in the training of the Superior class of assistants and they may even be persuaded to send in their nominees or to have them trained in the Institute. It is remarkable that a reputed European Firm, Messers. Balmer Lawrie & Co. send a considerable number of assistants for training in the evening classes, paying their fees and awarding increments on the results of the examinations. This might be emulated by other employers and in a greater degree, if the sources are properly tapped.

Besides, European assistants are far more costly to bring down to Calcutta and in times of war, their supply may dangerously dry up as it happened during the last great war. So in their own interest, the European firms may require "Staff Officers" of a higher calibre. The far-reaching political changes, the increasing industrialization of the country, the diversion of the attention of the higher classes, even the requirements of the public services, federal and provincial, are other important factors, calling for the exclusive training and supply of a superior class of dependable business executives.13

For usual and ordinary subjects part-time teachers are a misfit. They cannot be expected to bring into their task that wholetime spirit, single-minded devotion or enthusiasm that are necessary for the task of teaching and inspiring. After or in the midst of a hard day's work teaching business is likely to be perfunctory unless one has a liking for it or the hours of work are very small and the remuneration adequate

But for special subjects in which a practical knowledge of day to day developments is essential and in which the hours of instruction need not be large, the above objection need not apply with equal force and there may indeed be a real advantage. So for practical subjects or special papers like Transport Insurance, Banking, International Trade or Foreign languages or special industries like Jute, Cotton, Tea, etc., experts engaged in actual business may and should be invited to deliver not more than 4 or 5 lectures a week, and such able people

12. Compare Mr. Geoffrey Tyson's (Editor of *Capital*) address in the subject of "Creating Indian Goodwill" at the Institute of Export in London (*Statesman*, 29th August, 1939).

13. A students' Employment Bureau, with its place as outlined in the Re-organization number of the *Government Commercial Institute Magazine*, May, 1939 issue, may also help in drafting "the boys in independent business on their own—by procuring informations, business connections as well as introduction to approved banks so that hardy, honest and capable youngmen, who may be without adequate capital, may get necessary accommodation and encouragement to make themselves so many useful members of society" and also by following the famous "cash-credits" system adopted by the Scottish Banks to foster Scottish enterprise.

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are not likely to be attracted by anything less than Rs. 150/- a month. We would suggest that at least half the number of such part-time lecturers must be European, connected with the big firms. In all appointments, business experience and capacity rather than simple academic brilliance must be insisted upon.

A governing body including representatives of the Chambers of Commerce and Trade Associations, public utility companies, Corporation, Port Trust, the Education department and the teaching staff (at least two, excluding the Principal) with considerable autonomous powers should be preferreed to a purely advisory body, since in matters commercial, the Education department with its theoretical and academic bias cannot be expected to take that amount of interest, enthusiasm or judgment, deterred by conditions of custom, tradition and vested interests, as a representative body of commercial experts, employers and officers of the Education Department combined, are normally expected to take. One proof of this is that hitherto commercial education in Bengal has been sadly neglected and even now the cost per head of student in the only commercial institution under the management of the Government is less than a fifth[14] (about Rs. 50/-) of the average cost per head of student (about Rs. ...-) in other Government Colleges—whose employment figures, at any rate, pale into insignificance in comparison with that of the Government Commercial Institute. Besides, employers or businessmen only know the type of employees they require and how to produce them. Businessmen are expected to call for certain business qualifications in our youngmen and such demand on their part is likely to bring this Institute, sterling worth and a new class products with a hardihood of thought and action and a much needed equipoise and balance in character.

A business college ought to be situated in the heart of the business quarters so that it may be easily drawn upon and approached by the employers as well as the students. Specially should it be within the striking distance of the evening or continuation class students who would be easily bored away by an irksome distance. For day class students also the intimate touch of the hub of commercial life is particularly healthy. As such the college ought to be situated within the confines of the Strand Road, Esplanade, Canning Street and Central Avenue and as near the Clive Street and Dalhousie Square as possible. The Government have spent a lot for more than 32 years in rent and the captalised value of the rent recently paid should be sufficient to accommodate the college in a suitable house within this area with a compound, lecture rooms, assembly hall, museum and geography rooms, Principal and Professors' rooms, gymnasium, students' Common Room, library and reading rooms, offices and outhouses and hostel. Any place outside the above noted area would be clearly unsuited to the proposed commercial college or even to the present Government Commercial Institute.

So much has been spent on the Government Arts Colleges (15 lakhs in 1936-37) and so little on a single commercial college (28 thousands only in 1936-37 or less than 1% of that spent on the Arts Colleges) that it behoves the Government to compensate for past neglect by very liberal provisions now in the interests of the rising generations of Bengal.

The Calcutta Technical Institute, the College of Engineering and Technology at Jadavpur or the Veterinary College at Belgachia afford fine examples of independent growth outside the orbit of the University system and we might follow them here with necessary modification. But one thing is certain that the status, dignity and prestige as well as the financial resources of the College must be raised beyond cavil to a high pitch, and it should no longer be allowed to suffer from an inferiority complex.[15] Very

College	No. of students	Cost per head to Govt.
Presidency		Rs.
Sanskrit ..	1,058	335
Dacca Intermediate ..	120	„ 385
Bengal Engineering ..	487	„ 183
Dacca School of Engineering ..	285	„ 1,189
Government Weaving Institute ..	411	„ 240
Government Commercial Institute ..	189	„ 249
The total Government Commercial Institute ..	503	„ 49

was only Rs. 28 thousands against Rs. 15 lakhs on some 12 Arts Colleges or ... lakhs on collegiate education ! Cf. the 9th Quinquennial Review on Education in ...

15. Even in England, a stigma of inferiority was attached to the boy, joining the Technical High Schools instead of a Grammar school—with the result that industries had a tendency to be manned by inferior types of men and the liberal professions had a tendency to be inflated and overcrowded—a mal-adjustment recently sought to be corrected by the Spens Committee's Report in England, favouring equality in status, position and respectability between the two types of schools. The Spens Report scoffs at the idea that the liberal training

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liberal financial provisions will have to be made; co-operation of the Indian and European business communities will have to be enlisted; adequate, capable, well-paid and competent staff will have to be provided for; all necessary equipments should be ungrudgingly given, liberal grants-in-aid should be given to the private commercial schools and colleges to raise their standard and to encourage them to do their best.[16] Model Commercial Schools or intermediate classes may be opened in Dacca and Chittagong, and affiliations given elsewhere,—othewise all the glorious hopes of the Finance Minister and of the coming generations of Bengali youths aspiring in the commrecial field will be dashed to the ground.

Another important thing is the constitution of a Cadre of Commercial services. The ever-shifting class of commercial teachers or staff often elated by grandiose schemes of development but laid low by the iniquitous cut of the Swan Retrenchment Committee, have long been neglected and relegated to lose their pride and ability in a blind alley or a despised corner of the educational field. Now that the interest of all classes of people—the Government, the Commercial magnates as well as the thinking public—have been roused to the development of this neglected but important branch of activity, it is necessary to put energy and enthusiasm into the heart of those who will carry the burden of developing this type of education, and they must be saved from the ignominy of an inferiority complex. It is difficult to explain why Accountancy, Commercial Geography or other Commercial subjects should be regarded as in any way inferior or less important than Sanskrit, Philosophy or Persian and rest of the Arts, Science and Technical subjects in which a large number of Professorships exist in Government Colleges in Bengal but none in useful commercial subjects. And again why Commercial Training should be regarded an anathema and why there is but one ill-supported Government institution against so many arts colleges, most of which are, to say the least, redundant ?

A commercial Cadre of services away from the general service in the Education Department should therefore be built up.[17] And there should be a scheme of promotion by healthy process of emulation and development within the service as will assure a wholesome service morale, pride and enthusiasm in the task of building up a new profession, whose value will ultimately depend on the value and ability of their makers.

Two classes in the Junior Course, two in the Senior Course and one in the Advanced Course (admissions limited to 60 in each section of the first stage, and to 50 in each of the second and third stage—fees varying between Rs. 5/-, 7/- and 10/- respectively) may immediately be started within perhaps the present frame-work of staff and accommodation with slight modifications and adjustments. But such experiments should not stand in the way of the ultimate development of the scheme[18] a necessary re-organization on a strictly vocational line,[19] but not without an awakening of the

for learned professions alone are intellectual and that the technical subjects do not infuse at least as much intelligence, understanding and broad outlook as the other subjects.

16. A liaison with the Industries Department may also be thought of or the Institute may even be shunted back to that Department as it was a few years back, with a view to an ultimate development of a Technological University—including trades, crafts, commerce and industries—since all of them must go hand in hand.

17. With a really permanent Principal in the scale of Rs. 400-1000 (B.S.E.S.) at least four or five Professorships in the Bengal Educational Service, one Inspector of Commercial Schools and Colleges, and two Superintendents of Intermediate commercial classes (which may also be tagged on to some Government High Schools, to avoid extra establishment expenses—*Cf.* Sadler Commission report *re.* intermediate classes) proposed to be started in Dacca (Narayanganj) and Chittagong in the scale grade; one Vice-Principal or officer-in-charge of the evening classes for co-ordination and necessary supervision also in the B.E.S. Eight lectureships including one in Shorthand in the grade of Rs. 125-350; about sixteen or eighteen assistant lectureships (including those for newly proposed commerce classes) in the grade of Rs. 100-250; an additional number of part-time lecturers for the day as well as for the evening classes for instruction in new subjects and courses, who should be entitled to leave and special provident fund facilities; and other staff, one Head clerk and two Senior Instructors in Typewriting in the selection grade of Rs. 150-250; besides a Physical Instructor, Junior Instructors in Typewriting, one in charge of the Library and the Commercial Museum, Second and other clerks, mechanics and menial staff as per requirement.

18. The scheme in some respects is much less ambitious than the scheme of commercial education in Bombay though more vocational and broad-based than the latter. In pay, prospects and status the Sydenham College standard very high, which it may not be possible for the attenuated finances of Bengal to provide for at least in the experimental stage and with a war hanging on the shoulders.

19. The Chairman of the Spens Committee on Secondary Education in England—Sir Will Spens, head is also the Principal of a college in Cambridge, besides being the President of the Employment Board of Cambridge University—not only advocates a strong vocational bias in the Secondary School but is even in favour of extending it in the domain of higher or University education; and his thesis must provoke serious

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intellect and a development of character, which should combine a hardihood of thought with vigour of action. The whole scheme, given effect to even if gradually, need not ultimately cost more than half the average cost of student in the Government Colleges or a third of the cost per head of student in the Presidency College, much less than that of a technical institution (under the Government) of which the Institute was once a part and parcel, and from which it was separated long ago with a view to an independent development, which, however, did not materialise in these thirty long years. It certainly reflects no credit on the commercial capacity or the genius of Bengal.

The drift of Bengal's infructuous or despondent politics to the left out of all provinces in India is a symptomatic pointer of the dangers lying ahead of young Bengal being driven by hunger or helplessness to anarchism or communism—unless they are weaned away to a path of constructive commercial career and to an increased industrial life that must necessarily follow the same.

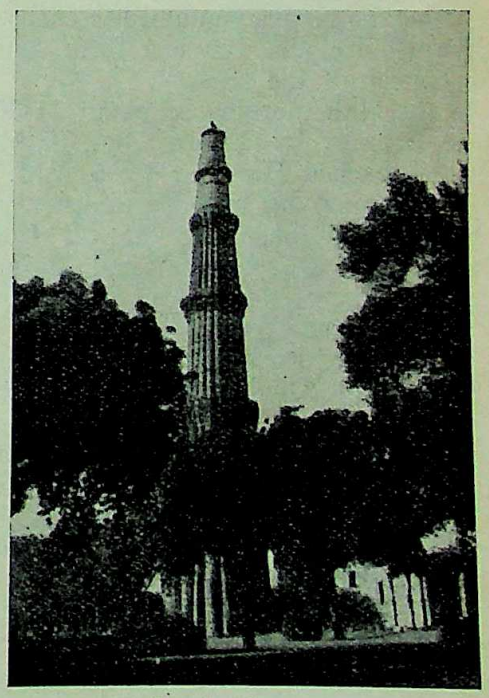
thinking, even if it runs counter to established thought. In Bengal, the application of his principles should be specially welcome.

IMPRESSIONS OF A TOUR IN NORTHERN INDIA

By ABHAYAPADA CHAKRAVARTY, M. A., B. L.

SENSE of enjoyment, sublimity and immensity emanating from scenes of beauty wherein the visible hand of the Creator is manifest, a sense of enjoyment, magnificence and solemnity emanating from beauty-spots wherein is present the height of human skill, intelligence and conception—these are the outstanding features of the impressions left in my mind. Side along with that there is the backwash of a stream of contemplative and philosophic thoughts which crossed my mind as I was reconnoitring the once grand and magnificent fort of Prithwiraj, the Indraprastha, the Kotla Firozshah and the many other paths of glory that have led but to the grave—a grave, either like that of Jehanara which, in its mute silence under the canopy of green verdure on its bosom and the blue vault of heaven overhead, is perhaps more eloquent than eloquence personified;—or a tomb, like that of Momtaz, over which has come to exist a wonder edifice, emanting as if from a land of dreams or the magic land in response to the movement of a magic wand wielded by the magician of all magicians—an edifice which defeats the conception of man and perhaps seeks to defy the limitations of *time* and *space*!

Leaving Calcutta on the evening of the 27th September, last year, by the Doon Express we reached Benares on the 28th midday. We stayed at Benares on the 28th and 29th and till 10 A.M. of the 30th. We proceeded to the Hindu University on the 28th afternoon, saw the newly-constructed canal, with overbridges, bath-pools and Ghats, yachting space and festoons of electric lights covering a large area with a big slice of land left in the centre for building a temple—Panditji's idea of making



Kutab Minar
[*Photo*: Amal Chatterji

the Benares Hindu University a complete unit, capable of standing favourable comparison with the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, may be at work. On the 29th, the Mahasasthi day, we found ourselves in the midst of near and

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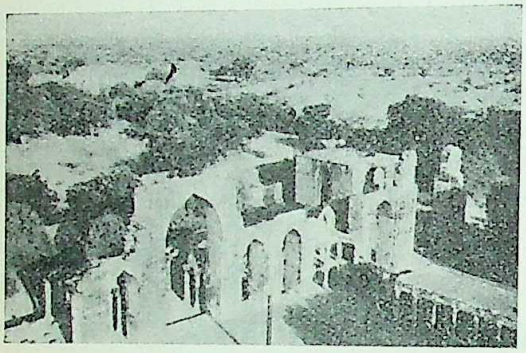
dear relations,—had *darsan* of Sree Biswanath in the morning, in the afternoon we had a pleasant boat trip to Benimadhab Dhwaja. The grand panoramic view of the city of ancient culture and tradition, the pulpit of the first utterance of truth by the great religious prophets and Rishis of this great continent—particularly along the banks of the Ganges—was undoubtedly a charming sight—add to this the last rays of the setting sun and the enchantment lent by distance and you can form some idea of the beauty of the scenery.



The ruins around Kutab Minar (including Mosque, Iron Pillar Chousat Khamba, etc.) with a birds'-eye view of Delhi
[*Photo* : Amal Chatterji

On the 30th morning at about 11-30 A.M. we left Benares by Dehra Dun Express for Hardwar—reached Hardwar by 5 A.M. After having performed our morning ablutions we left for Kankhal, a place not far off from our lodgings;—saw Dakshalaya and Jajnakunda and had a view of the Ganges surging its way over pebbles and craggy obstructions in its circular and circuitous course. From there we went to Brahma Kunda and had our bath there. The ice-cold water, the calm and sobriety pervading around—the serene massive current of the Ganges with its crystal water exposing to view the timid and unsophisticated inmates thereof, at once mark this place as one of the gifted spots of nature quite suitable for retired life. The same evening we went on foot to the Tunnel and thence to Brahma Kunda and the Ganges strand where we spent a very delightful evening, feeding the fish and floating the *chiraks*. Next morning by bus we went to Lachmanjhola and Hrishikesh. I had the full satisfaction of my tour of Lachmanjhola. I could have done without Indraprastha, the Dewani Khas and all that wealth and all that power ever gave but I feel that I could not have done without Lachmanjhola. The solemn grandeur of the scenery—high mountain ranges cutting up the horizon on both sides and through the ridges, far below through the depths, the tiny little current of water, as transparent as glass, now winding its precipitous but smooth course with a robust undercurrent and again in the twinkling of an eye surging its foamy and torrential march over boulders and crags, the impeded waters producing the mighty sound of waterfalls—these are things which inspired awe and reverence in your mind and perforce drag you on to the mighty Creator. The solitude of the place, the sparsely spread out temples and hermitages along the road to the Swargasram afford sufficient encouragement to your mind to believe that communion with your Creator would be a spontaneous heritage of the dwellers of this haven of bliss. The scenery around is sublime and beatific—all human calculations are baffled and man loses himself in bewilderment It is possible for man to conceive and create a Taj but human conception and capacity cannot travel into the heights of serenity, sublimity and beatitude of a Lachmanjhola.

Here we had our bath and on the banks of the Ganges our breakfast too. We then went along to Swargasram and from there we crossed over by *kisti* to the other side where our bus was waiting. On our way back we came to Hrishikesh and had a very pleasant hour on the banks of the Ganges. The mighty current of the Ganges, owing to its sharp bend at this point, has converted this place into a lovely

Dewan-i-Khas, Delhi Fort
[*Photo* : Amal Chatterji

sight. At about 4 P.M we came back to our Dera. The same night by Doon-Hardwar-Dehra Express we left for Delhi and on the morning of the 3rd October, the Mahanabami day, we reached Delhi—Delhi, where history has

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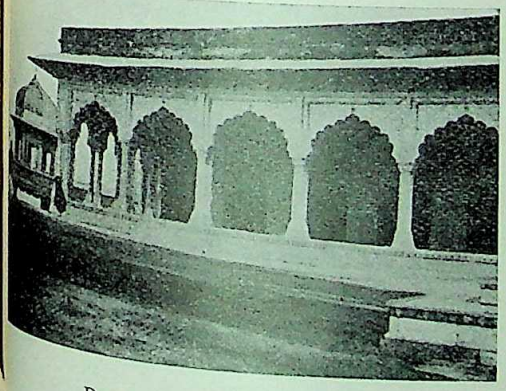
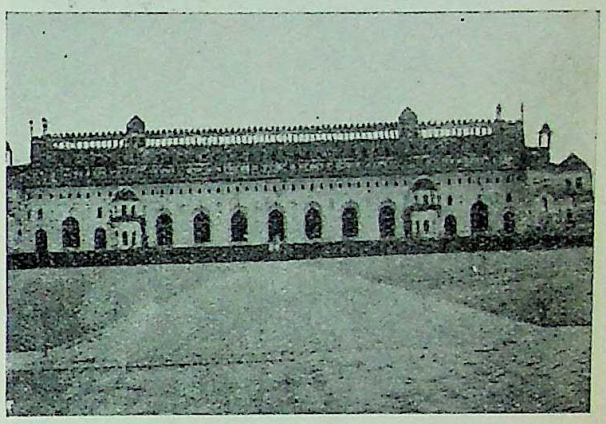
repeated itself, where kingdoms have been and lost, where dynasties have thrived and ished, where pomp and power had their day of glory and now proclaiming their frail- ickleness and evanescence from the tottering of all that was once majestic and magni- It gave me sufficient food for musing the present endeavours of the rulers to by the side of the great city of tombs, a uresque city which is beautiful in its con- ion and lovely and majestic in its ction—the city of New Delhi, I mean, is d a sight worth its past glory, the limita- being the limitations of the West as pared with the wealth and grandeur of the the limitations of the modern matter-of- civilisation as compared with the limitless ure, craft and skill of the land of curiosities dreams during ages when almost the entire was still in its cradle-bed and swaddling es of barbarity and heathenism.

On the 3rd afternoon we had a glimpse of Delhi, in the evening Pratima Darsan and i. Next morning (*i.e.* the 4th) we went the tombs of glory and greatness *viz.*, dar Jung, the Lodi Tombs, Nizamuddaulah, ayun's Tombs, Indraprastha, Kotla Feroz h. Of these places Kotla Feroz Shah and aprastha attracted me more than the other Humayun's tomb built by Hamida m is magnificent but Jehanara's tomb aled to me more. Indraprastha or the



Dewan-i-Khas, Agra Fort
[*Photo* : Amal Chatterji

nikella as they call it with the mosque Humayun's Library (which formerly was Shah's Mandal) is a very pleasant —Indraprastha of the Mahabharata whether this is the same site Judhisthira had his Mayapuri built and ty Duryyodhona had to pay the penalty vain-glorious folly, I do not propose to investigate; but that Hastina and Indraprastha were located side by side and included within the Delhi area,—an area consisting perhaps of no less than nine capital cities built and unbuilt and now existing more in its ruins—is perhaps a settled fact. And therefore, as I crossed the threshold of the crumbling high gate of the Puranikella I felt that I was not



Imambara, Lucknow
[*Photo* : J. Sur

born a slave. The signs of the invaders' tyranny is less prominent at Indraprastha; even the mosque of Humayun has not disdained to bear the unmistakable proofs of Hindu architecture on its rear walls. Perhaps the site was selected by many a ruler, both Hindu and Muhammedan, for his stronghold having had the Jumna for its natural fortification. The "Mayapuri" of Judhisthira was once converted into the stronghold of the Emperor Sher Shah perhaps—the arrangements within the fort, its ramparts, covert high roads over which a whole army could have marched unnoticed, even now proclaim to the world that military technique was better mastered by Emperors like Sher Shah than the sponsors of the brutal militarism of the present day world.

I am now turning my attention to Nizamuddowlah. The workmanship and carvings on the walls are very pleasing and made me think that India was far in advance in every dapartment of civilisation.

On the 5th morning we formed a big party and by bus we went to Kutab Minar—visited the Minar, the ruins of the Mosques, Chausatkhamba, Prithwiraj's Fort in ruins, Jogmaya, Iron Pillar, Razia's Tomb, Altamash's Tomb, Bhulbhulaha (Giasuddin Bulban's Tomb ?), Jumping Well, Bathing Well and a host of other things. The architectural beauty of the Kutab did not please so much as did the artistic

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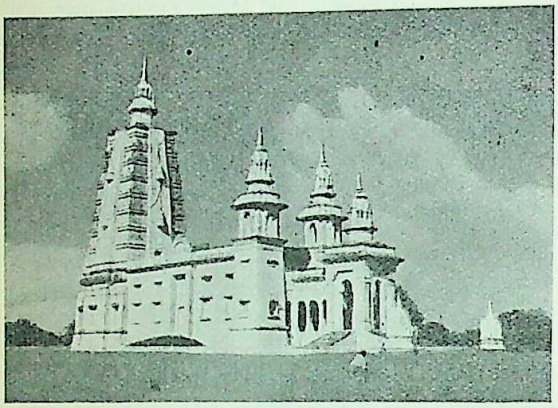
workmanship on the pillar which appeared to me to be more Hindu than Muhammedan. The height is undoubtedly a giddy height but then there is nothing very grand about it. The pillar standing in its solitary grandeur in



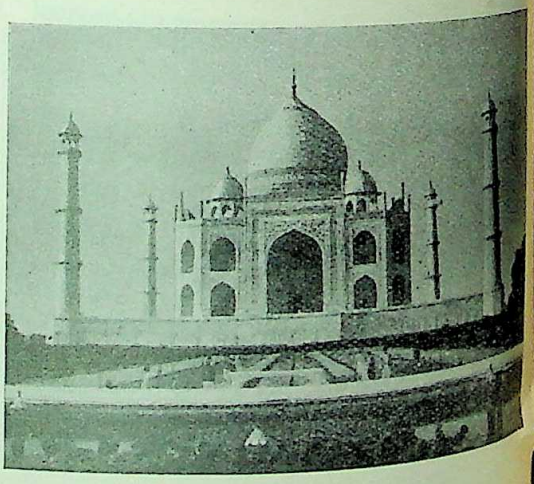
Buddhist Temple at Sarnath
[*Photo* : J. Sur

the midst of ruins around, although slightly dislodged from its original position in its second-storey onwards, still seeks to pick up the gauntlet thrown out by ravaging and destructive time. I noticed some very fine and beautiful workmanship and carvings in Altamash's tomb —they are exquisite and fit to be preserved as heirlooms of art by any nation of the world. Razia's tomb and by its side the grave of her favourite slave made me rather pensive. The once great sovereign of India, daughter of Altamash, has allowed her earthly remnants to rest in an insignificant burial like this: I was reminded of the Court intrigues during her reign and of the stories about her secret profession of love to a Hindu general Birendra Singha, Birendra Singha's refusal and the dark consequences that followed. And, as I thought within myself, this might explain as to why she had built this unassuming sanctuary for her earthly remnants : or she might have thought that in her pomp and grandeur she might not outlive the ravages of time but in her humility and modesty she would, particularly because, crossed in love, she had allowed herself to be carried away by the spirit of revenge which must have brought in its wake disdain and remorse, pathos and pity. Jogmaya temple is a pleasant nook in the thick of the devastating tyranny of the Pathans.

Late in the day at about 2 P.M. we came back to our lodgings. Within half an hour or so we again left to visit the Mutiny Monument, Cashmere Gate, Delhi Fort and the Jumma Musjid.

I shall not tarry long at Delhi with my impressions and, therefore, I hasten to my impressions about the Fort. The Dewani Khas with the marble throne in the centre is full of simplicity and grandeur, oriental art in painting, carving and sculpture is exhibited at its highest. The Dewani Khas is monumental in its grandeur, past and present, and is glorious in spite of the onslaughts of time and ravages of foreign invasion. The inscriptions on its inner walls "*Agar Fardosh Baruye Jaminast To Haminastha, Haminastha Haminastha*"— "If Paradise is anywhere on earth it is here it is here, it is here."—never for a moment testify to Shah Jehan's folly but they declare in the most unequivocal term that Shah Jehan was not only a great Emperor but that he was a poet and a lover of pomp and grandeur—that he lived in a dream-land in the midst of his Begums surrounded by grandeur, glory and munificence, and the Rang Mahal, the Baths and the other departments within the Fort bear eloquent testimonies thereof. We cannot leave the Delhi Fort without mentioning the famous Moti Musjid wherefrom the Kohinoor, as anecdotes allege, was taken away.

After seeing Delhi Fort we came back visiting on the way the Jumma Musjid. This Musjid stands on its high pedestal of glory and grandeur even today, but whether the high priests of religion like an Akbar or a Shah



Tajmahal [*Photo* : J. Sur

Jehan will ever reappear to curb down fetishism and fanaticism and hold up the torch of divine faith and tolerance and universal love to kindle the religious conscience of the sons of the soil is extremely doubtful; the beacon-light of love

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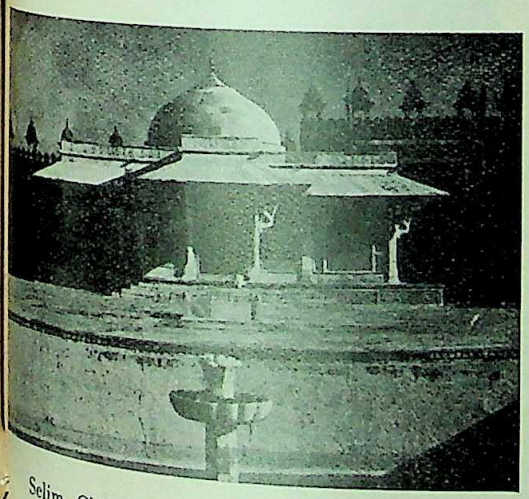
and tolerance among the jarring sects and communities of Hindustan has perhaps been driven down into the abysmal depths of the unknown and obscure for all times to come.

On the 6th morning we left for Agra reached there by about 6 P.M. The same night after 9 P.M. we went to the Taj. The first impressions of the Taj in a dim noonlight, for the moonlight was not quite bright, was enchanting and bewildering. We made up our mind to see the moonlit Taj once again on the following night.

On the 7th morning we went by motor car to the Fatehpur Sikri. This place, like its own creator, Akbar, has withstood wonderfully well the invasion of time and the onslaughts of the waves of destruction. The high ideal of Akbar—plain living and high thinking bereft of all religious idiosyncracies and bigotry—is in very great prominence in this huge fortress which the great politician, ruler, thinker and empire-builder Akbar had schemed out and built. The vastness of this fort symbolises the vastness of Akbar's mind. The cosmopolitan nature of the different component parts constituting the entire building is a true index of the political and religious character of Akbar; and the great mosque with its Bouland Gate and the marble tomb of his Guru Selim Chisthi in its courtyard testify to Akbar's sense of piety and humanity, his love for the noble and the beauti-



Selim Chisti's Tomb with Buland Gate, Fatehpur-Sikri, Agra
[*Photo* : J. Sur

Akbar's Court consisted of his Nabaratna around him and the mighty fortress built for him consists of the central block for himself and the abodes of his nobles, Hindus and Mahomedans alike, around it. Nor is there wanting the inspiration—the Jodhabai Mahal has its great story to tell. Great as Akbar was this fort built by him typifies his character by its versatility, cosmopolitanism, simplicity, and vastness. Nor is the high water-mark of culture in science and engineering wanting, as is exhibited all round in the fortress including the mints and the reservoirs for the storage and supply of water.

From Akbar's fort at Fatehpur Sikri I travelled to the site of his grave, Secundra. Like Akbar himself this Secundra stands in solemn grandeur, all its own. Even the Taj

Itimad-ud-daula, Agra
[*Photo* : Amal Chatterji

perhaps has not the grandeur of solemnity as Secundra has. As I stepped inside the mighty tomb of this great mind and mighty ruler a feeling of immensity coupled with a sense of simplicity overpowered me. The vastness of the building, its unorthodox style of architectural beauty, with total absence of glitter and glamour, its sombre outlook and yet its mute utterance of a note of welcome to all people of all creeds and nationalities alike, mark it out as a singular spot for meditation and perhaps give us a glimpse into the world of inner thoughts of the great mind that had planned out and constructed the repository for its frail and ephemeral mortal coil.

Now to the Agra Fort—but before taking you to the Agra Fort I want you to accompany me to Itmutdowlah, the tomb of the Persian sojourner to India in quest of fortune. Nur Jehan, his daughter, brought him that fortune and also built this exquisite tomb after his death. Beautiful that Nur Jehan was, the light of the world, this little tomb of her father yields to none in its exquisite beauty exhibiting an amount of art and taste that staggers criticism. I am inclined to think that this tomb, as if built only yesterday, of Nur Jehan's father, must have lent its inspiration of beauty, as much

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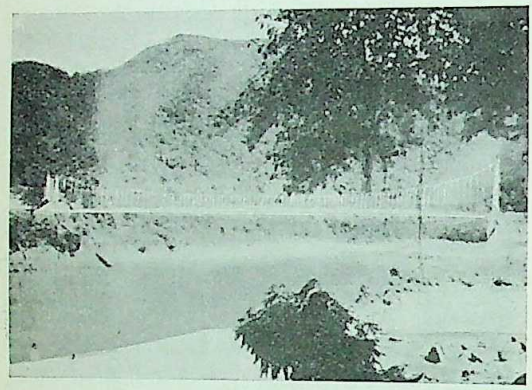
as Selim Chisthi's tomb its inspiration of purity and sobriety, Secundra its inspiration of solemnity, vastness and immensity and Humayun's tomb its inspiration of grandeur and majesty that helped Shah Jehan to dream the wonderful dream of his wonder edifice the Taj—a majestic and monumental conception—colossal, magnificent, sublime and perhaps eternal in its execution, holding at bay the devastating



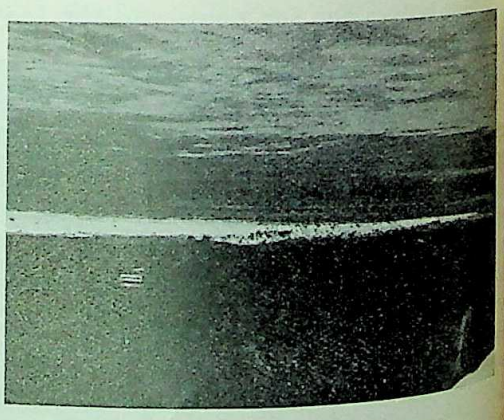
View of Lachmanjhola, the bridge and the surrounding landscape
[*Photo* : Amal Chatterji

prowess of the god of destruction and seeking to obliterate the distinction between the *temporal* and the *eternal*—the eternal love within the human breast seeking its eternal utterance in a dreamland of purity and sublimity. The execution of Shah Jehan's great dream into an eternal utterance embodied in the white marble mausoleum, the monumental Taj, is perhaps the last word that could be said regarding earthly love, pomp and power, grandeur, majesty and sublimity and marks an epoch in the history of all temporal creation by its challenge to outvie the creator of Shah Jehan himself. I visited the Taj four times over and yet I longed to see it again. The moonlit Taj on whose stone-set walls I saw imbedded so many moons, the Taj with the setting sun about it and with the scorching rays of the meridian sun overhead so full of dazzle, and dazing the onlookers, these are recollections which will be borne in mind long after I have ceased to see the Taj any more.

As I hasten to conclude my impressions of the tour within the precincts of the Agra Fort, I wish to tell you now and here that I will not come back to the Tribeni Sangam, where I saw the fountain mingling with the river and the river with the ocean, the Ganges and the Jamuna, embracing each other as they have done and yet their identity kept marvellously separate. "Kalindi" is still playing to the tune of the surging Ganges, forging ahead in course down the valley of the United Provinces and keeping time with the onward march by the darkish billows and breakers.

At Allahabad, I am taking it out of the chronological order, I also saw the Khusru Bagh. By the grave of Khusru, the Prince of Princes and so much alike his grandfather, the great Akbar, and so greatly full of Hindu sentiment—I wish I could have stayed longer but I could not for want of time. I remembered as history records it that Khusru was the heir apparent to the throne of his grandfather who thought that he was the fittest prince to succeed Akbar. But then Akbar changed his mind on his death bed and Prince Selim succeeded him as Emperor Jehangir. Khusru rebelled against his father Jehangir but was quelled. The most brutal and diabolical revenge that was wreaked upon him and his faithful adherents forms one of the darkest chapters in the history of the Moghal rule in India. Blinded and bereft of all hopes Khusru was led to his grave. He came to be looked upon by many as a martyr and Khusru Bagh was considered to be a place of pilgrimage.

I will now tell you what I saw and what I felt at the Agra Fort. This fort, which was



View of the Ganges at Lachmanjhola near Swargashram
[*Photo* : Amal Chatterji

begun by Akbar and finished by his grandson Shah Jehan, is at once the crowning glory and the grave-yard of the Moghal Empire in India. Overlooking as it does, the mighty Taj, the monumental tomb of Shah Jehan's Begum Momtaj, a kindred tie of pathos binds them together for all times to come. When Shah Jehan added the Moti Musjid, the Khas Mahal, the Shish Mahal and the wonderful baths, little did he think even in his dreams that the

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ounder of the mighty Taj and the ruler of the reat empire will have to end his erstwhile estic career in confinement as a state oner within the four corners of a small room ide the same fort and that too through the anny and under the direct vigilance of his n flesh and blood. The key-note of the edy that was struck with the demise of ntaj Begum and the element of sublimity ich was heralded with the advent of the Taj d not end with the Taj, nor was it confined hin the gorgeous tomb, in its central dome, h the peals of everlasting echoes and re-echoes, like the siren's song it diffused its poisonous benumbing influence over the vast empire eventually culminated in the tragedy of edies when, under the cloak of bigotry and gious charlatanism the universal and elemental ties of blood were denied and a brother perpetrated the most heinous, outrageous and atrocious secret murder of his brothers, and a son kept in cruel confinement his mighty procreator. Behind all the glitter and grandeur of the Agra Fort a grim tragedy was enacted—a tragedy of many thousand years; the grimness of the tragedy being so conspicuous because it marched in so suddenly, so precipitate, and with such unholy steps. The reflection of the Taj on some of the tiny stones on the walls of the fort is quite in keeping with the tragic atmosphere, the deep tragedy of Shah Jehan's career, a tragedy which is profound in its pathos and far-reaching in its effect, a tragedy which eventually engulfed the indomitable prowess of the Moghal Empire in India and led to its hasty and indecent burial.

NURSERY SCHOOLS AND THE EDUCATION OF PRE-SCHOOL CHILDREN

By USHA BISWAS M.A., B.T.

ery wise parent, desirous of giving his or her d the right start in life, should not neglect early childhood, the sound training of which s a very important bearing in its future edu- tion. This period of a child's life is considered be very important, both from the physical psychological points of view. It is in early hood that such habits as are likely to make the future happiness and well-being of a d should be developed. Now the problem how to give a child the right sort of training the early period of its childhood, and to om this highly responsible duty is to be en- sted. Neither is the right care of infants an y task. It calls for a good deal of technical wledge as well as skill on the part of an cator. In Bengal, the bulk of the population g ill-educated and poverty-stricken, the rage parent is too poor, ignorant and over- ked to be capable of undertaking this onsibility. Nor do the uneducated parents how how to bring their children up efficiently how to feed and clothe them properly. All mpts to teach them the right ways of doing ngs very often prove futile, as they seldom e to be convinced. Especially it is the dren of the working classes, who are, as a ill-fed, ill-clad and not sufficiently cared for, need to be looked after, while their parents go out for work. Sometimes when the parents are away, the children are left entirely to themselves. Hence the necessity and importance of setting up a number of good nursery schools throughout the Province, where the children of the working people should be taken good care of and should be kept agreeably occupied during the working hours. Besides, by the time the average child is sent to school in Bengal, some of its habits are already formed. The teachers are sometimes hard put to it to cure their pupils of some of their bad habits. This also renders the education of pre-school children absolutely necessary.

In our Province, very few parents are well equipped for this most difficult and responsible task. Only a handful of well-to-do people have the means and wherewithal to provide the ideal environment—food, clothing and space for their children. Even highly educated parents, who have plenty of money and leisure, fail to give their children what the latter can get in a good nursery school. The companionship of other children of the same age, which counts for so much in the training of early childhood, can hardly be secured in every home. In the smaller families especially,

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children are likely to get self-centred and precocious, due to too much indulgence and attention from their elders. Besides, parents cannot be expected to possess the mature experience of the nursery school teachers, gained by dealing with innumerable children of different types.

Apart from the question of expenses that are to be involved in creating the ideal nursery school conditons in a single private home, in the opinion of Mr. Bertrand Russell, such things, "if provided privately for one family of children" are likely to give rise to an undesirable "pride of possession" and a "feeling of superiority" in the minds of those pampered children, which have a very bad moral effect on their future characters. So all parents, whether rich or poor, will do well to send their children to a suitable school from the age of two upwards—at least for a part of the day. Attempts are made at the Froebel and Montessori schools to meet these needs of well-to-do children. Unfortunately, in Bengal, only a very small number of parents are rich enough to afford the expenses of these schools. Besides, there are very few institutions of these types in the rural areas of the Province. The children of the poorer section of the population are, as a rule, debarred from enjoying the mental and physical development, which seems to be the special prerogative of well-to-do children, at the present moment. The budding young lives of the unfortunate children of the poorer classes cannot but be affected, both physically and mentally, by the poverty, ignorance and stupidity of their parents—the unhealthy atmosphere of their wretched homes, reeking of filth and disease—malnutrition, lack of fresh-air and insufficient clothing.

Nursery schools would go a long way towards overcoming the disadvantages of a bad home, and are thus calculated to be of immense service to the poorer section of the population. The neglected children of the working classes may well be admitted into a nursery school from the age of two and allowed to remain there until the age of five or so. Before admission each child is to be subjected to a systematic medical examination. If any physical or organic defect is detected in the course of it, and if it is considered to be amenable to treatment, the nursery school authorities should at once see their way to get it cured in a suitable clinic or a hospital. A good deal of the infant mortality that is taking place in Bengal at the present moment, is expected to be prevented, if a network of nursery schools are started throughout the Province.

A nursery school should constitute "a re[illegible] place of nurture and not merely a place wh[illegible] babies are minded till they are five". A nurse[illegible] school teacher should therefore be fully al[illegible] to the pysical and mental needs of her pup[illegible] and should try to promote the natural grow[illegible] and development of their growing bodies a[illegible] minds. So she must needs be something of [illegible] psychologist too. A nursery school aims at th[illegible] earliest training of children's characters a[illegible] laying the foundation of their future educati[illegible] The older the child grows, the more stress [illegible] laid on the imparting of instruction. T[illegible] medical examination of the pupils of a nurse[illegible] school should take place at least once a mon[illegible] and their physical defects, if any, should [illegible] promptly attended to. Each child is to [illegible] weighed every fortnight. The teachers will [illegible] well to keep a chart for every one of th[illegible] pupils, in which the variations of the height a[illegible] weight are to be regularly recorded. T[illegible] children should remain at a nursery school fro[illegible] 8 o'clock in the morning until 6 o'clock in th[illegible] evening. During these hours, their meals a[illegible] clothing are to be supplied by the school. A[illegible] far as possible, they should have regular hou[illegible] of meals, sleep, work and play. They will th[illegible] be taught to form certain regular habits fro[illegible] early childhood and will learn the value [illegible] time. The necessity and importance of develo[illegible] ing a few healthy and hygienic habits sho[illegible] also be inculcated among the pupils. Spec[illegible] efforts should be made to keep their bodies a[illegible] garments clean. The teachers should alwa[illegible] insist on the children keeping everything n[illegible] and tidy. The latter should always be ma[illegible] to speak, eat, sit and walk properly. Attem[illegible] should also be made to implant certain imp[illegible] tant moral virtues in the minds of the pup[illegible] They should be taught to work and play [illegible] perfect harmony and co-operation with ea[illegible] other—to be helpful to and sympathetic wi[illegible] each other—to be just, truthful, courageo[illegible] straight-forward, and self-reliant. A sou[illegible] training of the senses should form the basis [illegible] the instruction in a nursery school, which shou[illegible] be conducted mainly on the Montessori line[illegible] Instruction may well be imparted to the big[illegible] children through various games and play, [illegible] the purpose of which suitable apparatus a[illegible] appliances are to be provided. The smal[illegible] children should be given plenty of toys to p[illegible] with. The bigger pupils should be taught [illegible] sing and recite simple nursery rhymes a[illegible] verses with suitable action, and to dance a[illegible]

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to the accompaniment of some musical rument. Their musical and rhythmic sense thus be trained from the early years of r infancy. The children of the nursery ols should be made to spend most of their out of doors, and provision should be made plenty of fresh air indoors too. A nice den is therefore quite indispensable to a sery school. Weather permitting, the dren can remain in the garden for major tion of the school hours, playing in the open and tending plants. Thus a love of nature be instilled into their minds from the early rs of their childhood. They may well be d to sow the seeds of different plants in ferent seasons in the small plots to be assign- to them in the school garden. They will get to know the names of the flowers and etables, peculiar to different seasons of the r. In order to familiarise the children with names of the different crops, fruits, flowers, vegetables of the seasons, occasional festi- may well be arranged for in the schools in ferent seasons, and the bigger pupils may asked to take part in these. The children also be called upon to pick flowers every and arrange those in vases. Occasionally may be asked to adorn their own persons well as class-rooms with flowers and wreaths. their aesthetic sense may well be cultiva- from their very chilhood. They may be uraged to have pets of their own and to proper care of them. This will help to t a love of the lower animals and a healthy rest in their lives and habits.

Mr. Bertrand Russell seems to have truly erved,

"The nursery school, if it became universal, could in generation remove the profound differences in educa- which at present divide the classes."

The dearth of these institutions in gal is being keenly felt at the present ent. It is high time that our resources should be pooled, and co-ordinated efforts should be put forth to meet this most pressing need of the country. First and foremost, an adequate number of teachers need to be trained in the nursery school methods. Suitable facilities for training teachers on these lines should be afforded at all the training schools of the Province, so as to enable a sufficient number of women to undergo a specialised course of training and to qualify themselves for teaching in nursery schools. In the event of maintaining nursery schools, as separate institutions, considerable recurring expenditure is likely to be entailed thereby, and this may prove a heavy drain on the financial resources of the country. To reduce the expenditure to a minimum, nursery departments may well be opened in the existing schools, wherever it is possible. As it is the children of the poorer classes, specially, who are expected to derive the maximum of benefit from these institutions, it is desirable that the fees to be charged from the pupils of the nursery schools should be very small.

It is a great pity that in our country the ignorance of the uneducated parents, who are, as a rule, very conservative, militates against the introduction of any innovation in the way of reforming the present-day educational system. They are sure to oppose whatever, in their opinion, runs counter to their time-honoured traditions. So if nursery schools are to be popularised, public opinion is to be educated, first of all. Unless the utility of such institutions is borne in upon the parents, all our efforts in this direction are foredoomed to failure. If the authorities of the schools fail to enlist the sympathy and co-operation of the children's parents, they will find it impossible to keep the institutions going. Besides, no scheme for reform can be carried into effect, unless and until sufficient money is forthcoming both from private and public sources.

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IDEAS BEHIND NUFFIELD COLLEGE

By A. D. LINDSAY

You may have seen something in the papers eighteen months ago of a new and munificent gift of Lord Nuffield's to the University of Oxford. He gave the University a site on the west side of the City and a large endowment, amounting to a gift of a million pounds in all. A College was to be built on this site. It was not, however, to be merely another of the Colleges of Oxford, another new foundation such as, for example, Keble College and Hertford were in the nineteenth century. It was to be a new experiment. For one thing it was to be concerned with research. Its students were all to be reading for Research Degrees. Secondly, its research was to be especially, though not exclusively, in the field of social studies. Thirdly, though it was to be a College with a Warden, Fellows, and students of its own, Fellows' and students' rooms, Dining Hall, Common rooms, Lecture rooms and all the rest of it, it was to be the University's instrument of social research; the University will govern it. Fellows of other Colleges may be made also Fellows of Nuffield. Its facilities for research will be at the disposal of all University teachers in social studies whatever their College. There has not been anything quite like it in Oxford before. And lastly—and this is perhaps the root of the matter—the College is to try a new method of research in the social studies, based on the co-operation of the academic researcher and the practical man of affairs. Let me on this quote Lord Nuffield's words :

> "I have been wondering whether there is any way to bridge the separation between the theoretical students of contemporary Civilization and the men responsible for carrying it on : between the economist, the political theorist, the student of government and administration on the one hand and on the other hand the business man, the politician, the Civil servant and the local government official, not to mention the ordinary everyday man and woman."

This is the root idea behind Nuffield College and I think it is of general interest. Here in Oxford the College has been inspired by two recent experiments which have already had promising results, the Nuffield Medical School and certain experiments of co-operation with men of affairs which our students of politics and economics have been making recently. The Nuffield Medical School was founded to bridge the gulf which the excessive specialisation of modern scientific knowledge has caused between the scientist in the laboratory and the practising doctor in the hospital. It is an elaborate and costly affair because so many highly specialised workers are needed at the same time, but to bring about co-operation between the scientist and the doctor is not difficult in principle. They can meet in the hospital. There is nothing corresponding to the hospital as a natural uniting place for "the theoretical students of contemporary Civilization and the men responsible for carrying it on." The equivalent to the hospital is the world—which disperses rather than unites. Now our economists and students of politics in the last few years have been trying by discussions with and questionings of, men of affairs to check their theories of how men might be expected to behave by finding out what actually happens : and the results of this combination of theory and questioning of the men of affairs have already been remarkable. But, as conducted up till now, this co-operation has limits. It takes time for the theorist and the practical man to understand one another. We hope that the atmosphere and common life of a College will make such co-operation in research more effective.

Nuffield College will be both a place where the theorist and the man of affairs will put their heads together to consider what social problems are in most urgent need of such joint enquiry—an instrument for directing research into fruitful and practical channels—and a place where the programme of research thus planned may be carried out in a more concrete and realistic way than would have been possible without such co-operation. The last year has been spent in planning for the College : the building, we hope, may begin this coming summer, and, though the building will probably not be completed till 1941, we shall make some start in our research from probably next autumn.

I want in this talk to Indian listeners to say something about the general implications of this idea. My conviction about the necessity of some sort of co-operation in social research

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between University teachers and practical men was strengthened in me when I was in India some nine years ago as Chairman of a Commission on Christian Higher Education. The Commission was set the task of making up its mind what should be the function of the Christian Colleges in the life of India. That raised in our minds the more general question of what ought to be the function of Universities in the modern world—the Indian Colleges, it seemed to us, were mainly or almost exclusively pursuing what is, I suppose, the oldest function of Universities, the training of the learned professions and of government administrators no doubt an important and essential function. But the Colleges did not seem to be doing much besides that, and there was no evidence that the community expected them to do anything else. But at the same time we were struck, as anyone would be, by the crying need for scientific and scholarly knowledge which existed in the community. There were all sorts of things the members of the Christian community wanted to learn: the solution of economic problems, of educational problems, of political and administrative as well as of theological questions, and no one supposed it was the business of the University or College to supply the answers to these questions, and yet no institution were more fitted to supply the knowledge needed for those subjects than the Colleges. They taught them, and it would help their teaching if the teachers were at the same time to be researchers and researchers. So we recommended in our report that there should be in those Christian colleges in India what we called a Department of Extension and Research, research to find out the answers to the questions asked and extension to see that the answers were got across to the people who needed the knowledge, and we wanted it arranged that on the board which ran this department there should be both a University professor and the teacher or worker or leader of the village community. I am told that this part of our report has been very adopted in India, and I have read some very interesting reports of research arising out of its adoption.

There is the same sort of idea in India as in Nuffield College that research in social sciences should be carried out by the co-operation of theorists and practical men, and not carried out in a University or College. Is there any reason why this idea of co-operation between the practical man and the theorist should be more necessary in social studies than in other branches of knowledge ?

The urgent need for research in social studies is a mark of the changing civilisation in which we live. Societies which are largely ruled by custom don't need it. Their problems are solved by skill, not by knowledge. But as our civilisation becomes more complex and changes more quickly, we become more and more conscious of the need for knowledge if we are to solve the problems with which we are continually confronted. This consciousness of need has produced an enormous increase in research into social matters. There is hardly a University in the world which has not in the last fifty years largely increased its staff in economics and politics. Immense sums of money have been devoted in the years since the war to research in social studies. But how disappointing have been the results. The failure of all this effort is seen most clearly in the fact that the practical man is apt to speak of the economist with scorn as a necessarily unpractical theorist.

Why has this happened ? In the physical sciences knowledge is power ! Why is it apparently not so in the social sciences?

For one thing, of course, in studying society we are studying something of almost infinite complication, where what happens is the result of the interplay of a large number of different factors, where experiment is almost impossible, and the abstraction usually necessary to obtain scientific accuracy, impossible. Economics, for example, tends to become scientific only if it becomes remote from reality.

But there is another difference between the social and the physical sciences which is more important. In the physical sciences knowledge is power, because from knowing the forces of nature we can use them to our purposes. But mere knowledge of social facts will not give us power to change them. We cannot as it were direct our electric charge through society and bring about the changes we desire. We need the wide-spread will to change, going with the accurate knowledge of circumstances. The economist can often explain how certain evils could be avoided if certain things were done which there is not the least prospect of society doing. Fruitful social reform depends partly on knowing what people are actually prepared to do; that is not a matter of scientific knowledge but of social judgment. But the practical men with social judgment often do not understand the far-reaching implications of social action. For that the theorist is needed.

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Purely scientific social analysis is normally too remote and unpractical: practical politics unchecked by scientific analysis is usually perverted by prejudice and wishful thinking. The Universities ought to furnish a place sufficiently removed from the emotional stresses of politics to make impartial investigation possible. Left to themselves the University researchers tend to study only the remoter and more abstract aspects of social questions. But if active co-operation can be brought about in the atmosphere of a University or College between the man of affairs and the theorist, it ought to be possible to turn the scientific mind on to the questions with which people are anxious and ready to deal, and if that happens the reproach of the uselessness of social research will be taken away.

[This article is a full summary of a recent talk broadcast by the British Broadcasting Corporation in their Empire Programme and published exclusively in India by *The Modern Review*.]

INDIAN IMMIGRATION INTO BURMA

By P. M. ISAAC

THE passing of the motion in the House of Representatives in Burma that "this House recommends to the Government that a Committee with a non-official majority consisting of all political parties in Burma be appointed immediately to examine the question of immigration into Burma" has given rise to a considerable amount of discussion in the Burmese papers. The immigration question, no doubt, has been prominent in the public mind for some time and the Burma Riot Enquiry Committee in its Interim Report has drawn special attention to this, pointing out that there has been a widespread uneasiness among Burmans about Indian penetration into Burma.

Under the Government of Burma (Immigration) Order of 1937, there could be no restriction for a minimum of three years from the date of Separation and the above Order was not to be terminated at the end of that period without twelve months' notice from the Government of Burma to the Government of India. The Government of Burma have been in communication with the Indian Government regarding the immigration question and have finally agreed to conduct an enquiry. The Hon'ble Mr. Baxter, Financial Adviser, has been appointed the sole Commissioner, with one Burman and one Indian attached to him as assessors. The enquiry will be conducted on the following lines:

1. To ascertain the volume of Indian Immigration.
2. To what extent it is seasonal and temporary and to what extent permanent.
3. In what occupations Indians are mainly employed and the extent to which they are unemployed or under-employed.
4. Whether in such employment Indians either have displaced Burmans or could be replaced by Burmans, due regard being paid to both the previous history of such occupations and their economic requirements.
5. Whether in the light of the statistics obtained and other relevant factors any system of equating the supply of Indian unskilled labour to Burman requirements is needed.

The problem of immigration, of course, is not a new one. But only recently has it assumed such great importance that a constant agitation is going on against the influx of Indians into Burma. The following extract from a Burmese newspaper is typical of the seriousness of the agitation that is going on in this country:

"It is well known that the unrestricted immigration of foreigners into Burma has disorganized the social, economic and religious structure of Burmese society..... Political separation from India was demanded by Burma primarily to be able to deal with this question of immigration.....Owing to the absence of such legislation (immigration laws) in Burma there has been Burmese unemployment, alienation of land, the marriage of Burmese women with foreigners giving rise to a race of hybrids, and Burmese-Muslim disturbances...."

The political, economic and racial difficulties which have assumed a greater proportion in recent years in Burma make it difficult for giving a dispassionate consideration to this important issue. In fact, the incompleteness of reliable statistical data has made the problem much more difficult and prejudicial.

At the very outset it should be understood that to carry out any enterprise successfully, be it agricultural, trade, commercial or industrial, a sufficient and efficient labour force is essential. Few countries in the world depend so much on imported labour as does Burma. Indian labour was formerly a blessing to the Burmans labourers because the latter were unprepared at that stage to build the railways, man the

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ories and steamers, etc. Hence a condition "non-competing groups" prevailed and Indian labourers actually raised the standard living of the Burmans. Now-a-days, the indigenous population of Burma has increased such an extent that the "non-competing groups" have ceased to exist as such, and very occupations are left without indigenous competitors. It is problematical, however, if withdrawal of Indians at the present stage would be economically beneficial to the country. the Burmese labourers have the same standard of efficiency as the Indians, then there would no doubt be an increase in marginal productivity for Burmans.

The most important argument advanced against the influx of Indian labour seems to be that it has been unfairly competing against the local Burmese labour. A cursory perusal of the economic history of Burma would show that Indian labourers came to Burma not because they could accept lower wages but because there was an unusually large demand for them when Burma opened up for economic development with wages considerably higher than in India. They would not accept low wages, in India or elsewhere, if they could get higher wages. In fact, they would not have been employed unless they did the same work for the same or less wages compared to indigenous labour.

The total number of Indians resident outside India, within the British Empire, is approximately 3.3 millions and the number of those outside the British Empire is about 100,000. Estimating the total population of India to be 350 millions the number of Indian nationals residing outside India, therefore, is less than one-hundredth part of the total. Unlike several thickly populated countries of the West, agricultural India will not find it difficult to support this additional number if others come to a head.

In Burma, according to the 1931 Census report, for every 1,000 people engaged in raw material production (all kinds of workers included) 44 are Indians; in transport for the same number 457 are Indians; in industry 158 are Indians and in trade their number is 172. These figures must have gone down very much during the last few years. On the population basis the proportion of Indians employed in agriculture is very much less, while in the rest mentioned above, their number is more. After the Indo-Burma riot of 1930, marked changes have taken place in the employment of Indian labour. Gradually more and more Burmese labour is being used in various industries and in course of time imported labour has to give way to indigenous labour. But leaders in this country want to see spectacular changes brought about immediately, little caring to find out what the effect of any such sudden changes would lead to.

It is beyond doubt that the economic life of Rangoon and the industrial activity of Burma are largely dependent on Indian labour. India supplies a large number of rickshaw pullers, handcart pullers, dock labourers, mill workers, private and municipal sanitary workers and agricultural labourers. The most conspicuous among the Rangoon labourers are the Telugus who perform a major share of the work in all the above except the last. Chittagonians are employed in large numbers in inland steamer traffic, small water craft and sampans. Some of the Chittagonians also work in mills. The Uriyas are mostly employed in construction works such as railways and road. They also have a share in the oilfield works and lead mines. Some of the Uriyas work in tramways and motor buses too. Tamils and Hindustanies are less prominent in industries. Among the former are many domestic servants while among the latter many are employed as peons and durwans.

One of the most significant developments in recent time has been the tendency on the part of the Burmans to take up work which until recently has been exclusively carried on by Indians. So long as there were more attractive and remunerative alternatives the Burmans neither liked nor cared to do monotonous unskilled work. But now the economic pressure has forced them to take up jobs which under normal conditions they would not have liked to do. It is this economic pressure that has been the cause of the present antagonistic attitude towards the Indian immigrant labour. Apart from the large number of municipal and private sanitary workers there are in Rangoon several thousand rickshaw pullers and handcart pullers. The indigenous people have not so far shown any desire to take up these works and therefore they have apparently no legitimate complaint against this section of immigrants. In inland water traffic and sampan work there is not much competition though at present Burmans do sampan work along the Twante Canal. Gradually it is possible for Burmans to take up this job as well. But the demand for a large number of immigrant labour will continue to exist for some years to come in this direction too.

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It should not be forgotten, however, that the Indian labourer has contributed much to the economic development of Burma. He came at a time when his co-operation was most needed; even though it was not without selfish motive that he came. Burmese opinion in recent years has been in favour of the employment of Burmans wherever possible—a legitimate desire indeed. But before adopting such a policy there are several factors which are to be carefully considered. To lay down any definite policy for the future, without weighing the various effects will be suicidal.

If Burma is going to control or regulate unassisted immigration by placing artificial barriers, then it would jeopardize the future relationship between India and Burma. In the past the demand for Indian labour has been very great. Even now this demand cannot entirely be made to disappear but it can only be reduced. What is urgently needed is reliable statistical information. It is confidently hoped that the Baxter Commission would go into the whole issue and collect the necessary data to arrive at a satisfactory solution which while benefiting Burma, will not rob the Indians of their legitimate demands.

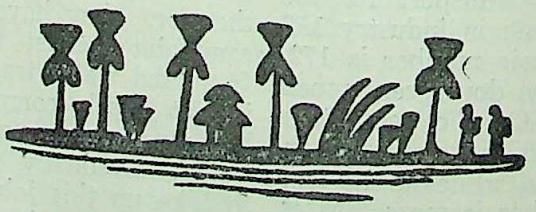
To get reliable figures for agricultural labour will be one of the most difficult problems but, if anything profitable is to be achieved, such information, even though it might involve a good deal of skill and patience, should by all means be gathered. Until and unless one is in a position to find out how many immigrant labourers are actually required in this land, who could maintain a reasonable standard of living and be employed throughout the year, a sound working policy for future immigration cannot be formulated.

Whatever may be the future policy of the Government of Burma in regard to immigrant labour, the immigrant labourers should be assured satisfactory working conditions. The drawbacks of immigrant labour in this land at present are manifold. They are looked down upon as foreigners; they are leaderless, heterogeneous, unorganized and scarcely vocal. The *Maistry* system that is prevalent in Burma saps their life-blood and lastly the presence of a large labour force with inadequate protection tends to lower their standard of life and health.

The labourers have been treated with indifference in the past. Their welfare has been neglected. Added to these they have been looked upon as unwanted intruders. They have been subjected to malicious and malignant attacks. It is high time that both the employers and the Government assume more responsibility and protect these unfortunates who have contributed so much to the prosperity of this country.

Since 1927, the tendency for immigration of Indian labour has been one of decline. The decline has been very phenomenal since 1930. The new edition of Furnivall's *Political Economy of Burma* shows that emigration exceeded immigration in 1930, 1931 and 1933. Also it is authoritatively learnt from the Port Health Department, that immigration into Rangoon only, in 1938, was 188,703, and emigration 220,276 or a net emigration of 31,573. This means—barring surprising figures from other ports for 1938—that since 1930 more people have left Burma than have entered it. Again in Burma, Hindus at least, have more deaths than births. So there are two reasons for expecting a decline in Indian population in Burma.

In course of time, therefore, even if no restriction is made, Burma will not be looked upon as a land for employment as any further economic development of Burma can take place with indigenous labour. Secondly, the atmosphere surrounding the immigrant labourer is surcharged with prejudice, not to mention the unsatisfactory economic condition of the labourers.



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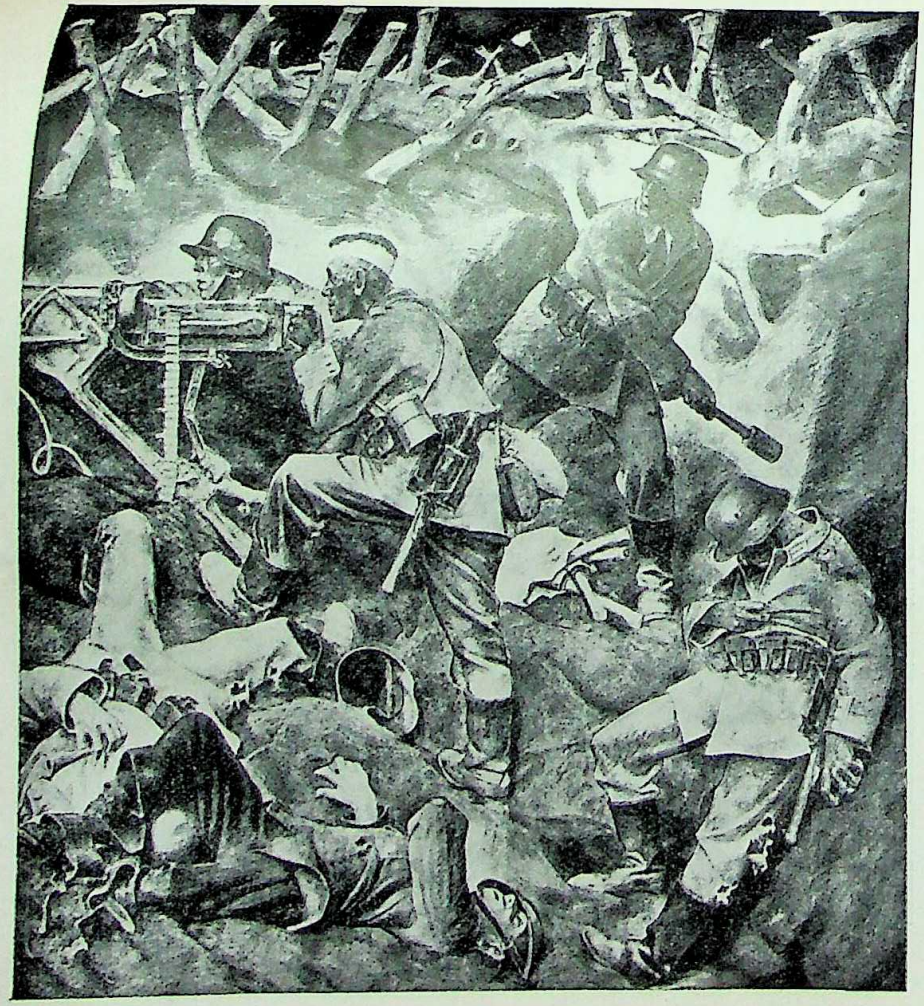

Machine-gun attack

Fighting against Tanks

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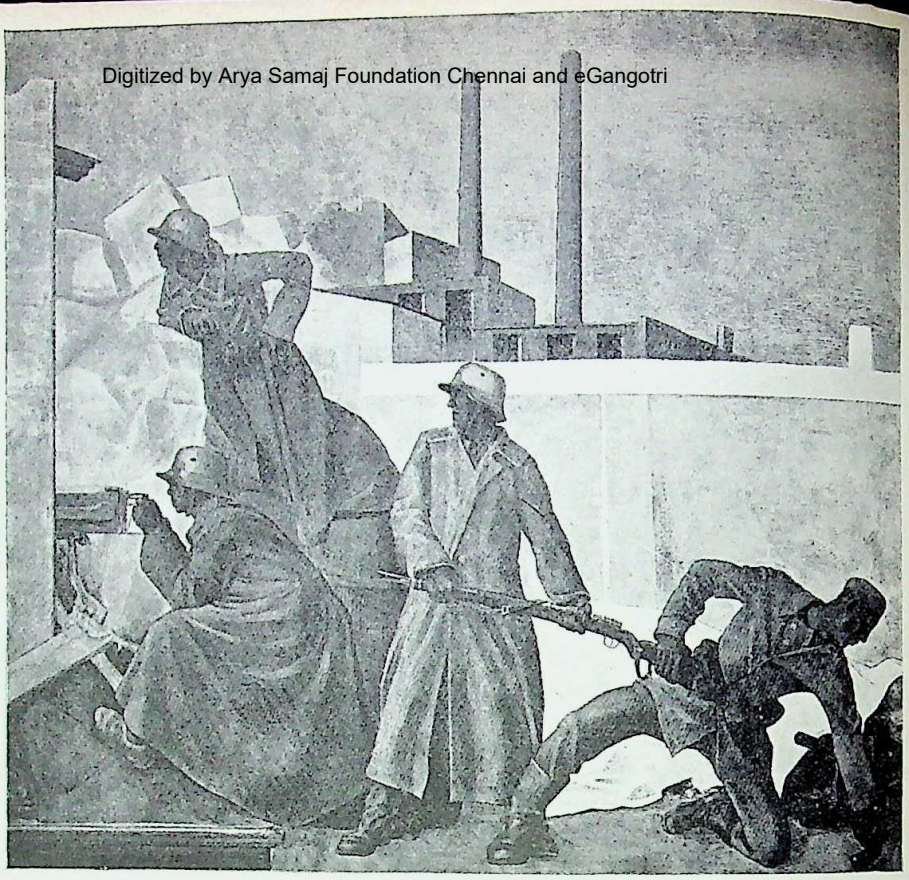

Street-fighting

A Soldier's funeral

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Book Reviews

Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in THE MODERN REVIEW. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.—Editor, THE MODERN REVIEW.

ENGLISH

THE FOLLOWING OF CHRIST: *The Spiritual ...y of Gerard Groote (1340-1384), Founder of the ...hren and Sisters of the Common Life. Translated into ...glish from original Netherlandish texts as edited by ...mas van Ginneken, S.J., of the Catholic University of ...ragen, by Joseph Malaise, S.J., America Press, 53 Park ...ce, New York. Price not mentioned.*

This book is substantially the work which is generally ...wn as the *Imitation of Christ* by Thomas a Kempis. ...mas a Kempis was in reality the editor of the book, ...e author being Gerard Groote.

Though the diary was written by a devout Roman ...holic, it has provided spiritual sustenance for many ...ons who do not profess any form of Christianity and ...continue to do so. The language of the English ...lation is simple and elegant.

Being printed in big type on thin opaque paper, the ...k can be easily carried in one's pocket or handbag, ...ugh it contains nearly 300 pages.

MAHATMA GANDHI: *Essays and Reflections on his ...e and Work, Presented to him on his Seventieth Birth-...y. Edited by Sir S. Radhakrishnan. George Allen & ...win, Ltd., Museum Street, London. Price 7s. 6d. net.*

This book is to be presented to Mahatma Gandhi on ...s seventieth Birthday, October 2, 1939. It contains essays ...d reflections on his life and work by more than sixty ...ters, including C. F. Andrews, Pearl S. Buck, Bhagavan ...s, Albert Einstein, John Haynes Holmes, George Lans-...ry, Gilbert Murray, Romain Rolland, J. C. Smuts, and ...ndranath Tagore. The editor has contributed a long ...d thoughtful introduction.

It is a valuable work, showing in what diverse ways ...hatma Gandhi's life, work and personality have appealed ...the intellect, the imagination and the aspirations of men ...rious parts of the world. If it were not already very ...ly accepted that Mahatma Gandhi is one of the greatest ...alities of modern times, this book would produce ...conviction in the reader's mind.

The editor begins his Introduction by observing:

"The greatest fact in the story of man on earth is ...his material achievements, the empires he has built ...d broken, but the growth of his soul from age to age ...n search for truth and goodness. Those who take ...n in this adventure of the soul secure an enduring ...e in the history of human culture. Time has dis-...ed heroes as easily as it has forgotten everyone else; ...the saints remain. The greatness of Gandhi is more ...his holy living than in his heroic struggles, in his insistence on the creative power of the soul and its life-giving quality at a time when the destructive forces seem to be in the ascendant."

These observations contain a great part of the truth, not the whole truth. There have been, and there may even now be, persons who have led lives as holy as and holier than the life led by Mahatma Gandhi who are not as great as he and some of whom are quite unknown to fame. It is Mahatmaji's endeavour, successful in great part, to keep his sainthood intact in the midst of his heroic political struggles which constitutes the essence of his greatness.

Mr. C. F. Andrews thinks that

"The two things whereby Mahatma Gandhi's name will live, hundreds of years hence, are (1) his Khaddar programme, and (2) his practice of Satyagraha.

"(1) He has been the first, in this modern, machine age, to revive among the agricultural people of the world on a vast scale the practice of village industries.....

"(2) By his supremely original and personal advocacy of Ahmisa he has shown the world that it is possible today to overcome even the violence of war by the purely voluntary suffering of corporate moral resistance called Satyagraha....."

Dr. Bhagavan Das observes:

"Mahatma Gandhi, our greatest moral force, our greatest tapas-force today, has only to add to that the *intellectual* force of what the ancient *vidya* teaches on the subject of Social Organization. He will then succeed in saving India, and will make her a shining example for the West to copy, instead of a reflection, and a pale and distorted reflection, too, of that Wests' own features."

Writing on "Gandhi's statesmanship," Dr. Albert Einstein observes:—

"Gandhi is unique in political history. He has invented an entirely new and humane technique for the liberation struggle of an oppressed people and carried it out with the greatest energy and devotion.....

"We are fortunate and should be grateful that fate has bestowed upon us so luminous a contemporary—a beacon to the generations to come."

Summarizing Gandhiji's achievements, in his brief essay on "The Nature of Gandhi's Greatness," the Rev. John Haynes Holmes observes in conclusion:

"Lastly, there remains Gandhi's supreme achievement of taking the principle of 'non-violent resistance' and transforming it into a technique for the accomplishment of liberty, justice, and peace upon the earth. What other men have taught as a personal discipline, Gandhi has transformed into a social programme for the redemption of the world."

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M. Romain Rolland's tribute concludes thus :

"And we, intellectuals, men of science, men of letters, artists, we who are also working, within the limits of our feeble strength, to prepare for the mind that "City of all men, where reigns the 'Truce of God'"—we who are "the third order" (to use the language of the Church) and who belong to the panhumanist confraternity, we offer our fervent homage of love and veneration to our master and brother, Gandhi, who is realizing, in the heart and in action, our ideal of humanity to come."

And, finally, another extract from the book.

Under the heading "The Poet's verdict" appears the following paragraph from the pen of the Poet, Rabindranath Tagore :

"Occasionally there appear in the arena of politics makers of history, whose mental height is above the common level of humanity. They wield an instrument of power, which is almost physical in its compelling force and often relentless, exploiting the weakness in human nature —its greed, fear, or vanity. When Mahatma Gandhi came and opened up the path of freedom for India, he had no obvious medium of power in his hand, no overwhelming authority of coercion. The influence which emanated from his personality was ineffable, like music, like beauty. Its claim upon others was great because of its revelation of a spontaneous self-giving. This is the reason why our people have hardly ever laid emphasis upon his natural cleverness in manipulating recalcitrant facts. They have rather dwelt upon the truth which shines through his character in lucid simplicity. This is why, though his realm of activity lies in practical politics, people's minds have been struck by the analogy of his character with that of the great masters, whose spiritual inspiration comprehends and yet transcends all varied manifestations of humanity, and makes the face of worldliness turn to the light that comes from the eternal source of wisdom."

INDIAN PHILOSOPHY AND MODERN CULTURE: *By Paul Brunton. Rider & Co., Paternoster House, London, E.C. 3s. 6d. net.*

This lucidly written small volume consists of two parts. Part I treats of Indian Monism and Western Thought, and Part II, of Indian Idealist Metaphysics. Students will find it valuable, as it contains many quotations from Sanskrit works (translated into simple English) which may be compared with and correlated to Western ideas. The book confirms the impression that "the soul of the world is one."

REVIEW OF WORLD TRADE, 1938 : *League of Nations, Geneva.*

This edition of the *Review of World Trade*, published in May, this year, contains a general synopsis of trade during 1938 and a comparison of the figures for that year with those of the immediately preceding years.

The volume contains a summary of results, value and quantum of world trade in the years 1929-1938, trade by main groups of articles, trade by continental groups, trade by countries, geographical distribution of trade, remarks on the relationship between the prices and quantities of goods entering into trade, trade in staple products, and three Annexes, *viz.*, value, price and quantum of world trade, national price and quantum indices of imports and exports, exchange rates used for conversion of annual trade figures to U. S. A. (old) Gold Dollars, and World Trade by countries and continental groups.

D.

GAUTAMA BUDDHA : *By Iqbal Singh. Boriswood London. Pp. 1-376. Printed in Great Britain. Illustrated Price 15s. net.*

The book is divided into five parts which are as follows: Part I—The World of the Buddha. Part II—(1) Maya's Dream and the Nativity of the Buddha, (2) The Republic of Kapilavastu, (3) Some Early Events, (4) The Pursuit of Pleasure, (5) The Crisis and Renunciation, (6) After Strange Gods, (7) Enlightenment, (8) Turning the Wheel of Doctrine, (9) Growth of the Order, (10) Years of Wandering and a Day, (11) Fools in the Order, (12) The Great Decease, and (13) Posthumous Postscript. Part III—The word of the Buddha which consists of three sections, (*a*) the Wheel, (*b*) the Way and (*c*) the Vow. Part IV—The Word made Flesh. Part V—The Buddha in a Changing World. Then come Epilogue, Acknowledgments, Bibliography, Index and a few illustrations, as head of Budha, *Bodhisattva* of the blue lotus, wood nymph, Buddha in shrine, death of Buddha, landscape and listening to music. The last two illustrations are comparatively modern. The author ought to have said a word about the *Piprawa Vase Inscription* which is the oldest of the Records which dispels all doubt as to the authenticity of Buddha's personal history and of his connection with the Sakyas. He ought to have shown the importance of the *Rummindei Pillar Inscription* in writing a biography of the Buddha. His section on Kapilavastu is a summary of what Rhys Davids has said in his Buddhist India. In his chapter on crisis and renunciation, the author has not referred to the *Ariyapariyesana Sutta* of the *Majjhima Nikaya* (Vol. I) which contains a somewhat different story as to Siddhartha's stealing out of the Palace of Suddhodana at Kapilavastu on horseback. The author ought to have discussed to some extent as to the age when *Siddhartha* renounced the world. The earlier and later accounts all agree in saying that the causes that led *Siddhartha* to pass from home to homelessness were not any personal bereavement, loss of fortune, want of wordly enjoyments and fear of any personal or earthly power. The cause was entirely a mental one. The author has failed to discuss this point too. His chapter on years of wandering and a day is incomplete. He has not mentioned many important *parivrajakas* or monks who had discussions with Buddha on many matters, religious and secular. I should like to draw the readers' attention to my work, *Historical Gleanings* (Chaps. 2 & 3). The author has not said much about the Buddha's disciples. However, the book is popularly written. The author himself has admitted that the bibliography is not exhaustive but the omission of Kern's *Manual of Indian Buddhism* is very much regrettable. It is a standard work on the subject. The book under review is mainly based on English translations and the author has not cared to consult the original texts. There are some inaccuracies, *e.g.*, *Maya Hall* (p. 75), *Hinduism and Buddha* (p. 359), *Paticcasamupada* (p. 282), *Patticcasamupadda* (p. 362), *Dhammacakkapavatana* (p. 366). The author ought to use diacritical marks in any future edition. In spite of all these inaccuracies it is a good book for the general reader and the style is simple.

B. C. LAW

THE NATIONALITY OF MARRIED WOMEN : *W. E. Waltz, Illinois Study of Social Sciences. Published by the University of Illinois at Urbana. $1.50.*

The problem treated in this volume has acquired great importance in recent years. The distribution of territory consequent upon the continued state of war is no less responsible than the exclusive laws of naturalisation of the confusion that exists in the status of married women

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conference for the codification of International Law in gave prominence to the above question. Thirty Gov- ments of the world answered the questionnaire and ous international women's organisations contributed portant data. The League Secretariat has since then them. Other materials lie scattered. This is probably the first of its kind to use previous rials, arrange them scientifically and bring out the of view of the State, the individual married woman the international society. The chapters dealing with ality of sexes under common law and statutory regula- are very comprehensive. I strongly recommend this ture to all students of sociology for implementation the Indian position.

DHURJATIPRASAD MUKERJI

THE AWAKENING OF INDIAN WOMEN: *By adevi Chattopadhyaya and others. Published by man's Press, Broadway, Madras. Price Re 1-8.*

Women's movement in India is of comparatively growth, but it has already made a tremendous ess by its extent and vigour. So the publication book which is perhaps the first systematic and hensive compilation of the origin, growth and opment of the women's movement in India is wel- to all interested in the women's cause in India. contributors are all well-known as pioneer workers movement and can, therefore, speak with autho- on all subjects concerning the women's question. opening chapters deal with every aspect of the n's question—enfranchisement, education and child- age, purdah and prostitution, workers and wages, and motherhood. In the next chapter Kamala- gives an interesting account of Imperialism and struggle. The second part of the book opens with cle by Mrs. Margaret E. Cousins on the progress dom movement of the women in India. In this the other contributions are: Art in Early Indian by Mrs. Sakuntala Thampi, Women's Disabilities in by Shyam Kumari Nehru, Indian Indigenous ies by Mrs. Jayashiben Raiji and last not least, sketch of Maharani Shree Jijabai Bhonsle, of Chhatrapati Shivaji, by H. H. Maharani of Indore. The contributions cover a variety of and give an indication of the progress and among the women of the country. Though not agree with all the arguments and proposals ward in favour of women's emancipation in India, cannot but appreciate the part played by Indian in the freedom movement of the country and as this compilation will be found an interesting study. t-up and prnting leave nothing to be desired.

SUKUMAR RANJAN DAS

THE BESANT SPIRIT: *Published by the Theoso- Publishing House, Adyar, Madras. 1938-39. In volumes. Priced at annas ten each, two volumes Re. 1. and three for Re. 1-6.*

These handy volumes have been mainly compiled the works of Dr. Annie Besant, and the selections care and intelligence in grasping the Besant Spirit. Besant adopted India as her own country and she to its service the finest years of her life. Her no less than her silent sacrifice was harnessed of India and her intellectual and moral equip- precluded the possibility of any narrowness of out- Her vision extended to politics and sociology, edu- religion, science and art, and the first volume deals with her observations on these topics. The second volume confines itself to a more detailed discussion of education in India, and it is bound to be of special interest to all workers in the field of education; the principles enunciated will bear scrutiny. The third volume is directly concerned with the problems of national work for India's freedom, problems which were to her more than of merely academic interest. Our national workers of the present day would derive from these volumes liberal ideas which might at least serve for a basis for discussion. It will be found that there is still much to learn from these volumes, not only by way of inspiration but also in the method of approach and even in small detailed observations.

Each of the volumes begins with a suitable introduction from one of her closest associates, and the three together constitute a fine flower of theosophy in India.

P. R. SEN

CANADA AND INDIA: *By Sir Firoz Khan Noon, K.C.I.E., with a Foreword by the Marquess of Zetland. Oxford University Press, 1939. Pp. 140. Price 4s. 6d.*

Sir Firoz Khan Noon, the High Commissioner for India in London, recently paid a visit to Canada in response to an invitation from the National Council of Education of Canada. The present volume contains an interesting account of his tour the object of which was, to use his own words, "to try to promote, as far as possible, the spirit of friendship and co-operation which ought to exist among peoples living in different parts of the British Empire."

The author's survey of what he saw of men and institutions in Canada is both readable and instructive, and will amply repay perusal. His impressions of Canadian constitution, government, taxation, education and prohibition and cognate questions are particularly illuminating. His reflections on India appear, however, to be those of an avowed admirer of the British Government, and an Indian reader can not help feeling that the book may easily be mistaken for a good bit of publicity and loyalist propaganda for the British Empire. Some of his statements regarding the present Indian constitution are palpably propagandist. A few may be quoted at random. "Today we should be fighting not only for the King, but also for ourselves, because *the Government of the Country is in our own hands.*" (Italics ours). "The British have handed over to the people of India *an enormous amount of wealth intact.*" (Italics ours). "Britain has *continuously followed a set policy of fostering representative institutions in India from the beginning of her connection with that country.*" (Italics ours). "Our Indian ministries have inherited from the British *a very sound system of taxation.*" (Italics ours). "We in India greatly appreciate the benefit we have gained by association with the British, and we know that India without British assistance would never have attained her present economic and political position," etc., etc.

In fairness to the distinguished author, it may be added that he has frankly apologised for his ardent defence of the British Government in India in the following words, "My effort has been to expose the beautiful side of the picture, as there decidedly is one." This apology apparently implies the author's full knowledge of the fact that there is a dark side of the picture too!

NANDALAL CHATTERJI

RISE AND FALL OF MUHAMMAD BIN TUGHLAQ: *By Dr. Mahdi Husain, Lecturer, Agra College.*

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Luzac & Co., 46, Great Russel Street, London, W.C.1. Pp. 274+xv. Price Rs. 15.

None amongst the early Sultans of Delhi has excited greater curiosity and surprise than Muhammad Bin Tughlaq. Endowed with many qualities of head and heart, undoubted capacity in war and a rare versatility of intellect, Muhammad Bin Tughlaq yet shattered to pieces the fabric of the far-flung Delhi Empire. His strange career has therefore provoked keen curiosity to which we owe the present work and its predecessor *Qarauna Turks.*

The present work is based entirely on original Persian sources and marks an advance over its predecessor only in so far as it has explored and utilised new sources, but in respect of analysis and appraisal of facts, comparatively detached opinions and estimates, the present work may be said to yield the palm to its predecessor the *Quarauna Turks* of Dr. Ishwari Prasad. Be it said to the credit of the present writer, Dr. Husain, he has amply shown his love of learning and scholarship by discovering new Persian MSS. that throw light on the career of Muhammad Bin Tughlaq, *e.g., Fatuh-us-Salatin,* the fragmentary MS. of *Manaqib Muhammad Bin Tughlaq.* He has also utilised for the first time a few printed texts and MSS., *viz., Basatin-ul uns, Tughlaq nama, Siyarul-awlia, etc.* We are, however, sorry to state that in his zeal for portraying the hero of his work in a better light, the learned author has often mis-estimated the prime authorities and misinterpreted facts.

It would not do well to pass an adverse opinion lightly upon a thesis which was approved for the doctorate degree of the University of London, we would therefore say a few words in support of our comment. The three contemporary authorities of this reign are Zia Barani, Isami and Ibn Batuta. In the opinion of the present author, all of them were seriously prejudiced against the Sultan—Barani for the Sultan's severity against the Sheikhs and Ulemas; Isami for the harsh treatment and consequent death of his grandfather Izzuddin Isami, and his connection with the Sultan's enemy, Alauddin Hasan; Ibn Batuta for subjection to personal restraint by the Sultan. Dr. Husain, however, entirely ignores the other side of the shield. Zia Barani was the friend and trusted counsellor of the Sultan who consulted him often for advice and guidance; Zia was "maintained and supported by the Sultan and had received such gifts and favours from him as he could not conceive even in a dream." His only regret was that the King shed the blood of the Mussalmans and promoted low-born men. Had the Sultan been free from these faults, Zia would have deemed him to be incomparable as a King (*misal Sultan Muhammad badshahe aj shekam madar najadahast*). Isami's narrative, written in verse as it is, has become necessarily coloured in places; but divested of metaphor, it agrees substantially with that of Zia and Ibn Batuta. The author's condemnation of the Moorish traveller, too, is one-sided and lacks sufficient basis. Dr. Husain has entirely ignored the fact that Ibn Batuta's estrangement was only temporary, and the traveller was not merely reconciled and restored to favour but chosen as an envoy to China, where he was sent off in semi-regal splendour. Besides, Ibn Batuta had been the Qazi of Delhi for seven years and was the recipient of boundless munificence at the hands of the Sultan. Yet our author would accuse the "prince of medieval Muslim travellers" of a bias not for but against his patron.

From this prejudiced estimate of the authorities, has sprung the wrong conclusions and misstatements which have vitiated this thesis and which are too many to be cited here. We can give only a few illustrations. Tar-shirin's invasion of India is attested by Isami, a contemporary witness, by Yahiya and all the later Mus-chroniclers like Nizamuddin, Badauni, Ferishta. But Dr. Husain would consider it to be a myth. Similarly, he would not accept the account of depopulation of Delhi testified to by the three contemporary authorities, because two wells were excavated by two Hindu families, at a *distance of a few miles from Delhi* and Jahnapana was completed in 1326-7, the year of the transfer of capital. He accepts the account of ambitious schemes of the Conquest of Persia and Qarajal to be true, but he ascribes the failure of the latter expedition to Malik Khusru, C.-in-C. who (according to our author) "transgressed the royal order and led the army into Tibet." This precious information is, however, based on *Imp. Gaz.* Vol. XVI and not on any of the contemporary or later Persian chronicles.

Space does not permit us to criticise other views, but we cannot allow the author's remarks on Muhammad Bin Tughlaq's consideration and sympathy for the Hindus to pass unchallenged. Muhammad Tughlaq, remarks Dr. Husain, refrained from waging war against the Rajas and Hindus. He is said to have created Hindu rule in Jawhar, Karauli and in other parts of the Empire. The Sultan waged aggressive wars against the Hindus admits of no doubt. As the Crown Prince he extinguished the Kakatiya dynasty of Warangal and the Rajas of Nagarkot, of Qarajal, of Kondana (modern Sinhagarh). Orissa had to bear the brunt of his attack. The Hindu rebels of Samana, Kaithal, Kuhram were not merely pillaged but their Muqaddams, Sardars and bands of Bhattis, Mundahirs, Bhattis, etc., were transplanted to Delhi with their families from their old habitation. They were *converted to Islam,* compelled to fix abode in the Capital. oppressive *abwabs* were levied on the Gangetic Doab and Maharastra, yet our author would say that the "Sultan's policy towards the Hindus was not one of aggression."

The misconception of Muhammad Bin Tughlaq's liberal policy towards the Hindus on which both the present treatise and *Qarauna Turks* have waxed eloquent seems to have arisen from Ibn Batuta's incidental reference to Sati and the Sultan's presence in the company of two Jogis. On the former, Ibn Batuta only says that "when it (Sati) occurred in the Sultan's dominions, the people sought his permission to burn her which he granted" (Ibn Batuta, III, p. 137). From this the conclusion was made that the Sultan tried to stop the horrible practice of Sati. On the subject of the Sultan's meeting with the Jogis, Ibn Batuta saw the King once only. their company, and one of the Jogis performed a miracle by rising upwards from his seat, sitting cross-legged and swinging in the air above their heads, whereupon the Qazi fainted; this does not necessarily mean that the Sultan strayed away from the path of orthodoxy and religious discourses with these infidels. On the other hand, the Sultan himself testifies to his orthodoxy in his memoirs by saying that though he had coquetted for some time with philosophy (*ilm maaqulat*) he had come back to the strict orthodox Sunni faith, with his zeal for Islam only redoubled. He removed the Mubtadain from Delhi to Daulatabad, paid such an abject homage to the Khalifa's envoys that it scandalised his courtiers, who treated the Hindus as inferiors (*Zimmis*) for when the King of China sought his permission to build a Buddhist temple near Qarajal, the Sultan rejected the petition, saying "*if thou will pay the Jaziya, we shall empower you to build it; and peace be on those who follow the Guidance.*"

Again, the Sultan imposed on Muslim merchants

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bringing horses into Sindh and Multan, the legal tribute, whereas the infidel merchants had to pay a tenth (p. & S. II). Yet Dr. Husain would credit the Sultan with a liberal policy like that of Akbar.

We would conclude our remarks by saying that Muhammad fell not because he was insane or foolish but because he had olympic conceit and was unpractical. Zia Barani's words, *Ana Otaghairy* (*I am without a Peer*) explain, like *L'e lat cest moi* in the case of Louis XIV, the reign and character of this capricious tyrant of Medieval India.

N. B. RAY

THE BROTHERHOOD OF RELIGIONS: *By Sophia Wadia, with a brief foreword by Mahatma Gandhi. Published by International Book House; Ash Lane, Bombay, India.*

It is a series of lectures delivered by the author under different auspices on religious topics and also on founders of religion. The purpose of the book is to show that, properly understood, religion is a universal truth appearing under various guise; and that the differing and warring religions are only fighting for non-essentials.

At the present moment, religion has to wage war on two fronts. In the first place, there are the battles between religion and religion; and secondly, there is the aggressive fight between religion and irreligion. Both these wars are injurious to true religion. If each religion claims superiority over every other and if it is impossible for each to see truth in the other, then, for thinking minds the question will be: Should there be religion at all? If instead of establishing real brotherhood of man, religion only foments hatred and sets men against men, must the world still have such religion? Cannot humanity be rid of this incubus altogether and thus be spared the needless fray?

There are men who think like this. And when men think like this, the fight is not between one religion and another, but between religion and its denial. However unfortunate this may be, various forces have conspired to bring about such a war. Social reformers, including rationalists and communists, have found in organised religion a barrier to progress. The slogan that religion is the opium of the people has its roots in this psychology.

The present book is an attempt to show that neither the mutual war of the religions nor the war against all religions has any justification. It is bigotry and confusion of thought which sponsor such a state of things. But bigotry can be conquered by reason. If a more rational view of religion be taken, the basic unity of all religions will reveal itself; and the ugly spectacle of one religion crying down another will disappear.

Sophia Wadia has the courage to declare that the exclusive superiority that each religion claim is irrational. Every exclusive claim which results in creating and maintaining many religions, all mutually hostile and contradictory to each other," must go. "Muslims believe," she says elsewhere (p. 21), "salvation to be possible only through the one Prophet, while Christians believe that Jesus is the only door . . . . These exclusive and unique claims cannot all be true; they bring about strife and disunion among men; they are absurd and illogical. They are but arrogant superstitions . . . with false notions it is which are destructive of real religion . . . . ."

These are courageous words. Will the world have the courage to listen to them?

U. C. BHATTACHARJEE

CIVIL WRONGS AND THEIR LEGAL REMEDIES: *By M. J. Sethna, B.A., Bar-at-Law with a Foreword by Mr. Justice K. B. Wassodew. Everybodys' Indian Law Series (Vol. I). Pp. XII+106. Publishers: D. B. Taraporevala Sons & Co., Bombay. Price Re. 1-8.*

It was Johnson who observed that ignorance when voluntary is criminal and a man may be properly charged with that evil which he neglected or refused to learn how to prevent. Wrongs committed in ignorance of Law are visited with punishment as ruthlessly as wilful disobedience. It is a trite saying that ignorance of law is no excuse. The poet's view that 'ignorance is bliss' cannot at any rate apply to the ignorance of law. There is colossal ignorance even amongst the educated in regard to the law affecting our position as citizens in the State in which we live. The present reviewer broadcasted a series of lectures on Law for Laymen a few years ago; and he was amazed to find both the ignorance and response amongst the educated. Even the elementary principles of Law of Succession was not understood. Attempts are made to popularise the Laws of Health; but no attempt has hitherto been made to popularise *Law*. To supply this lacuna, the author has made a beginning in this first volume of the series known as 'Everbody's Indian Law Series.' It is a drive against legal illiteracy; and we must congratulate both the author and the publishers on their first attempt.

The arrangement and the treatment of the different subjects are good, though there are occasional repetitions (*e.g.*, at page 18 and at page 94). In a small volume of 106 pages, about 18 pages are occupied by model plaints—a feature which may be usefully omitted, for laymen are not going to draft their own plaints, and the space thus secured may be employed in fuller treatment of the subject. For example, in dealing with damages for wrongful dismissal from service, the author says "a servant employed on a monthly salary can recover no more than a month's salary." This is true for ordinary servants but what about clerks in superior positions (3 months' salary) or teachers engaged for a term (6 months' salary)? Such a clue would be useful to the clerks or the teachers, and the author would gain his object.

J. M. DATTA

TAXATION OF INCOME IN INDIA: *By V. K. R. V. Rao, Longmans, Green & Co., Ltd., 1931.*

This is a book in a series of volumes dealing with the economic history and problems of modern India, edited by Professor C. N. Vakil of the University of Bombay. Mr. Rao is a Professor of Economics and History in the Wilson College. The work is now mainly of historical value. After the recent incorporation of comprehensive changes in Income Tax Law, the book will be of value when it is revised and made up to date.

FEDERAL FINANCE: *By M. Mir Khan, London, 1936. Pp. 216.*

The book has been introduced to the public by Sir George Schuster, a former Finance Member of the Government of India. Mr. Khan is a member of the Hyderabad Civil Service. For some time, he worked at the London School of Economics and the results of the enquiry which he perused at that institution have been embodied in this work. It cannot be said that the book gives us a very lucid exposition of the different problems of Federal Finance. But he has explained in his own way, (i) Principles of Federal Taxation, (ii) Allocation

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of resources, (iii) Incidence of Taxation, (iv) Financial Adjustments, and (v) Non-tax Revenue.

WEST OF SUEZ: *By S. Natarajan, The Indian Social Reformer, Ltd., Bombay, 1938. Pp. 306.*

Mr. Natarajan is one of the editors of the Indian Social Reformer, a weekly journal of considerable repute and standing in the country. He had been to Europe in 1937, and had opportunity of touring through different countries of that continent. In this volume, he has narrated his experiences of the different European States, which he visited in that year. His references to men and things in Europe are interesting. He has given us also an idea of the different institutions with the working of which he was acquainted during the tour.

The book has been introduced to the public by Sir Sarvapalli Radhakrishnan. It is excellently printed and neatly got up. The price is not mentioned.

NARESH CHANDRA RAY

REPORT ON THE GROWTH OF JOINT STOCK COMPANIES IN BENGAL: *Published by Department of Industries, Bengal, April, 1939.*

It is a comprehensive study on the Growth of Joint Stock Companies in Bengal in different lines from the beginning of the present century. The chief utility of the Report lies, however, not so much in the statistical data brought together as in their presentation in suitable forms and tables and their interpretations so as to yield certain suggestive conclusions about Bengal's industrial progress in diverse directions, growth of capital, industrial pitfalls and drawbacks, etc. The analysis of the available data reveals that till 1935-36, Bengal possesses as many as 4,916 Joint Stock Companies with a net paid-up capital of Rs. 133.4 crores, while 2,125 companies have gone into liquidation involving thereby a net wastage of capital to the extent of Rs. 40.7 crores. A comparison with the position of other provinces indicates that statistically Bengal's achievements are impressive, but the consideration that the major portion of business and trade in Bengal belongs to non-Bengalees and non-Indians, makes all the difference in the situation. The significant part of the Report, however, consists in the conclusions reached about the earnings of companies. It shows that on the average the period after which companies generally declare a dividend from the date of their registration varies between 4 to 6 years. Such a conclusion would seem to prove that the ways of business success are by no means short cuts. On the whole the Report is a valuable document which is likely to prove very much useful to public men and students of economics as well.

NIHAR RANJAN MUKHERJEE

PHILOSOPHY OF THE SELF OR A SYSTEM OF IDEALISM BASED UPON ADVAITA VEDANTA: *By Prof. G. R. Malkani, M.A., Director, The Indian Institute of Philosophy, Amalner. Published by the author. Pp. 218 with Index. Price not mentioned.*

Prof. Malkani is a profound thinker and scholar well-acquainted with the Indian as well as the European mode of thinking. He is also a well-known author and a popular contributor to serious journals of India and abroad. The book under review consists of a course of twelve lectures delivered by him at the Amalner Institute of Philosophy between July, 1938 and March, 1939.

In this book the learned author makes an intelligible exposition of the abstruse philosophy of Vedanta in the European method and also discusses the ontological and epistomological problems of philosophy in the light of Advaita Vedanta but in the scientific method of the West. The last chapter deals with and clearly points out the essential difference between the Vedantic Absolute and some concepts of the Absolute current in Western thought.

Prof. Malkani uses the expression "Philosophy of the Self" in the significant sense of bringing out the most important character of Ultimate Reality and very rightly concludes that Ultimate Reality must have the character of the Self and is ultimately nothing but the Self. With Socrates and Shankar he holds that to know the Self is the end of all philosophical thinking.

Prof. Malkani's approach to Reality is somewhat independent and original and his interpretation combines the rationalistic bent of European thought with the religious learning of an Indian Philosopher. This is what is exactly needed in our times in order to make our philosophy understandable and useful to modern mind.

SWAMI JAGADISWARANANDA

TALKS WITH SWAMI VIVEKANANDA: *Published by Advaita Ashrama, Mayavati, Almora. Price Re. 1-12 only.*

These talks cover the period from the year 1897 to 1902 and they have been arranged in four chapters; the first chapter comprises the whole of the Bengali book गुरु-शिष्य संवाद translated into English and arranged chronologically while the rest of the book also consists of the English translation of conversation recorded originally in Bengali by different persons.

These talks are interesting as they bring us into closer contact with the mind of a great teacher as well as enlighten us as to his views on numerous problems, some of which are considered acute even now a days.

ISANCHANDRA RAY

GANDHI TRIUMPHANT!: *My Haridas T. Muzumdar, New York. Universal Publishing Co., 1939. Pp. 103. Price $1.00.*

This booklet, meant specially for American readers, contains a connected account of the events leading up to Gandhiji's Rajkot Fast and of its successful termination with the Viceroy's pronouncement. Articles on the Rajkot affair from the pen of Mahatma Gandhi are quoted in full, while the appendices contain, among other things, the letters exchanged between Sardar Patel and the Rajkot authorities.

The get-up and printing are excellent, and it will remain as a useful book of reference.

THE LAND OF THE BEAUTEOUS BLACK: *By Manohar Dass K. Khilnany, B.A., M.R.Ag.S., Bombay. D. B. Taraporevala Sons & Co., Hornby Road, Fort. Pp. xiii+154+7. 71 Illustrations. Price Rs. 6.*

The book is a record of the experiences of the author in course of his travels in East and South Africa. He is interested in the fauna, flora, as well as the native inhabitants of the land visited; and his travel diary contains such information about them as could be gathered in course of a hurried tour. Incidentally, Mr. Khilnany presents to us a very dismal picture of the social status of Indians domiciled in Africa. They are treated by the 'whites' just like untouchables in India. We are told how Indians are wrongly looked upon as equals with the 'semi-naked barbarians,' by which we are to understand the Kavirandos, the Masais and other aboriginal inhabitants of the Dark Continent. Mr. Khilnany seems to have

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little love or respect for the latter as the Whites have for Indians; and, in the end, he falls into the grave error of prescribing the following recipe for the recovery of social position by domiciled Indians:

"If therefore, Indians conform to European style, speak good English with correct pronunciation, are self-respecting and assertive of their rights, are plucky and striking, as a matter of necessity which is a virtue, even though they are a subject people at home they are bound to command respect and attention, which they richly deserve, in these White Colonies." (P. 70).

Unfortunately, such remedies have been tried in India before now and found useless. The jackdaw who tried to plume himself with peacocks' feathers also found it equally useless. Perhaps the only cure lies in Mahatma Gandhi's advice in which he asks the Indians to perform their civic duties fully, and then fight, *i.e.*, suffer, for their just rights. Anyway, that leads us to a different matter altogether.

On the whole, the book is, therefore, of an indifferent quality; although it does give us some amount of information regarding life in Africa, viewed specially from the point of view of one who suffers from considerable inferiority-complex.

NIRMAL KUMAR BOSE

COURT POETS OF IRAN AND INDIA—AN ANTHOLOGY OF WIT AND VERSE: *By R. .P Masani. Published by New Book Company, Hornby Road, Bombay. Pp. 202+xiv. Price Rs. 5.*

Mr. R. P. Masani is already known to the educated Indians both by his public and literary activities. His translation of the *Mantiqu'l-Tayr* of Faridul-Din 'Attar, into English, is familiar to the students of Persian mysticism and Persian poetry. The book under review is a result of the active interest of Mr. Masani in Persian literature. He has compiled it as he says, in order "to stimulate interest in Persian poetry and literature generally, by presenting to the general reader some interesting anecdotes concerning some of the prominent figures of the Iranian Parnassus."

It contains a Foreward in Persian, by Muhammad Ali Khan Farughi, the Prime Minister of Iran, an English translation of which has been added, a short preface by the author in which he describes his visit to Iran, its influence on his mind, his interest in Persian literature, and his principal object in compiling the book, and 149 anecdotes most of which concern the Court poets of Iran and India, and which according to the compiler illustrate "the creative power of the Persian poets, their dazzling imagination, exquisite word play, friendly wit and humour, and genius for versification." The Persians are certainly, a witty people. They have a very keen sense of humour. Their literature is full of wits, jokes, and repartees. Their works on history, biography and belles lettres contain numerous anecdotes to show their delicate and subtle sense of humour. Attempts have also been made to collect and classify them. An important example of it is the *Lataiful Tawaif* of Ali Ibn b. Waiz Husain al-Kashifi who has collected and recorded a good number of the Wits of the various parts of the Persian people, under different heading.

Mr. Masani, however, does not appear to have taken care in collecting his materials, nor does he show any critical taste in shifting them or any scientific spirit in classifying and presenting them. He has put together the anecdotes under independent heading for each, without making any attempt towards their classification. As for the anecdotes themselves, they cannot be called to be the best illustrations of Persian humour. Many more subtle wits and more interesting anecdotes can be easily gathered. The translation of the pieces quoted are generally too free, and in certain cases incorrect p. 34 l.12; p. 43 l.6; p. 52 l.15; p. 91 ll.12, 17; p. 115 l.13; p. 143 l.17, etc.

But it should not be ignored that Mr. Masani did not intend his book to be a scholarly production. He has compiled it for the general reader and not for the specialists. There is no doubt that it will give the general reader, a general idea of the ready wit of the Iranian bards and it surely serves the purpose for which it is written.

M. N. SIDDIQI

PHILIPPINE SUGAR INDUSTRY—WITH A PLEA FOR RESEARCH AND CONSOLIDATION IN INDIAN SUGAR INDUSTRY: *By Chandra Prakash Gupta, B.Sc., with a Foreword by M. P. Gandhi. Publishers Association for the Development of Swadeshi Industries, Delhi. Pages 85. Price Re. 1-8.*

Mr. Chandra Prakash Gupta has made an eloquent plea for undertaking Research work on sugarcane in India in a more intensive fashion than hitherto with a view to improve the efficiency of the industry. He has pointed out how various other sugar producing countries have spent enormous sums of money for research in sugarcane. He has observed that Hawaii spends Rs. 12 per acre, Java Rs. 3, Japan Rs. 3 and India only one-third of a rupee in research on sugarcane. This will serve to show how India lags behind in expenditure on Research work. There is no doubt, as Mr. M. P. Gandhi has observed in his foreword to this publication, that the prospects and prosperity of the Sugar Industry, which has made a magnificently rapid development in India, hinge upon the success which it achieves in the direction of yield per acre, and the quality of cane, thus reducing the cost of production of cane, and bringing it in conformity with the cost of production in other sugar-producing countries. With the increased proceeds from the Excise Duty on sugar, the Government of India should be able to set apart a larger sum for undertaking Research work on the improvement of sugarcane, and it should be the duty of the industrialists to invite the attention of the Government to the early necessity of spending larger amounts of money on Research work with a view to hasten the advent of the day, when it would not be necessary for India to have such a high tariff on import of sugar, for the maintenance of the industry.

The Booklet is written in an attractive style and would merit a careful perusal.

SURESH DESAI

THE INDIAN STRUGGLE FOR FREEDOM (THROUGH WESTERN EYES): *Edited by Bharatan Kumarappa, M.A., B.D. (Hartford) (U.S.A.), Ph.D. (Edinborough), Ph.D. (London). Published by The Hindusthan Publishing Co., Ltd., Rajahmundry (Andhra), S. India. Pp. 192. Price Re. 1-8. Foreign 3sh.*

This compilation contains reports, articles and summaries of lectures by eminent Westerners, relating to the Indian struggle for freedom. These were published in newspapers and journals from time to time, chiefly during the second civil disobedience movement in 1932. The importance of the compiled articles lies in the fact that they are gleaned from observations of Occidental scholars, some of whom are reputed politicians and as such, their analysis and observations relating to India's

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struggle for Swaraj are of great value and the publishers have done well to collect and publish them in book form.

SOUREN DE

ENGLISH-SANSKRIT

SREEMAD BHAGAVAD GEETA: *XVIII Edition: Published by the Free "Geeta" Distribution Mission, organised by Messrs. A. B. Sons & Co. of 3, and 3/1, Mangoe Lane, Calcutta.*

With the noble object of propagating the teachings of Sri Krishna as embodied in the Geeta, the Mission is bringing out this publication—the original text of the Geeta in Devanagri character and their translation with occasional annotations in English—for distributing it free of cost to the public. Although the English translation is not quite upto the mark, still it gives a fair idea of the spirit contained in the Geeta.

JITENDRANATH BOSE

THE LAST MESSAGE OF SRI KRISHNA—WITH ENGLISH TRANSLATION AND NOTES: *Edited by Swami Madhavananda. Published by Advaita Ashrama, Mayavati, Almorah. Price Rs. 2-8 only.*

The famous dialogue between Sri Krishna and Uddhava, occuring in Srimad-Bhagatam, was originally published with English translation and notes, in two volumes; in this new edition, they have been incorporated into one volume. The English translation is faithful and the notes are helpful.

ISANCHANDRA RAY

BENGALI

RABI-RASMI, VOL. II: *By the late Professor Charu Chandra Bandyopadhyaya, M.A. Published by the Calcutta University.*

The name of the book literally means "Sun's Ray." It is a work in which the author interprets the poetical and dramatic works of Rabindranath Tagore. No previous author had ever before attempted to provide readers of Tagore's poetical works with such an elaborate and valuable commentary. It will greatly help students and other readers to understand the Poet. It is in fact indispensable. Works published after *Taser Desh* are not included in the two volumes.

The five appendices are valuable. Particularly fascinating, informative and instructive are the author's reminiscences of the great Poet-sage in the appendix entitled "Rabindra-Parichaya."

The Bibliography has added to the usefulness of the work. The elaborate index makes it easy to consult the book.

How happy the author would have been if he had lived to see the publication of this volume. But alas! that was not to be.

D.

ORIYA

SREEMAD-BHAGAVAD-GEETA: *Edited by Pandit Nilakantha Das, M.L.A. (Central). Published by the Trading Co., Balubazar, Cuttack.*

Numerous scholars are editing the Geeta, giving exposition of mystical teachings of Lord Sree-Krishna in their own light. Now Pandit Nilakantha Das has brought out an Oriya edition and he seems to be the pioneer in this matter in Orissa. In the introduction the editor deals with the antiquity of philosophy contained in the Geeta. In his opinion the Yoga system of philosophy in India is as old as the Mahenjodaro civilisation. He has also pointed out the close resemblance between the Geeta philosophy and the doctrine now prevailing in some religious sects of Orissa. On the whole the introduction bears ample testimony to his erudition. This edition we are confident will be welcomed by scholars having knowledge of Oriya.

B. MISRA

HINDI

UDAN: *By Bhikkhu Jagadis Kasyap, M.A. Published by the Mahabodhi Sabha, Sarnath, Benares. 1938. Price Re. 1.*

The eight vargas of the *Udan*, the intimate and affectionate discourse of the Buddha, have been translated into Hindi with occasional notes and references by the learned translator. The result has been a handy volume in which the simplicity of the original has not been spoilt in the rendering. He has wisely prefaced the translation with an explanation of the term *nirvan* so often liable to misinterpretation. A glossary of the proper names that occur in the book has been given at the end.

The book is the sixth of the Mahabodhi series.

P. R. SEN

HINDI GRAMMAR AT A GLANCE: *By Swami Madhavananda. Published by Swami Nityaswarupanand, Secretary, The Ramkrishna Mission Institute of Culture, 19, Keshub Chandra Sen Street, Calcutta. Pp. 61. Price annas six.*

In this booklet, the author has explained in simple English, the essential rules of Hindi grammar. Though it is not a comprehensive work still the hints contained in it are sufficient for a beginner. Those who prefers the Hindusthani form will also find the booklet useful.

S. D.

GUJARATI

VAISHALINI VANITA: *By P. C. Diwanji, M.A., LL.M. Printed at the Gujarat Printing Press, Ahmedabad. Thick Card Board. (1938). Pp. 168. Price Re. 1.*

This book is written in the form of a drama to present a picture of the political, social, financial, and religious life of the people of India as lived in the times of Chandra Gupta Maurya. To present it effectively Mr. Diwanji has studied the different Arthashastras, Smritis and other works, in English and in the original, dealing with the subject, and concerned with the period between the 4th century before Christ and the 4th century A.D. He finds as a result that remarriages and inter-caste marriages were allowed then; sons of various categories, four castes only, existence of non-touchable tribes, and various other interesting social features—which are now not prevalent—were recognised and found to existence then. Financial and political circumstances obtaining then are also very well brought out. On the whole it is a book which tells us much about those distant and distant times and hence interesting.

(1) APANO ARTHIK PRASHNA: *By Chhaganlal N. Joshi,* (2) YOGASHASTRA: *By Gopaldas Jivabhai Patel. Both printed at the Navjivan Printing Press, Ahmedabad. Thick Card Board. (1938). Pp. 324 and 288. Price Re. 1.*

The first book is based on Sir M. Vishaveshwaraya's "Planned Economy in India" and very well sets out its commendable features. It reads almost like an original work. The second is the well known work of Hemchandra Acharya on Yoga, which is presented to the readers of Gujarati with notes and explanations, in the task of a scholar. Both books have very good indexes at the end.

K. M. J.

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President Moscicki and Colonel Beck, Foreign Secretary of Poland

The Polish City of Choinice near Danzig

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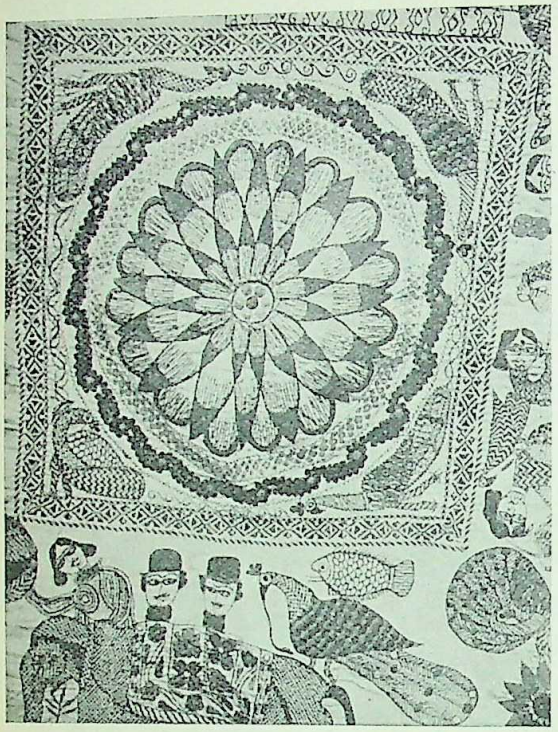
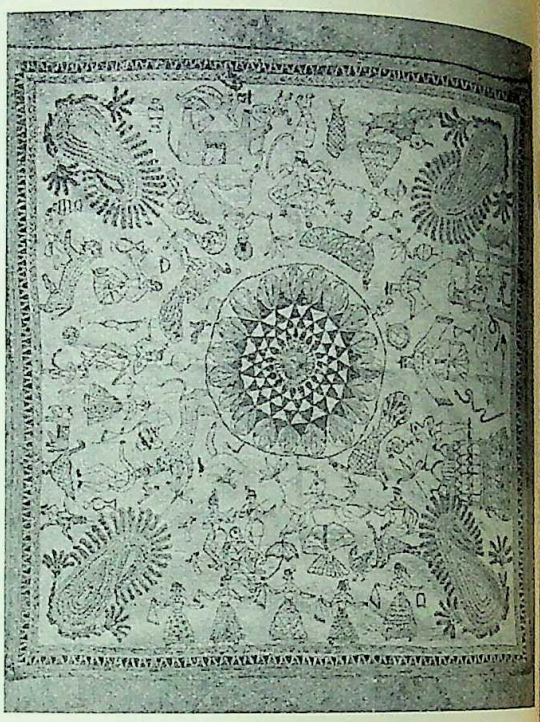
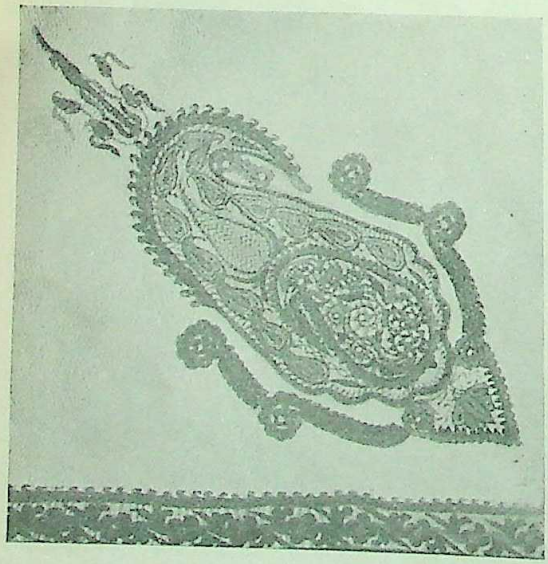


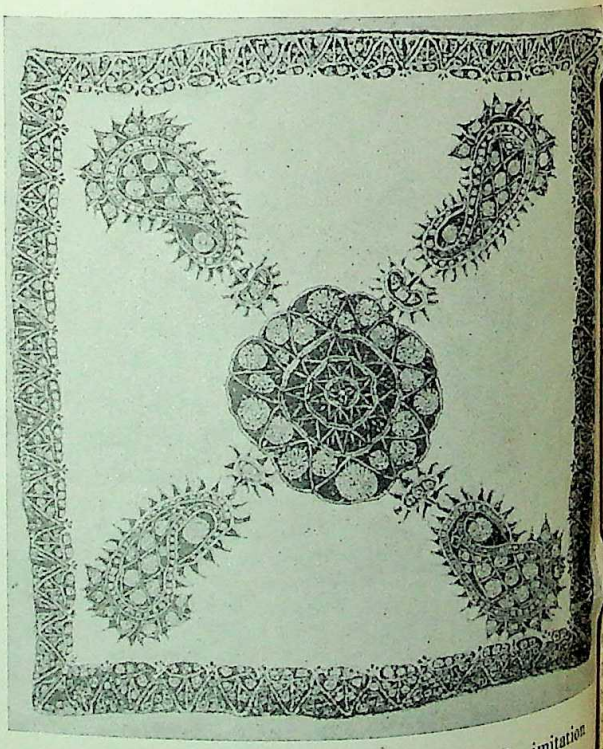
The central lotus and some figure designs from a "Sujni" & kantha (Fig. 6)



A "Bayton" Kantha, used as a wrap for books and other valuables (Fig. 2)



A beautiful corner-design known as "Kalka" (Fig. 5)



A "Bayton" kantha of modern design in imitation of the designs of shawls (Fig. 3)

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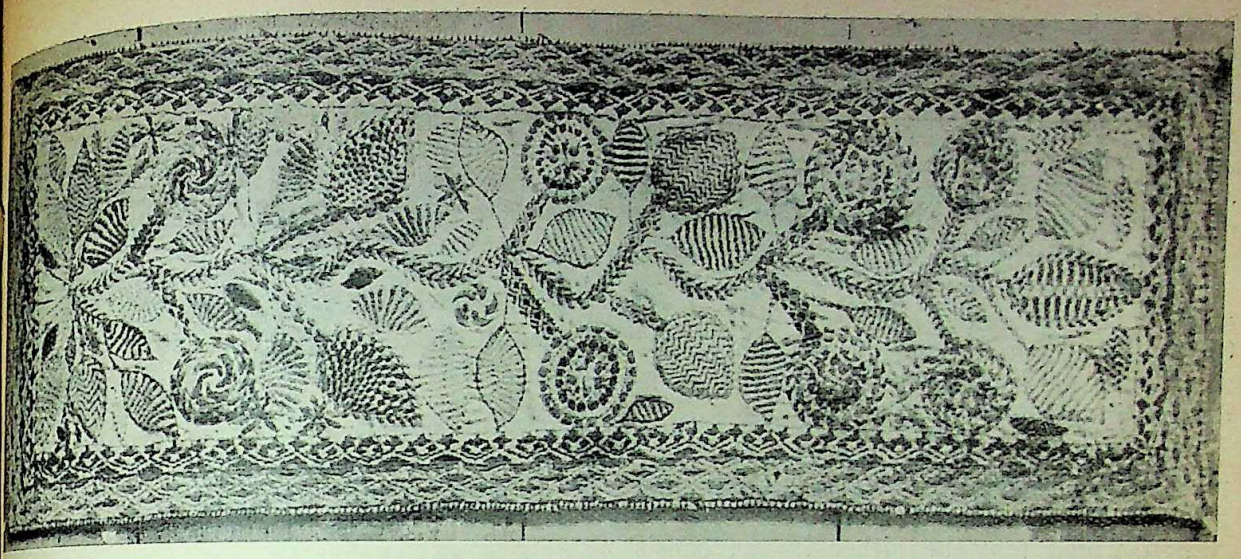

"Arshilata" or wraps for household looking-glasses and combs (Fig. I)

THE ART OF THE KANTHA

By G. S. DUTT, I.C.S.

The name "Kānthā" signifies a poor man's quilt consisting of old used up cloth patched up and sewn into a single garment. It seems probable that patch-work kānthās constituted the original form of kānthās and that kānthās with a decorative "appliqué" type were evolved from this. Kānthās of the appliqué type are, however, now-a-days comparatively rare. From the original sense of the term in which it is still applied, it is used now particularly to mean stitchings of coloured embroidery made by the Bengalee women of all castes throughout the province for various household purposes. The art of the kānthā furnishes an illustration of the wonderful patience, craftsmanship and resourcefulness of the village women.

Although embroidered kānthās are as a rule extremely spectacular, their chief motive is not spectacular or decorative display but thrift and economy, the idea being to utilise old cloths and rags by sewing them together with close stitches and embroidering them for household purposes, so that not a single piece of rag in the house may be wasted. The care and artistry with which the embroideries are made and the natural genius of Bengalee women for creating simple and lovely designs in primary colours, however, transform the kānthās from their original state of patched up rags into wonderfully beautiful creations of linear and coloured designs. The idea being to strengthen old and used up pieces of cloth so that they may stand rough usage, the most meticulous care is taken in sewing the entire body of the work with the closest possible stitches of various kinds. There are kānthās of various designs and patterns but those which are used for rougher purposes contain a minimum of spectacular and coloured designs, the entire attention being mainly given to securing strength and consolidation. The sewing is always made in such a manner as to present a complex integrated design and in doing so the joints are so skilfully concealed as to be almost incapable of detection at a cursory glance or even on close examination. Sometimes even when pictorial design of an elaborate character is used, the desire for spectacular effect is kept in check by using merely threads of a single colour, either white or light blue. In kānthās of the most spectacular designs the colours are red, yellow and blue-black with a less sparing use of green.

The following are generally recognised to be the chief forms of kānthās made by rural Bengalee women :—

(1) '*Rumāl*' *or Handkerchief*—These are small and square in shape. The size is approximately 12″×12″. The design of the kānthā handkerchieves usually consists of a central lotus round which is grouped a variety of

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forms or plants or animals and other traditional motifs, the whole being enclosed within a decorative square sewn round the edges.

(2) *"Arshilatā" or wrap for household looking glasses and combs*—These are narrow and rectangular in shape, the size being about 6″×12″ (Fig. 1). There is a fairly wide border sewn round the four sides, the rectangular central area being occupied either by a row or elaborately worked lotuses or other patterns. Sometimes a whole scene from the Krishna-lila story or from rural life is portrayed in lively designs in needle work.

(3) *"Ooār" or pillow cover*—These are rectangular in shape. The size is approximately 2′×1½′. They are generally of very simple design which may be either linear, consisting of a number of parallel longitudinal border patterns or abstract forms of tree and foliage. There is always a decorative border sewn round the edges.

(4) *"Durjani" or wallet.*—Size about 10″×6″. A square piece of cloth is embroidered with a border all round and a central lotus in the middle. Three of the corners are then folded inwards, so that the apexes of the three corners meet at the centre. The contiguous edges are then sewn up and the result is a wallet which can hold money and other small articles. A string is attached to the free upper end of the wallet, so that after the valuables are placed within it, the wallet is rolled round up from the lower end and then tied up with the string attached to the free end.

(5) *"Bayton" or Wrap for tying up books or valuables of all kinds.*—These are generally square in shape, the size being approximately 3′×3′ (Figs. 2 and 3). In this type there is a wide border consisting of several rows of different patterns of human or animal figures or traditional decorative motifs. The centre consists of a very elaborate workmanship with a lotus of concentric design round which is grouped a multiplicity of animal and human figures as well as of other familiar objects, such as Raths, *Koolās* etc. (see Fig. 2). The corners are occupied by forms of *Kalkās* (decorative leaf patterns) or abstract forms of trees or foliage.

(6) *"Lep" Kānthā or Winter covering.*—These are about 6¼′×4½′. These are made heavily padded and thick so as to afford protection from the cold, and are "Kānthās" or quilts in the most original sense of the word *i. e.*, a "desired" covering or wrap for protection against the cold. These are also embroidered with coloured threads in various designs although somewhat sparingly.

(7) *"Sujni" Kānthā or Bed-spread for seating honoured guests on such ceremonial occasions as weddings \etc.*—These are generally large and rectangular in shape and are also used as bed-covers on formal occasions. Average size is 6′×3½′.

The ample space provided by the comparatively large size of the 'Sujni' kānthās coupled with their thinness as compared to "lep" kānthās afford the artist full scope for the exercise of her genius for structural design (Fig. 4) as well as for creating an endless variety of lovely patterns in line and colour with her needle. The 'Sujni' kānthās, therefore, represent the highest culmination of the art of Bengalee stitchcraft.

The outlines of the various designs in the body of the kānthā are first marked off and embroidered with coloured threads and the remaining groundwork is then knitted in patterns following the contours of the embroideries. The close running stitches of the groundwork gives the general ground of the kānthā a characteristic ripply appearance. The idea is to use the embroidery as a reinforcement to the groundwork of the kānthā so as to make it durable and proof against tearing by rough use, but in this act of reinforcement lovely coloured designs are created with the needle so that the whole kānthā presents an elaborately illuminated look with decorative patterns as well as figures of trees, animals and human beings in various attitudes representing almost every aspect of rural life that has come within the experience of the artist herself. Elephants and peacocks are particularly favourite designs. Considerable story-telling power is shown in the grouping and attitudes of the figures.

The general scheme of 'Sujni' kānthās is to have a closely knitted border of two or three rows of decorative designs running along the four sides (see Fig. 4) so as to make the borders proof against tearing. In the inner corners of the square or rectangular design thus produced are placed either a Kadamba tree or other trees or Kalkās (Fig. 5). In the designs of the Kalkās (decorative leaf patterns) great versatility and originality is shown by each individual artist.

A remarkable feature of the art of the kānthā is that the female artist makes it a point of honour never to imitate a design from another kānthā but always to bring out original designs in each work, based partly no doubt on

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Embroidered scene from a coloured "Sujni" Kantha (Fig. 4)

memory of the kānthās which have been duced before by the family or which have n observed in other families in the village drawing largely on her own individual erience and imagination.

Generally speaking, the embroideries in kānthās have a 'Dorokha' or double-faced acter; *i.e.*, the embroidered designs appear both faces of the kānthā. Ordinarily designs appear with distinctness only the right face and comparatively tinctly on the obverse. In the most ced types of embroidered kānthās, however, stitches of the embroideries are so skilfully that the details of each design appear in ical forms and colours on either face of kānthā, making it extremely difficult, if sometimes impossible, to distinguish the face from the reverse.

The most orthodox and traditional form oyed is the *Mandala* design in the centre the kānthā (Fig. 6), the rest of groundwork being covered with embroide- representing human and animal life. The of the Mandala is of particular interest. centre of the Mandala is almost invariably pied by the "Satadala padma" (see Fig. or hundred-petalled lotus. The petals not exactly one hundred in number but are as numerous as possible so as to suggest ndred-petalled lotus. This hundred- lotus is surrounded by several concentric of knitted designs which are always ent from one another and the whole is surrounded by a circle of radiating '*kalasas*' and sometimes of *Sankhas* (conch-shell design).

The general form of this orthodox design *viz.*, a round concentric Mandala with a central lotus surrounded by the representation of animal and human life seems to suggest that this form owes its origin to the widespread Indian philosophic conception of the intimate inter-connection and indefeasible unity between the animal world (*Jīva Jagat*) and the spiritual world (*Adhyātmic Jagat*) and it corresponds with the *Rāsa Mandala* conception of the Vaisnava religion and the Tāntric conception of the Mystic Diagram (Yantra) in which the spiritual core of the universe is represented by an exactly similar concentric design with a central lotus. The Hindu women in Bengal are deeply imbued in their subconscious mind with the basic philosophic conceptions of Vaishnavism and Tāntric Hinduism and the Mandala design so characteristically employed in the majority of kānthās is an illustration of this fact. On the other hand, the Mandala form itself is at least as old as the Indus valley civilization; and the Buddhist, Vaishnva and Tāntric cultures appear to have merely given new interpretations to it and introduced minor variations in the design, while preserving the Mandala form. Thus the Mandala design of the *kānthas*, like that in the *ālpona* drawings to which the kānthā designs are closely allied, is thus, in all likelihood, of very ancient and probably pre-Aryan origin. A form of multiple *Swastika* with curving arms is a favourite motif employed in the kānthās. It may possibly be

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a derivative from the original 4-armed Swastika or from the Dharma Chakra employed in Buddhist art, for sometimes the radiating branches are straight as in the Dharma Chakra. This motif may also, however, have been suggested by the cross section of a flower bud or by a flower. This view is supported by the fact that a similar motif used in the *ālponas* is sometimes designated "coiled flower" ("Pechāno phul") and is sometimes designated "Chālta" flower (Dillenia speciosa).

Textile Pattern Kanthas

The above description applies mainly to what may be termed "true kānthās" or kānthās with embroideries in the true sense as made by women of all classes of society from the highest to the lowest throughout Bengal. These are what may be called kānthās with integral and independent designs. There is, however, a very important class of kānthās of a different type which may be described as kānthās of the textile type and which are made by women of the weaver class, mainly in the Jessore district. These textile pattern kānthās display the same skilful use of line and colour designs; but they differ from the 'dorokhā' kānthās of the true embroidery type in depending mainly on flat stitches running along the entire length or breadth of the kānthās or running round the centre in concentric designs, the idea being to reproduce the same pattern in each row either in a linear or circular arrangement. The technique used in these kānthās is practically identical with that employed in embroidering the borders of *sarees*, the object being to secure repetition of the same pattern in each row throughout the whole length or breadth of the fabric. The figure designs on kānthās of this type have a considerable resemblance to appliqué work and may also have been suggested originally by appliqué work type of kānthās.

When a flat stitch is of considerable length, it is broken one or more times by making a short stitch on the reverse. This gives a characteristically dotted appearance to the obverse side of designs made with long flat stitches. Where the flat stitch is of short length this practice is not resorted to. The result of the above technique is that while kānthās of the true embroidery type have a "*dorokhā*" character, in the texitile pattern kānthās the forms and designs which appear on one face are complementary to those on the other and the right face is easily distinguished from the reverse face in these kānthās. The intention in these kānthās being to make the designs themselves appear only on the right face, the spaces in the obverse of the embroidered portions of the right face are left blank on the reverse or are merely marked with small dotted short stitches.

The repetition of designs either in a linear or in a circular arrangement gives an appearance or regimentation to kānthās of this type which is entirely absent on '*dorokhā*' kānthās of the true embroidery type where the object is to make each design different from the others and where each figure design is made with an entirely independent and integral system of stitches. The importance of the textile pattern kānthās lies in the fact that in them we find conserved old traditional patterns of border designs of great variety and loveliness which were undoubtedly used in making *saree* borders in olden times but the use of many of which in the *saree* borders has been discontinued by the weavers, partly owing to the decline of the textile industry and partly owing to the prevailing habit of imitating foreign patterns. A special feature of the textile pattern kānthās is the frequent and effective use of motifs representing prominent and spectacular rows of animals, such as the elephant, horse, rhinoceros, tiger or camel, etc., in marching array, the figure of one particular type of animal being repeated in the same row.

The technical quality of the kānthās depends on the skill of the individual artist. Generally speaking, the skill shown in the variety of stitches, in the linear form and colour of the figures portrayed and particularly in integrating a bewildering multiplicity of figures scattered about the ground of the kānthās without any apparent arrangement or "logic of design" into a synthetic unity is of a very high order, showing a remarkable genius for design.

The making of the kānthās of the types 1 to 5 mentioned at the outset of this article is prompted by a purely utilitarian motive, the decorative element being super-added to the basic utilitarian motive. In the "Lep" kānthās, while the utilitarian motive is predominant, there is often a sentimental motive attached, as they often constitute presents from the female artists to some members of the family such as the mother, father, brother or husband. In the "Sujni" kānthās, the sentimental motive is almost as predominant as the utilitarian motive as a "Sujni" kānthā is almost invariably dedicated to a beloved friend or relative and is in many cases deeply charged with a passionate sense

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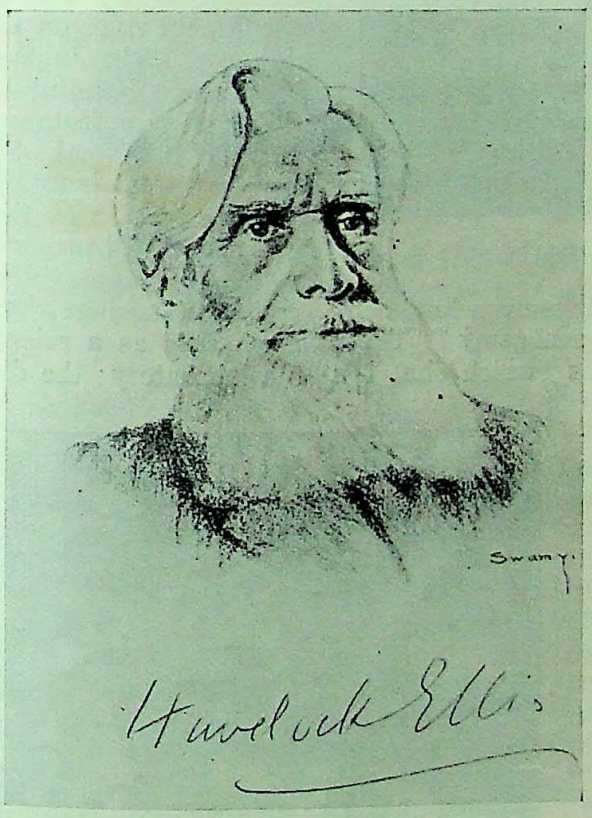
of affection or love. The sentimental associations connected with Sujni kānthās are often of a romantic character and have furnished themes to Bengalee poets and novelists. Sometimes, the name of the artist herself as well as that of the person to whom the kānthā is dedicated is embroidered on the body of the kānthā itself; but more often the object of the loving dedication remains unmentioned by the artist and unknown to the world.

An elaborate Sujni kānthā is in many cases the work of several generations of women in the same family, as the artist who commences making the kānthā often finds it impossible to complete it during her lifetime and the work is continued by her daughter, and sometimes even by a grand-daughter. In consequence, Sujni kānthās are generally regarded as heirlooms and prized as such.

The kānthā art represents the serene and joyous self-expression of a race of women creative artists whose watch-words are thrift, beauty and sound craftsmanship. In their creations we find a combination of a keen power of observation and a profound feeling of sympathy with the movements of the joyous teeming life of nature—a combination of an intense sense of beauty and a scrupulous avoidance of luxury, sophistication and over-refinement.



Born Feb. 2, 1859 Died July 10, 1939

Havelock Ellis

[After a sketch by S. N. Swamy]

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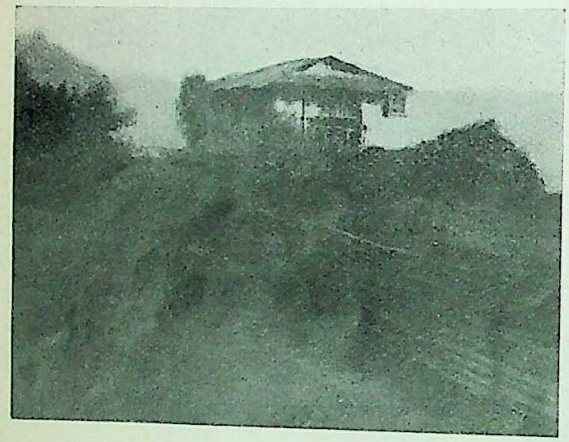
LEPCHA SOCIETY

Social Aspects of a Dying Race

By DAVID MACDONALD, B.A.

It is the business of the social anthropologist to trace the origin, development and decay of societies, pointing out from the material before him what societies produce certain types, while others produce another. Why are some communities peaceful and others aggressive? Why do some tribes practise polygamy while civilized communities advocate monogamy? These are some of the questions which he has to answer, and his conclusions are of great importance to modern sociologists who are trying to plan a new and better society. Social anthropologists in India have a contribution to make to this science, but they need not go to the Pacific or Polynesia for their data. There is material enough in this country. Social anthropologists in Bengal have a unique opportunity for research in this field. To the north of Bengal is a number of Himalayan peoples with their particular social structures, manners and customs, and a study is sure to yield results. There are, for instance, the Lepchas. Is it not stimulating to find, in an age of aggression and 'class-warfare,' a community who hold to the ideals of peace and harmony, both within and outside the group?



A Lepcha house in Sikkim

Lepchas

Who are the Lepchas, and why have they evolved these particular ideals? A general survey of Lepcha organization may provide an answer.

The Lepchas are ethnically akin to the Tibetan, Bhutanese, and other 'mongoloids.' Their origins are unknown, but we do know that at one time they lived and roamed over a wide area to the north of Bengal from the Himalayas to the foothills of Siliguri, and from the Machi river on the borders of Nepal to the Jaldaka in the Jalpaiguri district. Today they are a mere handful—a dying race—confined to the mountain fastnesses and government reservations in North Sikkim, where they have had to retreat before the assertive and competitive Nepalese. In their mountain homes, however, they still preserve their culture, which still remains comparatively uninfluenced by other cultures, and here they may be studied with the same ease as a scientist studies a specimen in the laboratory; the difference being that we are dealing with flesh and blood, specimens that think, will, and feel.

Nepalese in Sikkim who have ousted the Lepchas

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Economic Condition and Education

The Lepchas' social organization makes harmony and peace in the community a reality. This is achieved in many ways. Every Lepcha, provided he works hard and pulls his weight in the community, is assured of food, shelter, and economic security. This is possible because the Lepchas subsist by agriculture of a simple type. And because the individual Lepcha finds a place provided for him in his society, he does not suffer from a sense of frustration which the unemployed suffer in our modern societies. There is a more positive side to this social adjustment. The Lepchas also believe in co-operation. If any member of the community wishes to build a house, usually of bamboo and thatch, his friends willingly help him on the principle that some day they too might wish to build a house.

Economically sound, the Lepchas have the leisure and opportunity of attending, among other things, to the education of the individual. It is curious to note that in the care and upbringing of children the Lepchas are in some ways modern and up-to-date. They refuse, like some modernists, to colour the future life and happiness of their children by submitting them to haphazard and parental emotion. The child is treated in an impersonal manner. Its behaviour is determined by social approval and disapproval. All attempts at self-assertion and imitation, at the expense of others, are discouraged. The child on its side has no grouse; in the cradle all reasonable wants are satisfied. It is kept warm and comfortable and fed whenever it is hungry. The result is that 'complexes', usually developed in our infancy, are a rarity.

Sex

The sex life of the Lepchas is also arranged so that the peace and harmony of the community may not be disturbed. They realise instinctively that sexual jealousy is a primary force from which there springs a number of anti-social impulses like violence and aggression, and to avoid any likelihood of disruption, they have built up an elaborate system of religious laws. Every adolescent in the village knows with whom he may or may not sleep. Outside these laws there is a great deal of freedom and latitude in sex matters. The Lepchas do not see aything immoral in this for they regard sex as a natural function to be equated with eating and drinking, nor are they any the more licentious and promiscuous than other people. Their sound economy encourages

A group of Lepcha women and children

marriage between Lepchas of marriageable age. Marriage is a recognised institution. The position of women is enviable. They are neither placed on chivalrous pedestals nor treated as household chattels. They have equal rights and an equal status.

Religion

To complete the sketch a word must be added about the Lepchas' attitude towards religion. They have not felt the need, so far, of evolving any logical or coherent system of theology. They bow before the imponderables of life, death is a terrifying mystery, but beyond a sacrifice on occasions, they leave the solution to a few Lamas in the locality. If things go wrong in the every-day life, and the Lepcha thinks something supernatural is responsible—the Lepchas see the supernatural in every tree, rock, or stream—they call in the services of the local wizard, who is an ordinary member of the community, and consider the incident closed. In the words of Walt Whitman,

> 'They do not lie awake in the dark and weep for their sins!'

It is not to be thought in conclusion, however, that the Lepchas have argued out these principles and ideals on rational grounds, or that they

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are the 'natural men' of the utopian philosopher and the poet's vision, without fault or blame! The Lepchas are superstitious, given to intemperance—in their picnics they gorge any amount of pork and drink large quantities of 'chi', a beer brewed from millets—and are without the arts and the sciences. But their way of life hammered out on the anvil of Lepcha experience has its compensations. They are free from the social ills which we know. Their life is simple for their wants are simple and in this they know peace and happiness.

ART AND EDUCATION

By SARADA CHARAN UKIL

[In memory of Mr. Benco, late Principal of the Engineering College of the Benares Hindu University, a Union has been started in his name to commemorate his memory. Every year an Arts and Crafts Exhibition is organized under the auspices of the Union. Last year, for the first time, the Union feeling the necessity of inviting an eminent artist to preside over the occasion, requested Mr. Sarada Charan Ukil of Delhi to preside over the function and open the Exhibition. The following article is the address delivered by him at the Opening Ceremony on the 28th December, 1938.]

BEING a mere artist, I give expression to my thoughts and sentiments through colours and forms. Moreover, whatever little expression I can give to my feelings does not find its outlet in any definite, elaborate and closely-knit forms, but only in stray vibrations, as it were, of short sketches and colours at odd moments—and that, too, when I am in the mood. Hence, it is but natural that, when I try to translate the visions and dreams of my realisation into language, on a pre-conceived plan, I find words failing me, however I may wish at times to do so.

If we look back to our past history, we find art-activities invariably associated with all the great centres of learning—Universities as we call them today—such as Taxila, Nalanda and others. It is a matter of much gratification that the Benares Hindu University has also started, for the encouragement of indigenous art, a small nucleus, which, let us hope, will one day grow into a fully developed art-centre, under the patronage and guidance of the great patriot-founder of the University. I may say that the art and culture of a country can only grow and develop under the shelter of Universities. For, it is in the Universities that they can be assured the stability and systematic continuity, which are so necessary for their growth and development. It is idle to expect them in unaided chance-efforts of the artists, or in the fitful patronage of kings or rich individuals. I hope that in course of time every University in the country will make suitable provisions for the furtherance of indigenous art and music, for the development of the aesthetic taste among the students. We do not expect that every student would become an artist or a musician, but it is true that by close contact with, and living in, an artistic atmosphere one can develop an artistic temperament, which, it is my conviction, is latent in every human being. A close and living association with such an atmosphere in the School- or College- going age helps us to train the eye for things beautiful and artistic in after life. In whatever pursuit of life the young people may enter afterwards, whether it be Industry or Commerce, Cloth- or Carpet-manufacture, Wood-work or Pottery-work, Architecture or Town-planning, the aesthetic taste acquired in the School- or College- days will help them to create things which will prove to be more beautiful, more harmonious and more peace-giving. I would go a step further to say that an artistic character is more disciplined and thus more useful to society in after-life. The senses become finer and easily respond to the higher and nobler qualities of man.

Now, I shall tell you something about Indian Art. Indian Art does not necessarily mean, as considered by many, incorrect drawing, wrong anatomy, deformed figures, and proportions ugly in some or every way. Those who hold this view only show their ignorance. Indian Art does not also mean that we should go on copying or reproducing everything which is old. One fundamental and indispensable quality in Art is that it is a growing and forward movement—it is neither stagnation nor going back to an old movement. We should study our culture, our manners, our customs, our costumes, our simplicity, and our tastes as expressed in different parts of the country and then try to add our share to the treasure which is there. It is only in this way that we can

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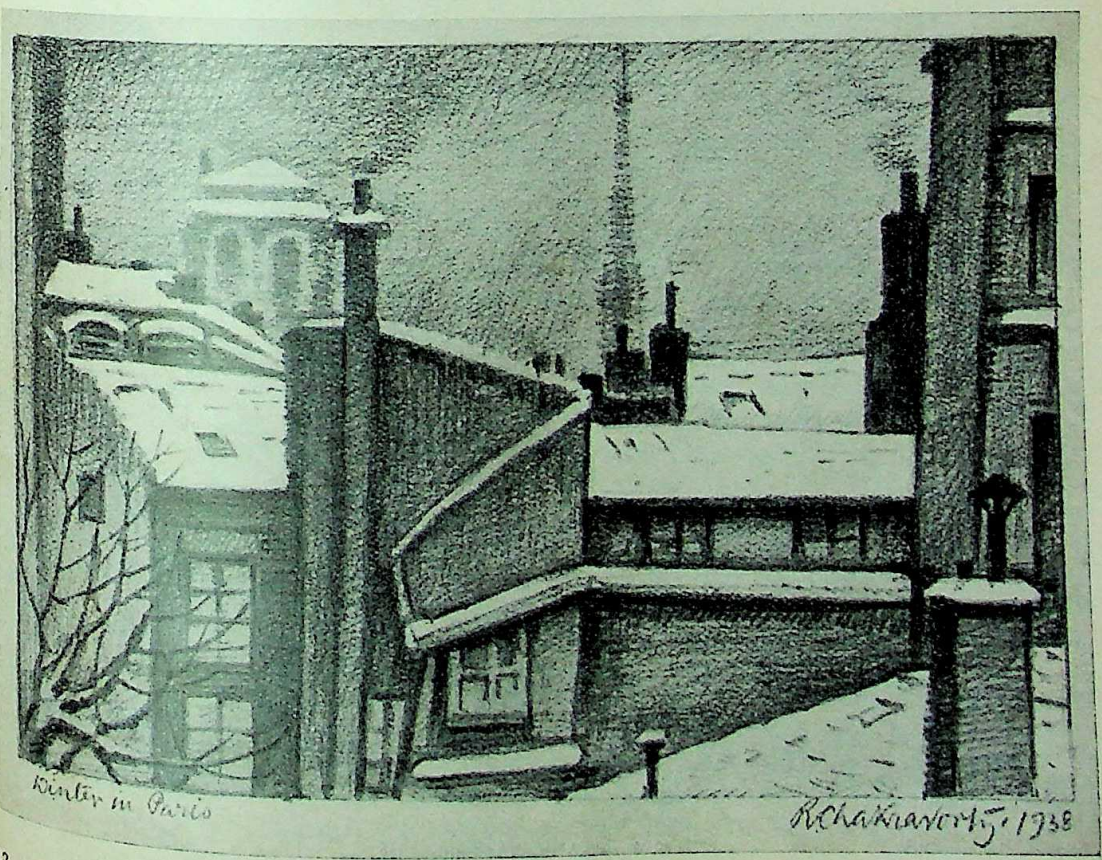
each of us, make any contribution to the art and culture of the country. Although Industries and Commerce are necessary for a nation, the real wealth which is imperishable and everlasting—and hence invaluable—is the art and literature of the country. In the Hindu and Buddhistic periods the art and literature of India had, no doubt, reached the highest point, examples of which are extant to this day in the caves of Ajanta, Ellora, Bagh, Taxila, Sranavassal and other places, of which we are justly proud. But must we rest content with the glories of our past achievements? That would be nothing but death to Art. There can be an Indian Art only when we try to make our own contributions to that art and thereby at least enrich it, if it be impossible to improve upon it. Such an enrichment is only possible, if those that are striving hard to contribute something in the line receive sympathetic encouragement from the Universities of the present days.

In conclusion, I would say a few words about the relationship of Music and Art—about how the colours of art are allied to the notes of music. Both for Music and Art at their best we need a devotional discipline—a *sadhana,* rooted in meditation—without which one cannot develop one's mystic vision or hearing for the transcendental principle of harmony lodged constantly in the heart of the Universe. It is customary for many Indian musicians to picture this principle of harmony as the "Om," the supreme melody of the Eternal player of ineffable charm, revealing its mysteries as the seven notes, which incarnate themselves into the tunes—the *Rāgas* and *Rāgiṇīs*—in the resonating ears of the musicians, in agreement with their "Adhikāras"—their characters of discipline. I, as an Indian artist, would also assert, in the same spirit, that the same transcendental principle of harmony—the same Sacred "Om" of ineffable charm—reveals its mysteries to the resonating eyes of the artists, in the forms of seven colours incarnating in various figures of colour-combinations, in agreement with their "Adhikāras"—the characters of their personal discipline. Indian artists at their best—whether they are musicians, or painters, or poets—are "Sādhakas" who aim at receiving vibrations from the One Supreme Artist—the Supreme Poet, the Supreme Flute-player, the Supreme Painter—by trying to bring their souls in tune with Him.



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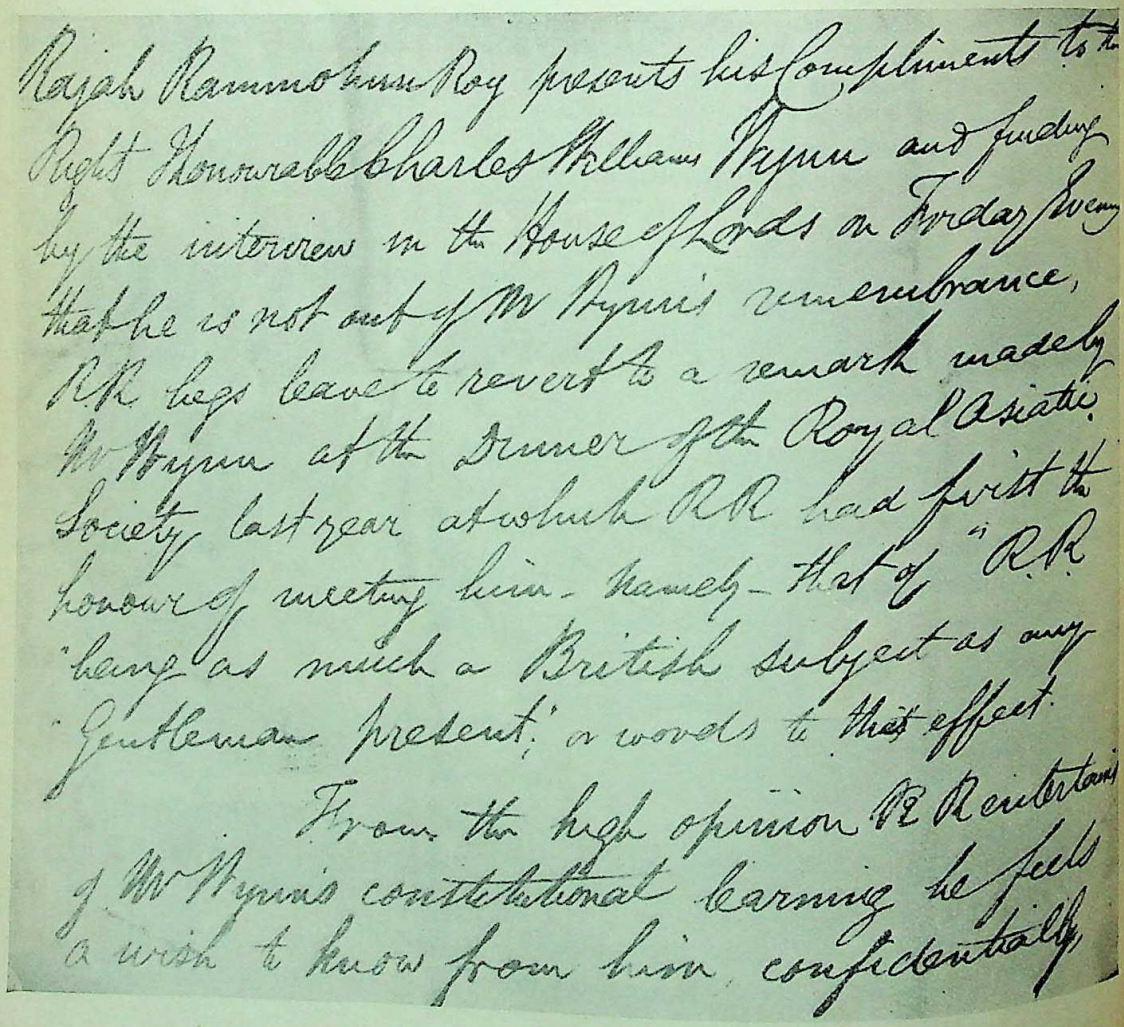
SOME NEW LIGHT ON RAJA RAMMOHUN ROY

By SIVA NARAYANA SEN,
Keeper, Nepal Museum

During my practical training in field archaeology at "Maiden Castle"—an archaeological site of England near Dorchester,—under the directorship of Dr. Mortimer Wheeler, M.C., D.Litt., Director, Institute of Archaeology of the University of London, I met Miss Iva Dundas, a cousin of Lord Zetland. She is responsible for the discovery, of the following letters written by Raja Rammohun Roy to the late Right Honourable C. W. Williams Wynn, M. P.

My friend Miss Dundas one night at the dinner table introduced me to her friend Miss N. Williams Wynn, great-granddaughter of the late Mr. Wynn. Miss Dundas used to invite her friend at her flat occasionally just to enjoy an after-dinner talk about India.

In one of these talks I gathered that Miss Wynn's father possessed some of the old letters written by prominent Indians to her great-grandfather. I was inquisitive about those letters and both of my friends helped me to get a packet of letters from Mr. A. W. Williams


Rajah Rammohun Roy presents his Compliments to the Right Honourable Charles Williams Wynn and finding by the interview in the House of Lords on Friday Evening that he is not out of Mr Wynn's remembrance, RR begs leave to revert to a remark made by Mr Wynn at the Dinner of the Royal Asiatic Society last year at which RR had first the honour of meeting him - namely - that of "RR being as much a British subject as any Gentleman present" or words to that effect.

From the high opinion RR entertains of Mr Wynn's constitutional learning he feels a wish to know from him confidentially

Letter No. I (Page 1)

Letter written to Mr. Wynn expressing the desire of Raja Rammohun Roy to sit in the House of Commons

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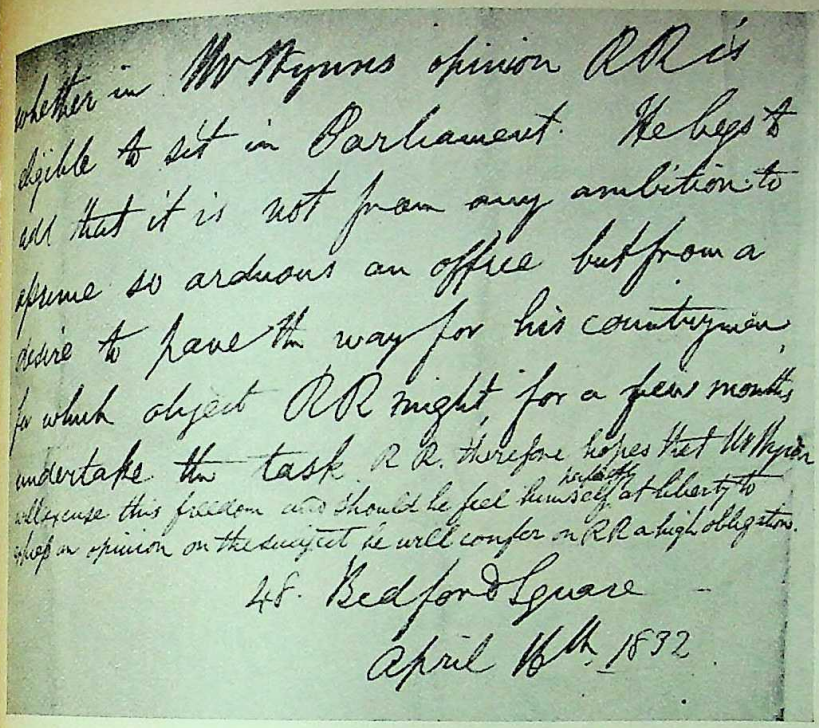
whether in Mr Wynns opinion RR is
eligible to sit in Parliament. He begs to
add that it is not from any ambition to
assume so arduous an office but from a
desire to pave the way for his countrymen
for which object RR might, for a few months
undertake the task. R R. therefore hopes that Mr Wynn
will excuse this freedom and should he feel himself at liberty to
express an opinion on the subject he will confer on RR a high obligation.
48. Bedford Square
April 16th 1832.

Letter No. I (Page 2)

Wynn, grandson of the late Mr. Wynn. In that packet I discovered the letters of Raja Rammohun Roy.

The late Right Honourable C. W. Williams Wynn, was the second son of the fourth baronet of his name, by Charlotte, daughter of the Right Hon. George Grenville. He was born on the 9th of October, 1775, and was educated at Westminster and Christ Church. He afterwards entered at Lincoln's Inn, and was called to the bar, but his fondness for political life, and the important part which his family had long taken in public affairs, soon combined to turn his attention into another channel. He entered Parliament as member for Old Sarum, 1796, and in the following year was returned for the county of Montgomery, which he continued to represent for an unbroken period of more than half a century. He took little or no part in debate for some time after his entrence into Parliament, at the age of 21, but gave constant support to the Government of Mr. Pitt, in which his uncle, the late Lord Grenville, then held the office of Secretary for Foreign Affairs. On the accession of Mr. Addington to power, in February, 1801, the Grenville party offered a strenuous opposition to that Minister. Mr. Wynn was one of the small minority who voted against the ratification of the peace of Amiens in the succeeding year, and he afterwards concurred in all the hostile movements of the powerful coalition which ultimately overthrew the Government. When Mr. Pitt was again called to the helm in the month of May, 1804, and Lord Grenville and his friends had refused to join him, Mr. Wynn sided regularly with the opposition, voting with Mr. Windham for a committee on the national defence, with Mr. Sheridan for the repeal of the Additional Force Bill, and with Mr. Whitbread for the motion of censure against Lord Melville.

On the formation of Lord Grenville's Ministry at the death of Mr. Pitt, Mr. Wynn held the office of Under-Secretary for the Home Department, but this Administration, which included the Whigs, the Grenvillites, and Lord Sidmouth in the same Cabinet, and was popularly designated as " all the talents," was composed of elements too discordant to be lasting, though its fall was hastened by the refusal of Lord Grenville and Lord Howick to fetter themselves by any written engagement on the subject of the Catholic claims. It was not till after the retirement, or rather the dismissal of the Grenville Administration that Mr. Wynn took a frequent part in public discussions. His active Parliamentary career began about this period; and his industry, acquirements, and personal popularity soon made him an important and distinguished member of the House of Commons. He continued in opposition during the whole progress of the war: he took a leading part in the debates on the seizure of the Danish Fleet, the Walcheren Expedition, and the charges preferred by Colonel Wardle against the Duke of York; and he gave a constant and strenuous support to the claims of the Roman Catholics. But the subjects in which he felt the deepest interest and took the most prominent part, were those affecting the usage and privileges of Parliament. If it had not been for an unfortunate weakness in his voice, which would have operated as a serious disqualification in filling the chair in the House of Commons, there can be little doubt that Mr. Wynn would have been chosen Speaker on more than

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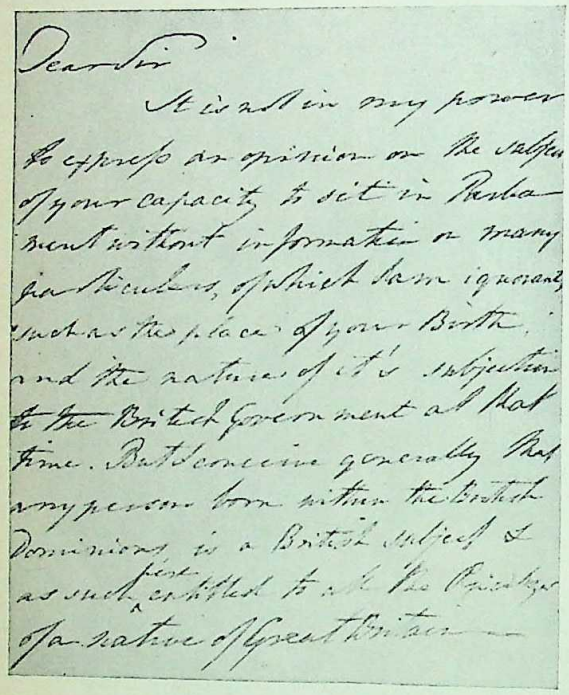
one occasion during his long and honorable career.

In the year 1822 Mr. Wynn accepted the office of President of the Board of Control, which he retained till the retirement of Lord Goderich


Dear Sir

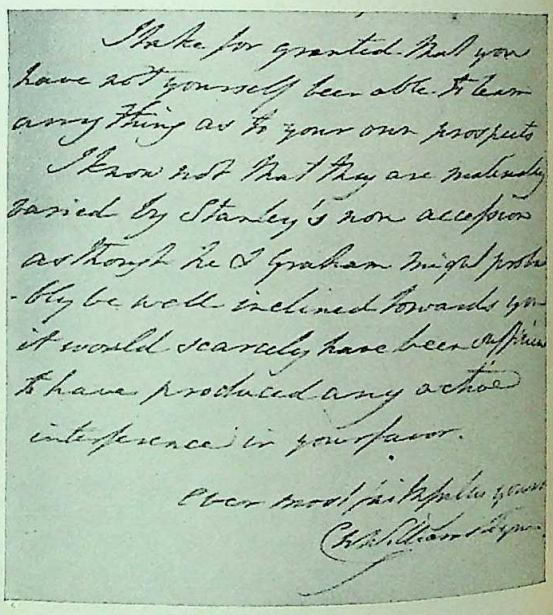
It is not in my power to express an opinion on the subject of your capacity to sit in Parliament without information on many particulars, of which I am ignorant, such as the place of your Birth, and the nature of it's subjection to the British Government at that time. But I conceive generally that any person born within the British Dominions is a British subject & as such entitled to all the Privileges of a native of Great Britain

Letter No. II
Handwritten copy of Mr. Wynn's reply to Raja Rammohun Roy

in 1828, and the functions of which he discharged during the six years in which he held it with efficiency and success. In 1827 he moved the new writ for Newport, when Mr. Canning had accepted the office of Prime Minister. He afterwards opposed the Administration of the Duke of Wellington, and supported the repeal of the Corporation and Test Acts, the removal of Jewish disabilities, and the disfranchisement of East Retford. He was appointed Secretary for War on the formation of Lord Grey's Ministry, having refused for the third time the Governor-Generalship of India, which had previously been twice pressed on him by Lord Liverpool. But his tenure of the new office was a very short one. He relinquished it on being apprised of the extent and character of the Reform Bill, which he believed to be too democratic in its tendency, and incompatible with the maintenance of a mixed form of Government. He voted, however, for going into Committee upon the Bill, though he opposed it in its further stages. He returned to office in 1834, as Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster in the short Ministry of Sir Robert Peel, and subsequently to that period he gave a cordial and almost uniform support to the policy of that lamented statesman.

At the close of 1809, when Lord Grenville succeeded the Duke of Portland as Chancellor of the University of Oxford, the large majority which he obtained over Lord Eldon and the Duke of Beaufort, was in great part owing to the energetic support and the zealous exertions of Mr. Wynn. In the subsequent contests for the representation of the University, Mr. Wynn's votes were given for Mr. Heber, Mr. Peel, and Mr. Gladstone.

His friendships were warm and lasting. Two of the most distinguished of his contemporaries, Reginald Heber (Bishop Heber) and Robert Southey, were among the most


I take for granted that you have not yourself been able to learn anything as to your own prospects. I know not that they are materially varied by Stanley's non acceptance as though he & Graham might probably be well inclined towards you it would scarcely have been in their power to have produced any active interference in your favor.

Ever most faithfully yours

Letter No. III
Specimen of Mr. Wynn's handwriting and signature (A part of the letter written to Dr. Joseph Phillimore on 13th Dec., 1834

valued and intimate of his friends. With both he maintained a constant and confidential intercourse. The affectionate relations that subsisted between the former and Mr. Wynn, are attested in almost every page of the Bishop's Correspondence, and the memoirs of the latter contain a touching record of generous kindness on one side, and of gratitude and attachment on the other.

Mr. Wynn died in Grafton Street, September 2nd, 1850.

These details of his career have been given to enable the reader to realize the authoritative

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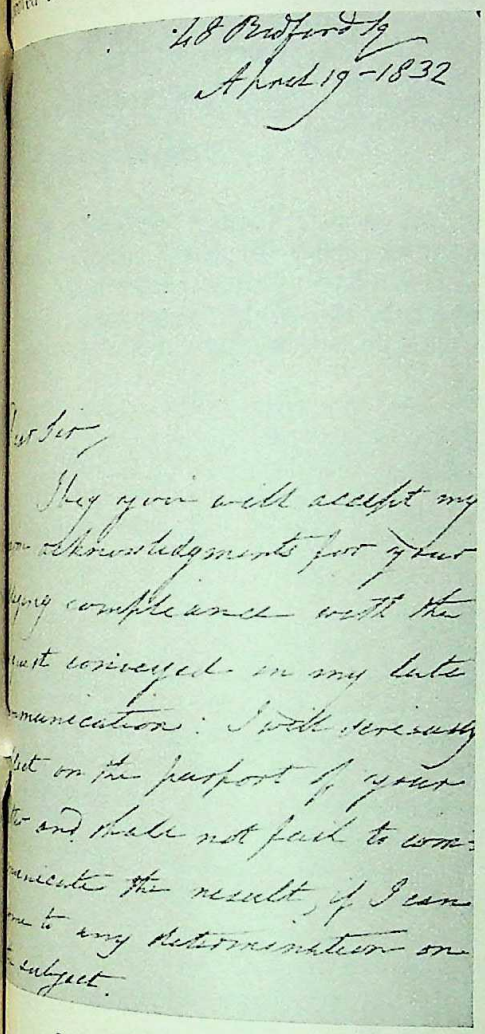
ter of any opinion given by him on any tutional question.

From the following facsimile of letters it ered that Raja Rammohun Roy was on


48 Bedford Sq
April 19-1832

Dear Sir,

I beg you will accept my ... acknowledgments for your ... compliance with the ... conveyed in my late ... communication: I will seriously ... upon the passport of your ... and shall not fail to com-municate the result, if I can ... to any determination on ... subject.

Letter No. IV (Page 1)
Raja Rammohun Roy's reply to late Mr. Wynn

friendship with Mr. Wynn, who appre-the Raja's merits very much.

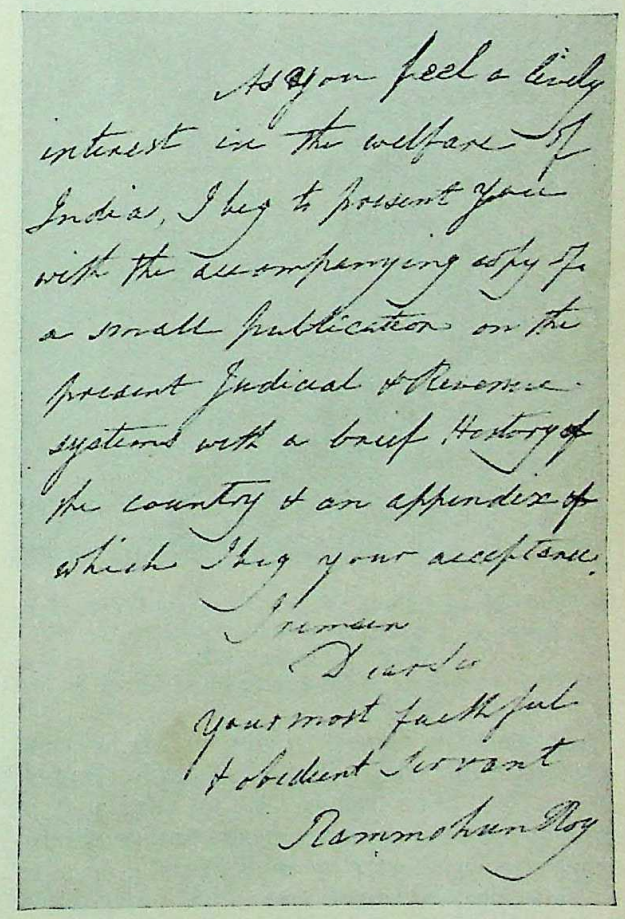
LETTER No I

"X8¾"; gilt-edged folder letter paper; ark reads as follows :—
Whatman, Turkey Mill. 1831.)
on both the sides of the first leaf. last page it is written—Rammohun April 1832. This note is a later one.

TEXT

Rajah Rammohun Roy presents his ents to the Right Honourable Charles Wynn and finding by the interview in ... of Lords on Friday Evening that he is not out of Mr. Wynn's remembrance, R. R. begs leave to revert to a remark made by Mr. Wynn at the Dinner of the Royal Asiatic Society last year, at which R. R. had first the honour of meeting him—namely—that of "R. R. being as much a British subject as any gentleman present"; or words to that effect.

"From the high opinion R. R. entertains of Mr. Wynn's constitutional learning he feels a wish to know from him, confidentially, *whether in Mr. Wynn's opinion R. R. is eligible to sit in Parliament.* He begs to add that it is not from any ambition to assume so arduous an office but from a desire to pave the way for his countrymen, for which object R. R. might, for a few months, undertake the task.


As you feel a lively interest in the welfare of India, I beg to present you with the accompanying copy of a small publication on the present Judicial & Revenue systems with a brief History of the country & an appendix of which I beg your acceptance.

I remain
Dear Sir
Your most faithful
& obedient Servant
Rammohun Roy

Letter No. IV (Page 2)

R. R. therefore hopes that Mr. Wynn will excuse this freedom; and should he feel himself perfectly at liberty to express an opinion on the subject he will confer on R. R. a high obligation.

48, Bedford Square
April 16th 1832."

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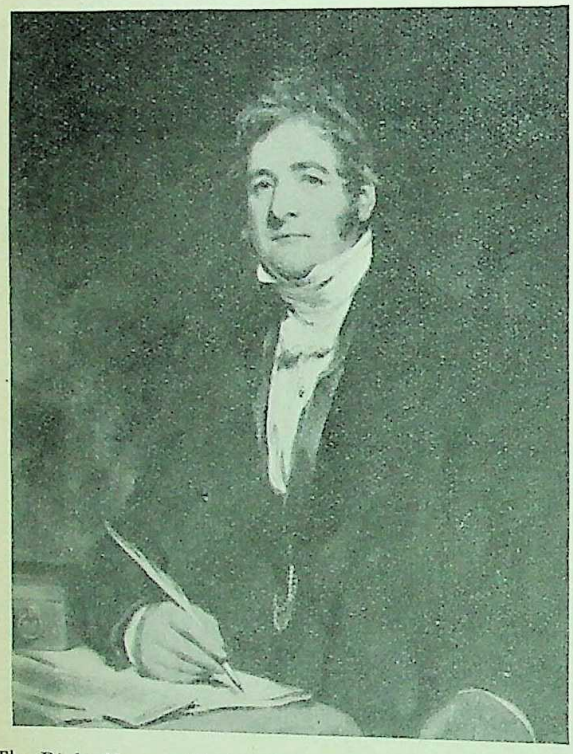
That this letter is not in the Raja's own handwriting is proved by the one signed by him. Most probably it was written by his secretary or some one of his friends at his wish. This letter speaks for itself that Raja Rammohun Roy was the first Indian aspirant to membership of the British Parliament and his patriotism and love for his nation are further supported by it. This letter also proves that he was well received by the then English



The Right Honourable C. Watkin Williams Wynn, M.P., President of the Board of Commissioners for the Affairs of India, 1822
[From an etching in the possession of Mr. S. N. Sen]

Society and the remark made by Mr. Wynn—President of the Royal Asiatic Society, London—at the dinner is an evidence of appreciation of the Raja's merits and personality during such a short stay in England.

This letter was found with other letters written by Raja Rammohun Roy and other prominent Indians to Mr. Wynn and the water-mark of the letter paper gives us the date as 1831. From the handwriting it appears to have been written by some Englishman (he might have been the Raja's secretary or a friend). To support this guess of mine, I should like to point out the style of script. In the body of the letter we find two words—"assume" and "express"—and from the style of writing "ss" I am inclined to suggest that it was written by an Englishman, as it was the prevalent style of script at the time in England.

A copy of the reply of Mr. Wynn to the letter of the Raja was kept in Mr. Wynn's own handwriting.

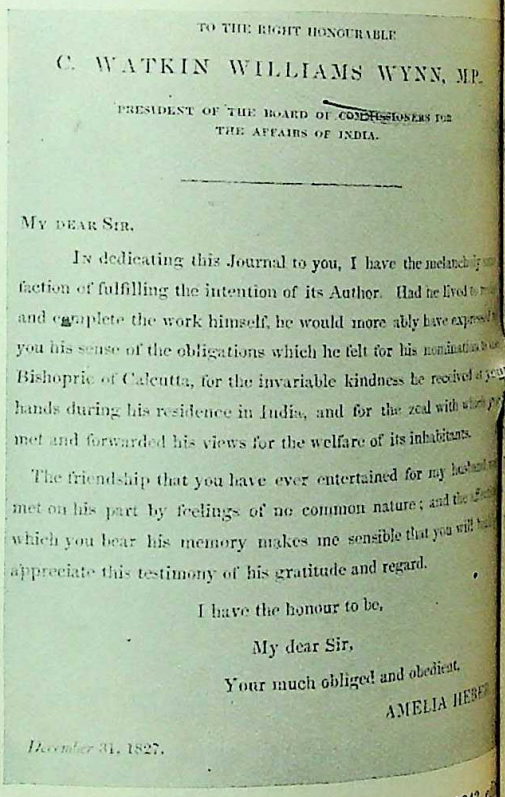
LETTER No II

$4\frac{1}{2}'' \times 7''$; gilt-edged folder letter paper

TEXT

"Dear Sir,

"It is not in my power to express an opinion on the subject of your capacity to sit in Parliament without information on many particulars, of which I am ignorant, such as the place of your birth, and the nature of your



TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE

C. WATKIN WILLIAMS WYNN, M.P.

PRESIDENT OF THE BOARD OF COMMISSIONERS FOR THE AFFAIRS OF INDIA.

MY DEAR SIR,

In dedicating this Journal to you, I have the melancholy satisfaction of fulfilling the intention of its Author. Had he lived to revise and complete the work himself, he would more ably have expressed to you his sense of the obligations which he felt for his nomination to the Bishopric of Calcutta, for the invariable kindness he received at your hands during his residence in India, and for the zeal with which you met and forwarded his views for the welfare of its inhabitants.

The friendship that you have ever entertained for my husband was met on his part by feelings of no common nature; and the affection which you bear his memory makes me sensible that you will kindly appreciate this testimony of his gratitude and regard.

I have the honour to be,

My dear Sir,

Your much obliged and obedient,

AMELIA HEBER

December 31, 1827.

Dedicatory page of Bishop Heber's Journal, 1843 ed.

subjection to the British Government at the time. But I conceive generally that any person born within the British dominions is a British subject and as such here entitled to all the privileges of a native of Great Britain—"

It now becomes quite clear that Raja Rammohun Roy had every chance to sit in Parliament if he had stood for election. Mr. Wynn was rather favourably inclined to him and there was practically no technical obstruction to the Raja's sitting in Parliament, but

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constitutionalist of Mr. Wynn's standing and no objection.

That this copy of the original letter was written by Mr. Wynn himself would be evident from the following facsimile of a portion of Mr. Wynn's signed letter written to Dr. J. Phillimore on 13th Dec., 1834. This letter was found by the representatives of the late Dr. J. Phillimore from among a number of old papers found among his papers.

LETTER No III

Receiving the reply of Mr. Wynn Raja Rammohun Roy again wrote to him on 19th April 1832. This letter of the Raja supports the genuineness of the copy of the reply of Mr. Wynn to his own letter.

LETTER No IV

$4\frac{3}{4}'' \times 7\frac{1}{4}''$; folder letter paper; watermark [illegible] as follows: (J. Whatman, 1832). Written on both the sides of the first leaf.

TEXT

"48 Bedford Square
April 19, 1832.

Dear Sir,

I beg you will accept my warm acknowledgements for your obliging compliance with the request conveyed in my late communication. I will seriously reflect on the purport of your letter and shall not fail to communicate the result, if I can come to any determination on the subject.

"As you feel a lively interest in the welfare of India, I beg to present you with the accompanying copy of a small publication on the present Judicial and Revenue system with a brief History of the country and an appendix, of which I beg your acceptance.

I remain
Dear sir
Your most faithful and obedient servant
Rammohun Roy"

The abovementioned correspondence between the Raja and the late Mr. Wynn throws some new light on the Raja's life history, hitherto unknown.

"To pave the way for his countrymen" to Parliament he wanted to sit in the House of Commons and his request received favourable consideration at the hand of Mr. Wynn.

I tried my best to discover further correspondence on the subject but I could not get any.

These letters would bear testimony to the inclination of the Raja towards politics, his intention to sit in Parliament and possibilities of his success in his efforts, his love of country and foresight.

I shall be failing in by duty, if I close without offering heartiest and sincerest thanks to Mr. Arthur Watkin Williams Wynn (grandson of the late Mr. Wynn), Miss N. Williams Wynn and Miss Iva Dundas on behalf of myself and modern India.

[I am grateful to Mr. Arthur Watkin Williams Wynn for materials on the life of the late Mr. Wynn.—Author.]

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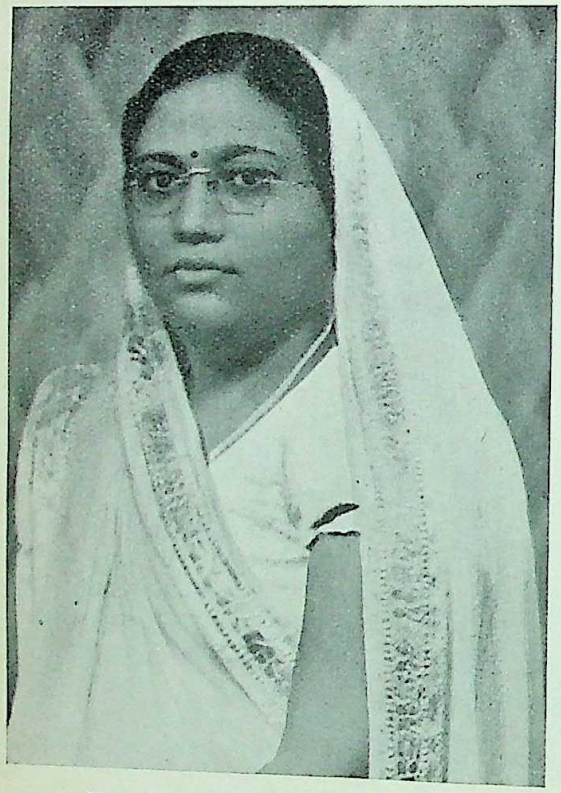
INDIAN WOMANHOOD

MRS. MAHABALKUMARI SHRINIWAS RAM has passed the B. A. Examination, as a non-collegiate candidate, this year. She is the first lady of the Marwari Agarwal Community to take the degree.



Mrs. Mahabalkumari Shriniwas Ram

MISS GODAVARI GOKHALE has been admitted as a member of the Servants of India Society, India. She is the First woman member of the Society.

MISS MUKTABAI SUBBARAO, M.A. of Hyderabad State after taking her B. Sc. (Econ.) degree from Cambridge has returned to India.

MRS. GYANWATI TRIVEDI appeared at the B. A. Examination of the Benares Hindu University as a private candidate and topped the list of successful candidates.

SRIMATI MONISHA SEN has secured First class in English in the last M. A. Examination of the Calcutta University. She was a student of the Scottish Church College and is the only candidate to secure First class in English this year. She hails from Chittagong district.

Srimati Monisha Sen

SRIMATI KAMALA DEVI (University student) and SRIMATI PROTIMAMOYEE DEVI (non-collegiate) have also secured First class in Modern Indian Languages in the last M. A. Examination. They are the two candidates to secure First class in this subject this year.

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THE FAQIR OF IPI

By G. J. G.

Faqir Mirza Ali Khan, short, thin, sickly, and a fanatical fire-brand, born about 1897, notoriously known as the Faqir of Ipi, is the son of Mullah Arsala Khan, Bangal Khel, Maddi Khel Haibati, Tori Khel Wazir, of Khajuri, Bannu district. He was a pupil in religion of Mullah Alam Khan of Ipi, and moved from Khajuri to Ipi, a village in Mirali Tehsil, North Waziristan, in about 1920, accompanied by his brother Sher Zaman. The Faqir of Ipi's proficiency in religious knowledge is said to be somewhat below the usual standard as among Mullahs. But even so he is much respected in North Waziristan, particularly by the Lower Daurs and the Tori Khel, and is now considered in the light of a Warrior Saint. Prior to 1934 the Faqir was comparatively unknown, but after that year his influence began increasing gradually. His popularity may be partially due to the fact that his *stand* has been one of "religion" and also to the fact that previously he accepted little or no *Sharana*—religious donations. He was the most important divine of North Waziristan to accompany the Wazir lashkar to Moghalgai, Khost (Afghanistan), during the Khost disturbances of 1933.

A Determined Enemy of Government

The Faqir of Ipi, who had up to 1936 not entered into politics of any description, suddenly came into prominence as a crafty and determined enemy of Government, when in April 1936, intense communal excitement was engendered in the Bannu district by the proceedings in the law-courts following on the abduction and conversion to Islam of a Hindu school girl, now only too well known as the Islam Bibi case. This agitation, fomented partly for electioneering purposes, soon spread to the Lower Daur valley in the North Waziristan Agency, its figurehead in that area being Faqir Mirza Ali of Ipi, *alias* the Faqir of Ipi. In April 1936, he led a large lashkar, consisting mainly of Lower Daurs, into the Khaisora valley as a means of exercising pressure on the Government in the decision of the Islam Bibi case.

The Daur Maliks and leaders were patiently reasoned with by the Agency officers and facilities were given for certain of their Mullahs to attend the court proceedings in the Islam Bibi case. But the Faqir of Ipi refused to hear reason, and making extensive capital out of the case, informed "jirgas" who waited on him to try and persuade him to adopt a reasonable attitude and disperse the lakshkar, that he did not propose to do so until the Shahidganj Mosque at Lahore had been restored to the Muslims, and the Islam Bibi case had been decided in the Muslims' favour, and until Government had also given an undertaking not to interfere in religious questions for the future.

Raised A Formidable Lashkar

About the middle of April 1936, Ipi had succeeded in raising a formidable armed lashkar chiefly of Daurs, but with small contingents of irresponsibles mainly from Wazir sections. With this force he proceeded to the Lower Khaisora, on the confines of Wazir and Mahsud country and close to the Bannu district border. (The Khaisora is an important river in North Waziristan. It flows between and parallel to the Tochi and Shaktu rivers and finally joins the Tochi in the Bannu civil district, a few miles south-west of Bannu. The portion of the river which flows to the east of the main road at Asad Khel is known as the Lower Khaisora. "Khaisora" is a Pashtu word signifying an open valley surrounded by hills). His declared object was to threaten the Bannu district and so to over-awe the Government into deciding the Islam Bibi case in favour of the Muslim party.

Destruction of the Faqir's Houses

Repeated warnings by Government that it would not permit itself to be coerced by threats of armed forces and that the lashkar should disperse on pain of punishment were disregarded. As a result, to show that the Government was in earnest, the houses of the Faqir and two other ring leaders were destroyed. This together with the establishment of a cordon of civil and military forces between the Lower Daur country and the lashkar, speedily resulted in its dispersal. The Faqir of Ipi himself, however, with a small personal following, remained

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in the Khaisora. The Tori Khel, of whom the Faqir is a member, co-operated willingly in effecting the dispersal of the Faquir's lashkar.

Challenging Government's Right

For some months all remained quiet, and little was heard of the Faqir of Ipi, but in August 1936, there was an immediate renewal of hostilities, again fostered by the Faqir, over the decision of the Hon'ble the Judicial Commissioner, North-West Frontier Province, announcing the return of the girl, who was by this time spoken of among the tribes as Islam Bibi, to the custody of her parents. The Faqir had in the meantime spent the summer mostly with the Zarinai sub-section of the Tori Khel on the Lower Khaisora, but within easy reach of Mahsud country. The form of hostility now preached by the Faqir was to challenge Government's right to move its forces in the Lower Khaisora. This threat could not be tolerated by the Government as the Tori Khel had first signed an agreement giving Government forces free access to the Lower Khaisora valley in return for an increase in their allowances.

Tori Khel's Failure to Remove the Faqir

The Tori Khel were given every opportunity to remove the Faqir from the Khaisora but despite all efforts, failed to do so. Their jirga finally suggested that Government should send a strong force into the Khaisora to terminate the Faqir's activities. They promised their co-operation and did not anticipate more than slight opposition.

Opposition to Military Forces

Accordingly, on the 25th November, 1936, the Razmak and Bannu Brigades marched into the Lower Khaisora, the former from Damdil, the latter from Mirali, to effect a junction at Bichi Kashkai on the left bank of the Khaisora, opposite Kartanai village, the centre of the Faqir's activities. Strong opposition was encountered by the Brigades mainly owing to the presence of formidable Mahsud gangs from the Shaktu valley, including the notorious bandit leader Raji Gul. These elements stiffened the resistance of the Wazir malcontents who mainly composed the Faqir's following. The offending tribesmen had by this unwarranted attack violated the sacred principle of hospitality and long standing agreements, as the columns were entering that territory at the express invitation of tribal maliks.

Military Action

Military action immediately taken by strong military force, with air co-operation, had a salutary effect, and early in 1937 the Tori Khel had accepted the Government's terms. Government also insisted on the control or expulsion of the Faqir from within the Tori Khel limits. The tribe expressed themselves as confident of dealing with the Faqir, and their first action was to send a jirga to bring pressure to bear on Ipi and his small following. Early in February the Tori Khel elders reported that the Faqir had agreed to cease hostilities permanently and that it only remained to settle details regarding the individuals who were to give security for his future good behaviour.

Brutal Murders By Faqir's "Gangsters"

At this point the whole structure of peace was violently overturned by the cold-blooded and brutal murders of two gallant British officers—Captain J. A. Keogh of the South Waziristan Scouts, and Lieutenant R. N. Beatty of the Tochi Scouts. This double outrage had, as it was possibly designed to have, the most unfortunate effect on the situation. The arrangements for furnishing security for the Faqir began to hang fire, and there were rumours of renewal of trouble after the Id-uz-Zuha (end of February, 1937).

The Faqir's Propaganda

The Faqir of Ipi began to show his hand again and on February 26, 1937, before a large gathering of tribesmen, he delivered speeches exhorting the tribes to rise against the Government in the name of Islam and spoke of promises of support which he had received from numerous quarters. In the meantime, the Tori Khel were given an ultimatum by the Resident in Waziristan to the effect that if they did not discharge their responsibility in respect of the Faqir the whole tribe would be subjected to blockade and their Khassadars suspended.

Tribes Resolve That Government Had Not Interfered in Religion—Failure of Jirgas

Towards the end of March a final effort to avoid renewal of warfare was made through the agency of the representative maliks of the Utmanzai, the main Wazir division which includes the Tori Khel and all important Wazir tribes of North Waziristan. They *unanimously resolved that the Government had not interfered with religion,* and proceeded to interview the

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Faqir in the Khaisora with a view to saving the Tori Khel from drifting into a senseless war with the Government. The Faqir at first received the jirga with temporizing replies, and while the negotiations were in progress a treacherous attack was carried out by a large body of his followers, under his chief lieutenants, in the neighbourhood of Damdil, on the main Razmak road. Hostilities were again revived and intensified by deliberate acts of war on the part of the Faqir and his followers. The jirga's efforts to persuade Ipi to desist from his hostile activities failed. Tribal offences showed no signs of diminution; camps and posts were sniped and bridges and culverts on the roads were damaged.

The Tori Khel, owing to the continued hardships and deprivations to which they had been subjected by land and air blockade, made overtures for peace towards the end of May, 1937. In spite of vigorous propaganda by Ipi to involve his own tribe—the Tori Khel—in renewed hostilities, the attitude of the tribe remained satisfactory.

The Faqir in Madda Khel Country

The Faqir then moved to Madda Khel country, and with his move the effect of his propaganda in that country was again evident. Appeals to Khassadars to desert from the Government's service and enlist under Ipi, who reported to offer better terms of employment, led to the desertion or resignation of a number of Khassadars in the Razmak-Razani-Datta Khel area. Offences on the road and sniping at military camps and Scouts' posts became more frequent. The Ghambaki area, where the Faqir had his headquarters, was accordingly placed under air blockade. This, together with active action taken against certain villages, had a salutary effect; the majority of the Khassadars, who had deserted or resigned, returned to their duties, and other supporters of Ipi withdrew.

The Faqir, was, however, still in the Madda Khel country, though the tribe at first denied it. The tribe was warned, but it was obvious that they could not take upon themselves the risk of openly expelling the Faqir or give security for his future good behaviour. The warning, however, proved ineffective, and as a result of action taken against the tribe, the Faqir retired to Kharre, north-west of Miranshah on the Durand Line. The tribe also promised that should the Faqir re-enter their limits they would use their utmost to turn him out, failing which they would ask the Government to do so.

Keeping The Faqir on The Run

It was now the Government's policy to keep Ipi on the run, and a military column advanced towards Kharre which the tribes had come to believe was the Faqir's impregnable lair. The Faqir, however, retreated across the Durand Line into Afghanistan. He did not remain there long and was soon back from that area, and after a short visit to Musa Nika in South Waziristan, he settled once more in Madda Khel country, moving about from place to place as each village which harboured him was, after due warning to the inhabitants, bombed.

The Faqir's Gangsters

Districts in or near the border have suffered from the back-wash of events in North Waziristan, and Mehr Dil, the cut-throat Lieutenant of the Faqir, has been very active in and around those districts. His chief raid was the attack on Bannu City at the end of July, 1938. It is, however, noteworthy that there has been no recrudescence of tribal unrest on any considerable scale. Looting gangs and the Faqir's "gangsters" have continued their hostile activities of sniping at protection troops, cutting telephone and telegraph wires and kidnapping.

The opposition which has been experienced has not, as is the general belief, been due to the Faqir's "statesmanship" or his "leadership" as a "General Officer Commanding Tribal Areas," but has undoubtedly had its impulse from a widespread idea that Islam is in danger from Government interference and that the Government wish to deprive the border tribes of their ancient freedom and to break them to the British yoke. This propaganda has been sedulously fostered and spread by the Faqir of Ipi probably only to raise his much lowered prestige. The dissemination of propaganda by the Faqir throughout has been most clever and among other things he has from time to time promised his adherents immunity from bullets, shells, and aeroplane bombs. Ipi's natural astuteness caused him, however, to add a clever rider to this preposterous statement to the effect that anyone who did die was probably lacking in faith, and as such worthy of death. Wilder and more fantastic still were the rumours that gained credence in Waziristan of the miraculous powers of Ipi, and more marvellous still, the vast majority of the tribesmen believed them and that the Faqir had the heavenly hosts on his side. Attracted by this promise and supported by a belief in the supernatural powers

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of Ipi of controlling the destinies of the others, and lastly, but by no means the least, the hope of loot, the Faqir has always had a small following of discontented and credulous tribesmen the majority of whom have been notorious hostiles and outlaws, such as Mehr Dil, Gagu, Sher Zaman and Mushk-i-Alam, who have from time to time carried on guerilla warfare against posts and communications, sniping of camps and picquets, damage to telegraph and telephone lines, mining roads and tracks with country-made bombs and kidnapping. It may however be noted that the more responsible elements, the maliks and elders of the various tribes, have had no sympathy with any of these offences, and the tribes generally have so far given no active assistance, as a whole, to Ipi and his "gangsters," although individual members have been concerned in hostilities. The Faqir's own tribe, the Tori Khel, have also behaved well, and although the Faqir is to some degree revered by all tribesmen, with few exceptions, only the Lower Daurs have needed to be reminded openly that Ipi is an enemy of the Government and as such may not be assisted in any way.

It is ridiculous to say that the Government seizes on plausible excuses of making a thrust into Tribal Territory and trying to deprive the border tribes of their ancient freedom and to break them to the British yoke. Those who know the history of the relations of tribesmen in the Frontier with the Government know without a doubt that every one enjoys perfect freedom in matters of religion and custom and that any insinuation of high-handedness on the part of the Government in dealing with the tribesmen is absolutely incorrect and a gross misapprehension. It is also only too well known that the Government's leniency has characterised the dealings with all the tribesmen. It is an undisputed fact that the Mahsuds and Wazirs were the scourge of the Bannu and Dera Ismail Khan districts, devastating these areas for many years, kidnapping and killing hundreds of harmless agriculturists, and also owing to the fact that the unwarlike Daurs of the Tochi valley had been for generations at the mercy of their predatory neighbours and it was the desire for protection from their hereditary foes which prompted them to beseech the Government to occupy and protect their territory, the Government were therefore compelled to make certain expeditions into Waziristan to punish the offending tribes. Government forces did no more than punish the offending tribes suitably and withdraw after inflicting such punishment and receiving assurances of their future good behaviour. Although it has always been the Government's policy to respect tribal rights and customs, it has at the same time never been the policy of a civilized Government to surrender defenceless men and women to the bloody vengeance of their irate neighbours. Owing to constant violations of the tribes' long-standing agreements and frequent repetition of their bad behaviour towards the settled districts the Government was finally compelled to adopt the "Forward Policy".

The policy of the Government on the Frontier does not however leave out of account the desirability of improving the economic conditions of the Tribal Areas as a means to their permanent pacification and civilisation. Much had been done in this respect up to 1936 to develop the resources of the Tribal Areas, improve the agricultural methods of the tribes and assist in the marketing of their produce. Roads are built, maintained and protected by tribesmen, for which services they are paid—money thus being brought into the country. The roads themselves facilitate the development of trade and intercourse between Tribal Areas and the plains of India. It is hoped that the tribesmen, and the Faqir, will eventually realize that the Government means them no harm but is out to assist them to develop their country for their own good, and that Waziristan will return to the normal as soon as possible that the good work already started may be continued.

Key to the Frontiespiece

The frontiespiece in this issue illustrates the following myth of the Hindus: Trinavarta the demon was deputed by Kamsa to steal away and kill the boy Krishna, who, it was known, would later prove an enemy to Kamsa. Trinavarta created a dust-storm and tried to kidnap Krishna; he, however, failed in his mission and was killed by Krishna.

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INDIAN PERIODICALS

Stray Thoughts Recalled

History slowly smothers truth, but hastily struggles
erive it in a terrible penance of pain.

The world suffers most from the disinterested
ency of its well-wishers.

The man proud of his sect thinks that he has the
bolled into his private pond.

To bear the cost of the instrument and never to
w that it is for music, is the tragedy of life's deaf-
s.

The clumsiness of power spoils the key and uses
pickaxe.

Emancipation from the bondage of the soil is no
dom for the tree.

Flower, have pity for the worm: it is not a bee,
ove is a blunder and a burden.

RABINDRANATH TAGORE
in The Visva-Bharati Quarterly

The Communel Award and Indian Nationalism

Prof. H. C. Mokerjee, President, All-India
ference of Indian Christians, concludes his
le on the Communal Decision in *The
dia Review* with the following remarks :

In conclusion let us try to sum up the effects of
communal award in India. This most objectionable
asures, if retained permanently, is bound to have
llowing mischievous consequences. As the result
e disruption in our political life which must follow
egration among the different religious and social
ups it may indefinitely prolong our poltical servitude
the British Government. The presence of the
h Government will be absolutely necessary in
s to preserve an even balance between the rival
s of contending groups. These must always de-
on the British Government to maintain peace and
whenever clashes are apprehended between con-
g groups. This again will have the effect of per-
ing our economic servitude. In the absence of
in the political field, we shall experience almost
mountable difficulty in evolving a common eco-
policy calculated to turn India into a self-suffi-
country. Selfishness and greed which, as the
of the working of this principle, will be at a
m will tend to retard social progress, specially
the legislation aimed at the amelioration of back-
groups will imply the taxation of other selfish
Lastly, with every group becoming commun-
ded, there will be a constant struggle between
ups for as large a share as possible of immediate
ages and so their fusion into a united Indian
n may be indefinitely postponed. We shall thus have a practical demonstration of the survival of the fittest but the fittest in this case will be not the most but the least patriotic, not the least but the most selfish, and our country will never know the meaning of peace or amity either in public or private life. All these disadvantages of the communal award were realized when an Indian State like Hyderabad, in the reforms announced on the 20th July this year, refused to allow the elected representatives to be sent to its legislature on the system of communal electorates and substituted for it the system of joint electorates,

He suggests the following remedy :

I have very briefly referred to the kind of national disintegration for which I hold the communal award responsible. I am of course aware that the real trouble lies deeper and that this conflict is really due to the selfishness innate in sinful humanity. None the less it is equally true that this innate selfishness of man has found an easy method of expressing itself through the communal award with its infinite capacities for mischief. I have no illusions about a universal and a radical change of heart. I do not believe that there is much lkelihood at present that all the different religious and social groups will come to a mutual agreement and present something like a joint petition to Parliament for the abolition of the communal award. On the other hand, it is only too likely that selfishness will filter downwards and that further social, economic and religious groups will put in their claims for a share in the good things of life. I only hope that this process will go on till it reaches such proportions as to make every Indian realize wherein his true interests lie. Then and then only will there be any likelihood of our coming to a common agreement and making our demand to the British Parliament.

I am aware that this attitude is characteristic of the pessimism of age but I would most gladly be called a false prophet if only I was certain that a less painful and quicker way out of this most difficult of situations could be found. And this solution of the problem has been offered by Margaret Barns. This lady reported in London on the three Round Table Conferences after which she came to India. Here she spent ten years in journalistic work and enjoyed exceptional opportunities of familiarising herself with Indian conditions. According to her, all political problems are really economic problems and, as such, unity among the different social and religious groups is inevitable. After her return to London she wrote a book entitled "India To-day and To-morrow" from which the following lines are taken:—

"The problem of hunger is the same whether a man is a Hindu, Mohammadan, or Sikh. The struggle for existence is just as keen if he is a Christian or an Anglo-Indian.....Consider for one moment the type of legislation which is likely to engage the attention of the legislatures. Whether it affects the maintenance of

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law and order, social conditions, fiscal policy, education, taxation, unemployment—it will affect the electorate as citizens and not as adherents of this or that religion. In spite of separate communal electorates, there is no insuperable obstacle standing in the way of formation of political parties on economic bases."

Prohibition

The use of alcohol-containing beverages is harmful to the user and to society as a whole. The history of alcohol, as related to man's experiences from the time of Noah to the repeal amendment in the United States, reveals a tale of sorrow, degradation, sullied lives and much ill-health. Legislators, jurists, pshychiatrists, physicians and social workers have been sorely taxed to deal effectively with the many and far-reaching evil results. Writes Dr. H. C. Menkel in *The Oriental Watchman & Health*:

Dr. Haven Emerson of Columbia University defines the action and effects of alcohol as, "Alcohol is a depressant, a habit-forming narcotic drug. Alcohol is a protoplasmic poison. Alcohol is drunk to get the drug effect, and whenever it is so taken in whatever amount, it exerts to some degree its depressant and toxic effects. Alcohol causes disease, alcohol causes deaths from acute and chronic poisoning. Alcohol reduces resistance to infection. Alcohol diminishes likelihood of recovery from acute infections such as pneumonia. Alcohol increases liability to accidents, and delays recovery. Alcohol reduces endurance, accuracy, and rapidity of muscular action of all kinds even when used in such small amounts as to show effects inappreciable subjectively by the user. Alcohol decreases expectation of life, alcohol reduces the chance of survival of offspring. Alcohol deteriorates emotional and nervous control as expressed in unreliable judgment and self-control."

During thirty-two years of medical practice in India, I have seen much of the irreparable effects on nerves, kidneys, liver, heart, and circulatory system, of habitual alcoholic drinking. In my own particular field of medicine,—digestive, nutritional, and metabolic diseases,—alcohol is most definitely unfavourable ,and its use prejudicial to favourable results.

Sir Patrick Manson is quoted as having said, "If alcohol were removed from India, half of my practice would immediately cease." Dr. A. C. Ivy of Northwest University states, "It is dangerous to play with a habit-forming poison or narcotic such as alcohol. Alcohol depresses the critical and most sensitive faculties of the brain. Alcohol affects memory and learning. Alcohol is a direct and principal cause of several types of mental disease."

The religion of the Bible, on which Christianity is based, definitely discourages the use of intoxicating beverages, giving historical examples of evil consequences, even among the priesthood.

It appears that wine led two of the sons of Aaron to offer strange or forbidden fire before the Lord. These men most probably used wine "in moderation," but the effect incapacitated them to discern between what was sacred and common between the spiritually clean and unclean. Consequently, the priesthood was commanded for all time not to drink wine or strong drink of any kind: "And Nadab and Abihu, the sons of Aaron, took either of them his censer, and put fire therein, and put incense thereon, and offered strange fire before the Lord, which He commanded them not. And there went out fire from the Lord, and devoured them, and they died before the Lord.....And the Lord spake unto Aaron, saying, Do not drink wine nor strong drink, thou, nor the sons with thee, when ye go into the tabernacle of the congregation, lest ye die: it shall be a statute for ever throughout your generations." Leviticus 10: 1, 2, 8, 9.

The basic teaching of the New Testament covering all defiling and questionable practices, may be gathered from the following quotation: "Ye are the temple of the living God; as God hath said, I will dwell in them and walk in them; and I will be their God, and they shall be My people. Wherefore come out from among them, and be ye separate, saith the Lord, and touch not the unclean thing; and I will receive you, and will be a Father unto you, and ye shall be My sons and daughters, saith the Lord Almighty. Having therefore these promises, dearly beloved, let us cleanse ourselves from all filthiness of the flesh and spirit, perfecting holiness in the fear of God." II Corinthians 6: 16 to 7: 1.

If there is ever to be a real moral rearmament in this world, then the place alcohol now occupies among our peoples must certainly be overthrown. But such a change can come only from an enlightened and convinced public opinion.

The Nature of Value

There are two main questions relating to Value which need consideration. The first is the question of the objectivity of value, the second that of the unity of value. In presenting the Indian point of view on the subject of evaluation G. R. Malkani writes in *The Aryan Path*:

The Western view of Value is the common-sense view. According to it, Value is essentially objective. Something is valuable because it *is* so, and not because I approve of it. This common-sense view, however, is very partial and in the end untrue. It requires to be supplemented. The objectivity of Value cannot indeed be wholly annulled, but it can be seen to be subordinate to the subjective.

The first thing that is to be noted is the relativity of the Value-concept.

This relativity is absent from the notion of being. Whatever has being is independent of my knowing of it. Being is nothing if it is not *being-in-itself*. I may know it, but my knowing makes no difference to it. At least such is the meaning of true knowledge. It is different with Value. Value cannot *be-in-itself*. Value is *for me*. It has a necessary reference to an intelligent end or purpose. Something is valuable only so far as it realizes a certain end of mine. This may be pleasure or some other form of good. But nothing is good or bad and nothing has any value which does not further or obstruct my ends. Indeed, we speak of an end which is good, as though goodness were a character of the end. But this is only metaphor.

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has reference to comparative good. In truth, every simply because it is an end, is a form of good. satisfies a certain demand or a want, and is in that necessarily good. Even a vicious end has nega- value. It realizes a good which is really and ultim- no good. We cannot have value without refer- to ends. And all ends are essentially subjective.

Does any analysis of our experience indicate objectivity of Value ?

Now it is true that all our experience is subject- experience. But this experience does not have uniform character. Its character is dependent upon way the subject functions. The subject functions certainly; and the way in which it functions deter- the metaphysical status of the object. When said to know, the object may be understood to real being or independent being. When I will, willed situation, which is the object here, has no in itself; its being is evidently dependent upon willing. When I feel, the relationship again is quite ent. We maintain that it is this form of relation- which is found in the case of our experience of . The felt object is not independent of the of it; it is in indistinguishable unity with the .

Let us take, as an instance, the objects of tic enjoyment.

A picture which we regard as beautiful is, objective- speaking, nothing but certain lines and patches of . If we were truly impassive or unfeeling sub- we should merely take note of the given sensible as it directly affects our visual organ, or as it be intellectually interpreted to symbolise certain or possible objects. We could by no stretch of ination read into the coloured patches the quality we call "beauty." This quality is part of the *feeling* or the *appreciation* of beauty. Take from beauty the subjective element of joy, and ther beauty can survive. It is as little possible headache without a feeling of headache. A world ich there was no intelligent being to appreciate or to feel the peculiar joy of the beautiful, be a world without beauty, and so without value.

Kedarnath

Looking back over past experiences, one is by the discovery that many events that large at the time of their happening have either obliterated or reduced to vague, ingless impressions, while some experiences seemed to have little relevance to one's al life then, have gathered significance the passage of time. With this foreword indranath Tagore begins his reminiscences *Viśva-Bharati Quarterly* :

were of a stream of pilgrims plodding their way hills and valleys, across rushing torrents and ice- to the seat of the great Siva, the temple of ath on the border of Tibet. Pilgrims came from dy desertland of the Punjab, from the cocoanut of Malabar, from the soft green fields of Bengal, every part of India. They included youngsters out of their teens, white-haired elders retired from all worldly affairs, newly-wed brides and wrinkled up old widows—men, women and children, old and young. They were dressed in a hundred different garbs, the gay colours of the Rajput women, the magnificent turbans of the Punjabi army officers, intermingling with the simple white dhoti and sari of the Bengalees, the ample folds of the dust-coloured skirts worn by the women of Agra and neighbouring districts, the long yellow robes of the Sannyasis and the almost nude bodies smirched with ashes and ochre paint of the different sects of Sadhus. Over 200 miles of stony path fringing the holy river as it wound its rough way through Himalayan mountains the pilgrims marched. The wide valleys, hot and dusty, where grew apricots and pomegranates, gradually gave way to forest glades scented with the rosen gum of the deodars. The road climbs higher and higher until from a dizzy height the river is seen like a silvery thread winding the feet of the hills like the anklets of a dancing girl. Down into the gorge a precarious crossing is provided by a hanging bridge of ropes over the rushing steam leaping over boulders as big as houses. Crossing a wide plateau, a flat prairie of reeds and grasses with solitary mango trees to mark the way, the pilgrims reach Karnaprayag where the river parts itself in two, the turbulent Alakananda noisily following the wider valley on its upward course to the glaciers of Badrinath and the delicate blue green Mandakini (Heavenly stream), true to its name, rising rapidly through narrow gorges, cut into deeply wooded slopes of the mountain chain that leads to the ice-fields of Kedernath.

Sitting in a circle under a spreading walnut tree, where the limpid waters of the maidenly Mandakini disdain to mingle their virgin purity with the muddy Alakananda, the women light fires and bake *chapatis*. Their hands keep time with the lilting tune of the song composed for occasion:

Kedarnathke charana-kamalame prana hamara atake

(At the lotus feet of Kedarnath my soul rests.)

Streeper and streeper the path cuts its way upwards. It is hardly a path—a narrow wedge-shaped passage cut into the rock rising almost perpendicular from the bottom, thousands of feet below. The feet are swollen and bruised by the sharp-pointed flints. Only a few steps at a time can be taken; breathing is difficult. Pain and misery are written on the face of everyone. I hear a heart-rending cry behind me. Turning round I see a decrepit beggar almost in the last stages of consumption, who had been following us, bemoaning the loss of the last bit of rag which he had managed to wind round his bloodstained feet. As he saw my pitiful look he cried out:

"Don't look like that. This is a small matter. I shall not be left behind. My Kedernath is calling me;—who will stand in my way? Jai Kedar ki jai!"

Decipherment of the Brahmi Alphabet

Just over a hundred years ago, in 1838, James Prinsep, Assay Master of the Calcutta Mint and Secretary to the Asiatic Society of Bengal, succeeded in deciphering completely the Brahmi alphabet, which were used in the inscriptions of King Asoka. He succeeded in partially deciphering the Kharosthi alphabet as well in which Asoka recorded his rock edicts in

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the North-Western Frontier Province and Afghanistan, which then formed part of the Indian Empire. The following is an extract from an article in *Science and Culture* :

As Secretary of the Asiatic Society of Bengal (from 1831-1838), Prinsep came across a large number of ancient inscriptions recorded either on rocks or on pillars and also inscription on coins sometimes in the original or in facsimile. It is now known that these inscriptions range from the time of Asoka up to Muhammedan times. The facsimiles of the Asokan inscriptions at Girnar in Gujrat and on the Asokan Pillar at Feroz Shah Tughlak's palace in Delhi (at that time known as the Golden Lat) and the Asokan inscriptions on the pillars at the great Buddhist monument at Sanchi had been in the possession of the Asiatic Society for some times past but their true meaning was unknown. James Prinsep had been writing papers about the old Greek coins and the inscriptions and making all sorts of guesses about the meaning of the symbols, but the true significance of the symbols flashed across his mind in a happy moment of inspiration. The story of his discovery is reproduced here in his own language:

"While arranging and lithographing the numerous scraps for fascimiles for Plate ('Inscriptions from Sanchi, taken in facsimile on paper by Capt. E. Smith.') I was struck at their all terminating with the same two letters. Coupling this circumstance with their extreme brevity and insulated position, which proved that they could not be fragments of a continuous text, it immediately occurred (to me) that they must record either obituary notices, or more probably the offerings and presents of votaries, as is shown to be the present custom in the Buddhist temples of Ava; where numerous *dhvajas* or flag-staff images, and small *chaityas* are crowded within the enclosure, surrounding the chief cupola, each bearing the name of the donor. The next point noted was the frequent occurrence of the letter, already set down incontestably as *s*, before the final word. Now this I had learnt from the Saurashtra coins, deciphered only a day or two before, to be one sign of the genitive case singular, being the *ssa* of the Pali, or *sya* of the Sanskrit. "Of so and so the gift," must then be the form of each brief sentence; and the vowel *a* and *anusvara* led to the speedy recognition of the word *danam* (gift), teaching me the very two letters, *d* and *n*, most different from known forms, and which had foiled me most in my former attempts. Since 1834 also my acquaintance with ancient alphabets had become so familiar that most of the remaining letters in the present examples could be named at once on re-inspection. In the course of a few minutes I thus became possessed of the whole alphabet, which I tested by applying it to the inscription on the Delhi column."

Having once obtained the key to the ancient alphabet Prinsep applied it to the decipherment of the facsimiles of Asokan inscriptions preserved in the Society's archives. It was found that all these records were the work of a king who called himself *Devanampiya Piyadasi* which, rendered in English, meant 'Beloved of Gods, Of Amiable Mien.' At first Prinsep thought of identifying this king with king Tissa of Ceylon to whom the Ceylonese chronicles, *Mahavamsa* and *Dipamsa*, applied these epithets. But it was improbable that the king of a small island to the extreme south of India could have exercised [illegible] over the whole continent of India. At this point P[illegible] Turnour made the happy discovery that according [illegible] the same Ceylonese chronicles, the contempo[illegible] Emperor of India, Asoka the Maurya, was also sy[illegible] *Davanampiya Piyadasi*. Prinsep at once swung o[illegible] to the opinion that the records obtained all thro[illegible] out India from the borders of Afghanistan to [illegible] Brahmaputra and from Kashmir to Mysore were [illegible] work of Asoka Maurya who according to In[illegible] classics was the grandson of Chandragupta Ma[illegible] who was, as already pointed out by Sir Wi[illegible] Jones, the conqueror of Seleucus, the founder of [illegible] Hellenistic dynasty at Babylon.

Once the stones that were silent for 2,000 y[illegible] began to speak, more things came to light. So [illegible] the identity of *Devanampiya Piyadasi* with A[illegible] Maurya was purely conjectural, but soon Pri[illegible] discovered to his surprise that the Girnar edict [illegible] tained the name of *Yona Rajah Antiyoke*, a poten[illegible] outside the borders of India to whom Asoka [illegible] sent his ambassadors and missionaries. He had [illegible] difficulty in identifying this king with one of [illegible] Antiochuses who succeeded Seleucus on the throne [illegible] Babylon. This disoovery was followed by the ide[illegible] fication of the names of four other contemporary Gr[illegible] kings including Ptolemy of Egypt with whom As[illegible] also exchanged ambassadors and sent missionaries [illegible] preach the *Dhamma of Gautama Buddha* in th[illegible] kingdoms.

Vocational Guidance

In recent times experience has shown th[illegible] psychology can render valuable help in su[illegible] gesting suitable vocations to young people [illegible] testing their aptitudes and measuring th[illegible] abilities. Psychological tests are now be[illegible] increasingly used for vocational guidance [illegible] vocational selection in all the progress[illegible] countries of the the world. In the course of [illegible] article in *The Teachers' Journal*, S. K. B[illegible] observes :

Vocational guidance of the scientific kind is a [illegible] paratively new movement in modern life. It has [illegible] only recently introduced in the public school system [illegible] Europe and America but it has already proved its w[illegible] There has been about 80 per cent improvement in [illegible] and occupational efficiency in case of those subjected [illegible] vocational guidance. The idea of this type of guid[illegible] did not come as a stroke of genius on the part of [illegible] particular scientist; but mention should be made in [illegible] connection of Dr. Frank Parson who in 1908 starte[illegible] Bureau for Vocational Guidance, probably the first of [illegible] kind. Conditions of life in modern civilzation have m[illegible] the introduction of vocational guidance imperative. [illegible] may be said that vocational guidance is a necessa[illegible] correlate of the modern "scientific-machine-factory org[illegible] nization" of life. In the primitive stages of mank[illegible] during the hunting and the fishing stages, specia[illegible] during the pastoral and the agricultural stages, [illegible] tion did not attain very high degrees. Most member[illegible] the group were able to attend to the necessities of [illegible] shelter and defence more or less equally well. D[illegible] the handicrafts and power-machine stages special [illegible] ing became necessary for the acquirement of skills [illegible] was however found that all men could not acquire

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standard of skill even though trained for the same d under identical conditions. The principle of the tion of employees according to their aptitudes and t abilities thus came to be recognized. The atten- of the producers was at first chiefly directed to the blems of production and distribution. When those blems were partially solved the principle of scientific nagement in the industries was accepted, and that ed the problem of the personnel to come in the fore- In the west, the governments, the industrial mmunities and the leaders of the society are today thinking national prosperity in terms of *people* more than ever fore.

In the ordinary sense of the term vocational dance consists in advising young persons ut the career they should enter into, after ing their intelligence and apitudes.

Some however are of opinion that vocational dance implies educational guidance too and that it uld aim at making a complete and definite plan for ing a boy successfully through the school and the ustrial training course. The educational aspect of ational guidance receives attention in some of the c schools of America. Opinions may differ on the tion of educational guidance but there is almost eral agreement on the statement that the choice of a ation involves three broad factors : (a) Understanding one's aptitudes and abilities, as also limitations and ences; (b) knowledge of the requirements, oppor- ities and prospects in different lines of work; reasoning on the relations of these two groups of and deciding upon the course calculated to give best possible result.

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Of the several kinds of vocational guidance now being used the one that is most popular is known as the "Diagnostic and Directive" guidance.

In this form an individual is looked upon as a patient whom the expert examines thoroughly. Diagnosis of the examinee's vocational aptitude is made and a particular vocation is recommended in the way a prescription is made out. This form of guidance is scientific in its technique. It follows along with the new science of psychology and makes use of all the recent discoveries in the field of phychology. For a complete guidance accordance to this form six steps are necessary. In the first place, a thorough scientific analysis of the individual's qualifications and characteristics is to be made. Secondly, a survey of social needs and occupational opportunities is to be undertaken. Thirdly, in advising a vocation the result of the examinations of the individual and the wishes and resources of his guardians are to be taken into consideration. Fourthly, vocational education has to be arranged as far as practicable. Finally, progress on the job has to be followed for a period. In the Calcutta University scheme for vocational guidance it has been contemplated by the authorities to take all these steps.

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ago.

Kumbum, the Mystic City

Lama Gedun Chompell, a learned Tibetan who is at present in India, is a man of extensive travels. He writes in the *Maha-bodhi* :

A few miles north of Kumbum is the village of Repkong, where stands my childhood's home : Kumbum,

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mystic name, monastic city in Mongolian regions, reposing in mountain valleys. Boats gliding north-westward on the Hoangho, may carry the passenger on to a not very long distance from this place, so strange, so mystic, known to but few of the West.

Kumbum is a monastic city inhabited by about three thousand monks of the Yellow Cap of Galugpa Order. The permanent Head of this monastery is Akya Lama, the incarnation of Chongkhapa. Under him is the Chief Priest, who is chosen annually.

The famous Lama Chongkhapa, who lived about six-hundred years ago, was born in the place now known as Kumbum. He was the incarnation of the Bodhisatva Manjusri.

When the child was one year old, the usual Tibetan ceremony of hair-cutting was performed. The hair was then divided into two parts, one of which was buried, and the other kept as a talisman, to be carried on the child's body. Now, in the place, where Chongkhapa's mother buried his hair a wonderful tree sprang up. And it is, in fact, this tree that has *made* Kumbum what it is today, and it is today the marvel of the world. This tree was mentioned by Chongkhapa's biographer, about 600 years

There is a temple at Kumbum.

Three hundred years ago the then Dalai Lama erected a temple round this tree,—the Serdang Temple, a marvellous edifice, which may rank among the masterpieces of architecture of the world. It stands in the centre of the city and towers six stories high. Its outer walls are enamelled with costly Chinese porcelain of a pale green colour, and so highly polished that it looks like a reflecting mirror. The building is capped by four projecting roofs, the lowest being the largest. These are richly ornamented with gold. The walls within are covered with costly fresco-paintings and many art objects of untold value are kept in the shrine-rooms; some of these having been presented by Emperors of China. There are but few windows. The interior is illuminated by lamps of fragrant oils.

But the greatest treasure of the temple is the *Tree*,—Chandan-Dongpa.

Over it a golden stupa has been erected, which rises to the fifth story. There is a door—well locked and sealed—on the north side of the stupa. Once a year this door is opened—on the anniversary of Chongkhapa's departure from earthly life, the 26th day of the tenth month of the Tibetan year. On that day the officiating High Priest is instructed by the Head of the monastery to enter the stupa. This he does accompanied by some officiating lamas next in rank to him. They then bring out three leaves, on each of which, as I have personally witnessed, there is the figure of Manjusri in clear white outline. The leaves are oblong and of a yellow-green colour. On them there is further to be seen —in Tibetan characters—the mantra of Manjusri; but I have been able to discipher two or three of these letters only, and they were barely visible. These leaves have medicinal properties and are used in cases of fever.

The monks of Kumbum feel certain that the Tree is still alive. Should it get dry, great misfortune might be expected. From the main Tree a root has branched off eastward, and from this, three branch trees have sprung up. These are honoured with special distinction: the first, that is to say the largest in size, is the "Tree of the Emperor of China," the second the "Tree of the King of Mongolia," and the third, that of the "Lama King of Tibet." In the month of the serpent (April), these trees bear delicate white blossoms, sweet and fragrant.

At the time of the 8th Dalai Lama the largest these three Trees went into decay. It was then prophesied that Emperors of China would cease to be,—a prophecy which has seen its fulfilment.

The New Woman

The new woman as she is called, has come into existence within the last two decades. She is the outcome of the changing times. Writes Mrs. Kameswaramma in *The Twentieth Century*:

Two main forces have been responsible in our country within the last few years to bring about a change in the outlook of the people and for the position women are occupying in our society today—education and politics. The political movement was responsible for bringing out thousands of women into active public life. This awakening led to the growth of education and freedom of thought among the women.

Throughout the ages there has been a conflict between the sexes. Thus, in the history of the human race, we find that either one sex or the other has been dominating and the other suppressed. But to-day, we see the glimmering of a new order.

A great disparity in culture between man and woman has always brought disaster and social degeneration in its wake. In the Grecian society, men were very cultured, but women backward; so we find that as the women could not be their intellectual companions, society degenerated. A disparity of culture between a man and his wife will inevitably lead to discontentment for both.

In our society, though woman has been honoured and respected, yet she was reckoned only in terms of wifehood or motherhood. For a number of years woman has not been thought of as a companion: hence the restrictions placed on women.

But today, we are breaking away from the tradition, and the respect shown to a woman on the strength of her sex is certainly no respect at all. There is a feeling that the value of a girl lies in her womanhood and not in her individuality. This is not equality but trading upon sex.

Sometimes it is thought that modern woman with her centre of interest shifted from home to social service, political work or profession, cannot be as good a companion to man as the woman who lives within the four walls looking after the home and children.

The social fabric of the day is changing. Woman is released of many of her duties.

Women are now in a position to play their legitimate part in building up the society and the nation. Such a life, full of varied and constant interests, eminently fits her to be an excellent companion for man. Outside the home she will help men in social and political work, and in the home she will be an intelligent mother and wife, less exacting and boresome.

So, the woman who is devoting herself to social work or professional work, is a better companion to her husband than the woman who sits idling away her time in her home and finds self-expression through peevishness.

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FOREIGN PERIODICALS

Empirical Tests for Democracy

Dr. Eduard C. Lindeman, in course of a ...er on "The Roots of Democratic Culture" ...ributed to *The Christian Register*, lays ...wn the following tests, among others, for ...ocratic culture.

(1) I assume in the first place that democratic ...re rests upon an economic base and that it can ...rish only when economic income is being distrib...ed in such manner as to make a rising standard of ...g possible for all people. There can be no realistic ...ocratic culture in a society in which wealth tends ... concentrate while insecurity and dependence ...acterize the experience of any appreciable pro...on of the total population. On the basis of this ...ation we can thus test our behavior by asking if ...re consciously striving to bring about a greater ...ution of wealth and income. If such striving is ... a part of our daily living, we may then conclude ...t to this extent we are not participating in demo...ic culture.

(2) The structural strength of non-democratic so...es is derived from a sense of unity, and is forti...d by conditions of uniformity and regimentation. ...structural strength of democracy is a dynamic ...ilibrium which is a derivative of conflict. The ...ength of democracy is comparable to that of the ... in architecture: the arch is capable of sustaining ... weight because its two major elements are jux...ed, in conflict...The rhythm of democracy is a ...duct of conflict and only those can enjoy life in a ...ocratic culture who are prepared to confront un...ing conflicts, to live in a perpetual atmosphere of ...mic instability.

(3) Conflict is not in and of itself creative, but ... through conflicts are situations demanding change ...ntiated. Sameness produces sameness and dif...ce produces difference. In a democratic culture ...ence itself is valued because of its disturbing ...ency to challenge the *status quo*. A democratic ...e can hence tolerate (rather invite) a wide ...ge of personality types, numerous religions, diver...ces, mixed authorities, and regional incon...ties. Democracy is thus latent with innovation, ... with surprises. Its logic is pluralistic, open to ... and diverse consequences. Those who are not ...ioned to enjoy the exciting experiences which ...ences elicit cannot be happy in a democratic cul...ate. Those who strive to eliminate difference and to ...ate those with whom they differ are obviously ...es of democracy.

(4) In a democratic culture each individual par...t must feel that the attainment of personal ...y is a possibility for him as well as for all his ... Hence, in democratic societies there will be ... a constant tendency to provide an environment ...ch individuals may discover and experience the ...s of dignity. The slave loses his dignity and ...s his master. The individual who is manipu...d by others, who becomes a means for another's ... cannot achieve dignity. Anger and hatred are enemies of self-possession and he who is not self-possessed is undignified. On the other hand, whoever experiences affection and fellowship is thereby dignified. From this discussion it will appear that dignity is conceived to be a quality of worthiness which the individual cannot acquire by and for himself but only by reason of his social relationships. This I believe to be true, but the sources of dignity are not single but rather diverse. A person has already acquired considerable dignity when he is permitted to perform useful work. He becomes self-sustained through his labor, and he is dignified by its social value. Parenthetically, it is for this reason that work programs for persons involuntarily unemployed belong within a democratic concept of culture. Exploiters, parasites and wasters sink to lower and lower levels of esteem and are ultimately discounted. The proper distinction between leisure and idleness is that the former is earned whereas the latter is merely taken.

Nazism and Communism—Are They the Same ?

Writing in the *News Review*, William Henry Chamberlain argues that Nazism and Communism are alike in essentials, while Maurice Hindus asserts that the two are fundamentally opposed, in spite of superficial similarities.

Mr. Chamberlain observes :

There is definitely more in common between Josef Stalin, Adolf Hitler and Benito Mussolini, than there is between any of these dictators and the political leaders of democratic countries.

Communists in America and elsewhere, obeying orders from Moscow, like to appeal for a "united front" with democrats of all shades of opinion against Fascism. Germany in Europe, like Japan in Asia, likes to pose for the benefit of other countries, as a champion of conservatism and law and order against Bolshevism. But the real "united front" today, as regards organisation, methods, ideology, is the communist-fascist united front against the countries that retain the liberal ideal in politics and economics.

The structure of government is also amazingly similar.

The National Socialist Party in Germany, like the Communist Party in Russia, is the sole legal political organisation. Neither of these organisations is a political party in the ordinary sense of the word; it is rather considered an assembly of the elite, with a special mission to rule. At the head of each party is a leader, spelled Fuehrer in German and Vozhd in Russian.

While differences and contrasts between the National Socialist and the Soviet regimes still exist, they have certainly become less real and less important, observes the writer, during the last five years.

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The two regimes have been moving toward each other, until today the term "Brown Bolshevism" is a not inaccurate characterisation of the National Socialist system, just as Josef Stalin's increasingly personal dictatorship might well be described as "red" fascism.

Consider, first, the changes in Germany.

Private capitalism has not been abolished; but the state has become immensely the most powerful capitalist, regulating foreign trade, dictating prices, wages and direction of investment to industry, bringing pressure on the peasant to raise specific crops and sell them at fixed prices.

While Germany is thus becoming more proletarian, the Soviet Union is becoming more "bourgeois."

The spread in wages and salaries between the higher officialdom and the lower-paid workers and peasants has widened. Just at the time when the Communist leaders have advanced the comforting theory that classes have been abolished in the Soviet Union, new class distinctions, based not on private profit, but on differential rewards in the state bureaucracy, are becoming more evident.

Mr. Hindus observes:

There is no Communism in Russia. Communism is only a blue print of a future society toward which Russia is aspiring. Under Communism, so runs the theory as expounded by Engles and Lenin, there is no State. There is only the fullest individual freedom.

The dictatorship therefore is a means to an end—to enable the industrial workers to obtain and to hold power for as long a time as necessary to change the system of production and distribution and to make possible the realisation of Communism.

Russia is a long way from such a realisation, but to the Russian, Dictatorship and all that it implies is an instrument of temporary control. Not so with the National Socialists.

True enough, the Soviet Constitution is at present mainly a paper document, though three of its basic rights—to a job, to a vacation on full pay, to an education from the grades through the University—are to the best of my knowledge in universal application. But the document is required study in all schools, in the army, in factories, on collective farms, everywhere that people gather for any kind of education.

Because of race theory no hope is held out to the Jew in Germany. But to the Bolsheviks, because of their theory of class struggle and equalisation of classes, the kulak is promised restoration to citizenship when he has "reforged" himself into a new being. We may laugh at the word "reforged," but it is a fact that millions have already been restored to citizenship.

In Russia, the emphasis always is on woman's intellectual equality with men; in Germany the emphasis always is on her intellectual inferiority to men. Not a career in Russia is closed to women. The National Socialist slogan, "Thank God we reject women in Parliament, on the platform and in state administration," has been denounced in Russia as an example of Fascist "inhumanity to women."

Egypt's New Women

Zoë Rafia Badre writes in *Asia* on Egypt's "New Women" and their contribution to the cause of the emancipation of Egyptian women.

Madame Zaghlul Pasha

When Saad Zaghlul Pasha, the leader of the Nationalist Party, was exiled to Malta and later to the Seychelle Islands, his wife carried on his work with a dignity and courage which entitle her to a place on the honor roll of the world's great women. With a quiet though dynamic spirit she delivered stirring speeches to large delegations of men, who came from all over Egypt.

Her accomplishments were unprecedented, and her receptions for men constituted an innovation that did much to advance the interests of the actual feminist movement, which had come into being just before the World War. "*La Femme Nouvelle*" ("The New Women Society"), as it was named, consisted of several hundred members who represented the brains and culture of the country. Its aim was to promote and control the welfare work of the nation, and it established departments such as education, civics and hygiene and opened trade schools and dispensaries.

Madame Esther Fahmy Wissa

In 1919, a prominent member of this movement, Madame Esther Fahmy Wissa, spoke to three thousand men in a well-known Cairo mosque. The remarkable thing about this experience was that despite her sex and religion—she is a Christian—she was able to obtain permission from the Sheikh to read from the Bible, a first condition of her acceptance of his invitation to speak in that house of worship.

While negotiations were taking place regarding the Anglo-Egyptian Alliance, in 1936, this enthusiastic woman, who is intensely patriotic and eager to do all she can for the advancement of her fatherland, sent a cable from London to Cairo in order to bring before the authorities the idea that an Egyptian woman should be represented at the Conference.

Madame Hoda Charaoui

Madame Hoda Charaoui, the leader of the Feminist Union (as it is known today) and Vice-President of the Associated Country Women of the World, represented Egypt at the International Alliance of Women for Suffrage and Equal Citizenship held at Istanbul, Turkey, in April, 1935. This eminent personality, who has done and is doing a tremendous amount of work for the emancipation of Egyptian women, holds the belief that in the interest of true progress women of every nation must advance together, upon lines of equality and justice.

Interested in education and in the youth of her land, Madame Hoda Charaoui founded a School of Handicrafts, where needlework, embroidery and weaving of carpets are taught to some five hundred pupils. Apart from the educational value of the college, it will help to preserve some of the arts of culture of Egypt.

Great progress is at present being made in the field of education, and the number of new schools for girls, both primary and secondary, is considerable. From the secondary school a girl may continue to the model Cairo University, where co-education has been established. Women are eligible to enter nearly every department, and they show marked intelligence and aptitude, many competing successfully with men for the highest honors.

Teaching, journalism and nursing are the most popular careers for girls. Medicine and law come next and architecture also offers some appeal, though the number of woman architects is small. At present there is nothing which prevents from entering the engineering

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agricultural professions, but so far no girl has applied. It will be interesting to see how the first application is received.

Few girls take up telephone operating or secretarial work as a vocation. It is of interest, however, that the telephonist, Mademoiselle Lutfia el Nadi, who worked at Almaza Airport, Cairo, was the first Egyptian girl to fly solo and is now Egypt's famous woman pilot.

The Government employs approximately forty-five trained women but they are barred from occupying the more important positions. Nevertheless some do hold certain executive posts, and there are indications that the time is not far distant when there will be scope for them in every field. For example, women are to be found employed as censors of films, and as supervisors of women's prisons in the Ministry of the Interior, and they are doing work in the Ministry of Communications and in the Labor Office.

With the opportunity of so many professions and occupations to choose from, early marriage, which for generations has been customary for Egyptian girls, is no longer the rule In this connection the feminists must be congratulated on another of their many triumphs. Their demand that the minimum age for marriage be fixed at eighteen for men and sixteen for girls was granted.

Basic English

The following note, which originally appeared in the *Times*, is reproduced here from *The Living Age* :

'Basic English,' the ingenious linguistic toy of a year or two ago, is fast becoming a staple element of education in many parts of the globe. To Oxford men at any rate its advance must appear a little sinister. With what they must regard as the typically underhand strategy of a Cambridge don, Mr. C. K. Ogden, the inventor of basic English, waited till their University Press, at considerable expense, had put forth the twelve mighty tomes of the New English Dictionary before he set out to undermine the whole edifice with a thesis that the English language may be conveniently reduced to 850 words, of which only eighteen are verbs. He even dared to maintain that the necessary vocabulary could be written on a half sheet of notepaper—which will only confirm his opponents' suspicions that there must be something mean and paltry about a man who writes as small as that. They will, of course, retort that small minds have always been able to express their narrow range of ideas in pidgin English, but are promptly caught in another of these dastardly traps. For Mr. Ogden's sophistical disciples have a tricky habit of pleading their case with great eloquence and ingenuity, and only at the end of the article revealing to their critic that, without knowing it, he has been reading basic English all the time.

But there will be other objectors to the innovation. The very principle of the thing is a menace to many vested interests; for it demands that every writer should consider exactly what he wishes to say before choosing words in which to say it, and, as a corollary, that those words shall mean exactly the same to the reader as they mean to him. The language is therefore quite useless in diplomacy.

Then there is a further drawback : it looks as if basic English will have only one form of words in which to say one thing; and then what becomes of those eminent Privy Councillors whose dignity requires, as the House of Commons noted last week, that they should never speak for less than half an hour ? And what of the grand oracular style, inherited from Delphi by Old Moore, and in these days developed with such impressive skill by the neo-astrological school of the weekly press ? Can basic English command that beautiful flexibility which always enabled it to adapt itself to prior prediction ? Surely not.

As for the headline writers, the real molders of our tongue, they have passed through and beyond basic English; they no longer use any verbs.

It is all rather disconcerting because if foreigners acquire the cunning that enables them to say exactly what they mean, while we are contemplating in an exalted, but less practical, rapture the transcending magnificence of the things we say, there is no question that they may occasionally steal a march on us. Ours, of course, is the higher pleasure. The graduate in basic English cannot read Mr. James Joyce. Even Mr. Ogden does not contend that his is a literary language. But even here a gnawing doubt assails. The prose these people write is sometimes so seductive; is it quite inconceivable that some day a genius, whose native language is perhaps Maori or Bantu, may find it possible to write great poetry in basic English ? And then comes the most insidious doubt of all : may it not already have been done ? Who dare say it is impossible to find somewhere in the works of one of our more exact and limpid poets, say Wordsworth or Housman, some poem of which the vocabulary falls entirely within the limits of the 850 words ?

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WAR COMES

By GOPAL HALDAR

War is come. It is no surprise to anybody. For months and years the nightmare of war has been sitting over the civilized world. It is come at last as the fulfilment of that cruellest of wars, the 'war of nerves'; it is come as the climax to the long and brutal exhibitions of 'localized wars' which marked these years.

In fact, we have been living in the midst of war all the time. Nations of the world conspired for it as early as 1918 at the Palace of Versailles. Peace was crucified even before she could breathe out of the trenches. "The war to end war," the war to "make the world safe for democracy," the war for "self-determination of smaller nations," had that cynical transformation that airy idealism and *Realpolitik* combined to make. Peace was designed to generate what war might have worked off—the faith in the killing power of man. It was never allowed by the war-wise to be discarded after 1914-1918. The world was given no respite by its politicians: the Russian Revolutionary Wars, the Polish adventure on the Soviet, the Greco-Turkish wars did not allow even 'a breathing time'. Before the debris could be cleared, the contending forces of the century had been born—the Soviet and Fascism. The League lapsed, and Abyssinia, Manchuria, Spain, China, and lastly Albania paved the path for the War Lord to tread.

The Road to War

But "Peace" hath its victories—thanks to Hitler. Himself a monument of this "Peace," he demonstrated how "peaceful victories" are to be gained under the order. The Cartheginian Peace terms of 1918, the War Indemnity running into 'astronomical figures,' the occupation of Saar, the era of dismay, humiliation and impoverishment effectively ensured for the Era of Hate that brought Hitler to power Democracies hailed the Fascist Dictatorships as the saviours of civilization. The familiar framework of social mechanism was abandoned for a totalitarian regimentation of all life: only the content mattered, the retention of the basic structure of our society. The Rhineland, the Austrian adventure, the Czecho-Slovakian victory of Hitler quickly transformed the Nazi objective of "Ein Volk, Ein Reich, Ein Fuehrer," into the one of "Grossdeutchland" and "Lebensraum." The accents were becoming clearer; the Voice of the Lord spoke: "We must have raw materials, we must have our colonies, we must have a redivision of the world." It was the voice of the Neo-Imperialists—the same voice that spoke from Potsdam,—a neo-Kaiserism was born with a new plea for 'a spot in the sun.' And Democracy, Peace and Self-determination again must be fought for. How history repeats itself!

Post—Munich Preparations

So, war has now overtaken the world. Danzig and the Corridor have proved to be the immediate cause of the same. But nobody would be so blind as to believe that this was the real point at issue. Hitler's would then be a very "modest" demand: to recover Danzig which was German, and to secure a passage to Eastern Prussia, which was cut off from the Reich by the Corridor. He would even agree to a plebiscite for this part a year after he would occupy it. But even Mr. Chamberlain would not put any credit in the word of the German Fuehrer. Austria was a memory; but Munich was a record that had burnt into the conscience of men. Diplomatically, Munich has cost Great Britain and France the respect and reliance of the Balkan and Baltic peoples; it has driven them to the Nazi-Fascist side; it has been openly characterised by America, the voice of which counted, as a betrayal of the third great democracy in Europe by the two great democracies. It had, however, served a purpose which it was also designed to secure. Britain at Munich bargained for time; and though the vast military resources of the Czechs raised the fighting strength of the Nazis higher than ever the incomparably superior resources of Britain have placed British defences in an unassailable position now.

Moscow Pact Hastens War

The Armament Budget of Britain was resented by the Nazis. Britain had the largest navy; the German navy was yet to be born, so to say. The British Army made steady but energetic progress in modernization and mechanization. But the highest record of advance was to be noted in Air and particularly in Air Defence, the weakness in which was the cause of, according to some, the Munich "betrayal." Here, as on the eve of the war

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the Exercises demonstrated, the human quality, the mounting output, the innovations and improvements that more recent advances in the science made available, showed "some marvels which the democratic system occasionally produces." To quote the sober estimate of the British defences in *The Spectator* for Augnst 25, last :

"It can, at any rate, be stated with positive assurance that the efficinecy of our bombers and their crews is up to first-class standard. This may sound a grudging estimate, but it is a sober one and should be compared with the situation eighteen months ago, when to fly in bad weather was the exception rather than the rule in the R. A. F., when there were blind-flying instruments fitted only to few machines, and when the best of our machines in each class could be beaten in performance twice over by the equivalent machine in the 'Luftwaffe.' The Royal Air Force now is equipped with a generation of aircraft not a year old, whereas the 'Luftwaffe,' with few exceptions, consists of bombers and fighters that were in service some years ago. Until the 'Luftwaffe' is equipped with a new generation of aircraft we are in a positon of considerable advantage. Air Chief Marshal Sir Hugh Dowding spoke with perfect sincerity when he said, at the conclusion of the Air Exercises : "I am satisfied with our progress, and I confidently believe that serious attack on these islands would be brought to a standstill in a short space of time . . . . I should like to leave you with a feeling of quite confidence in our defence organization, while not neglecting wise precautions to minimise the effects of such attacks as do get through."

The show-down would not, however, come so soon except for the Moscow Pact of Russo-German Non-Aggression for ten years. The Munich agreement was unceremoniously dropped in March last when Czecho-Slovakia was finally disposed of. Great Britain prepared herself to give up an 'appeasement' policy for the policy of 'Peace Front.' Poland was promised defence of her independence while the Nazi threat to Danzig was increasing. The 'Peace Front' was slow to mature; it meant an abandonment of many old memories, of the familiar illusions and plans, of the old and rooted ideas on which European politics were built. For the Russians, the democracies believed, the land of milk and honey was Russian Ukrainia to which the Fuehrer had promised to lead his hosts. The warnings were, therefore, read; and Poland and her allies, Molotov now declares to the world, were in anxiety to receive friendly Russian hordes. They had evidently grounds for suspicion. Soviet diplomacy any way quickly clinched the issue. With Litvinov had gone its League of Collective Security policy, and its probable place in the 'democracies.' The Soviet bargain-with Nazism on the basis of non-aggression—an apparently innocent thing. Who would not agree to such a pact with Germany ? But its

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implications were clear: *for the time being at any rate the Nazi war ambitions were not to turn against the Soviet, but on Poland, and probably against the Powers that barred the way to Nazi expansionism.* The Haves must realize that the Have-nots were now set on them. For them, particularly for those interested in the East, the only advantage was the weakening of the "Axis," and the Japanese resentment against Germany, which freed to some extent the British and French forces from their watch and anxiety in the East.

So, the war is come. Even the Chamberlain-Hitler letters reveal that what the British Premier insisted on was not merely the saving of this strip of land or that but something more—arbitrament of peace as opposed to that of arms.

Poland Breaks Down

It is idle to debate the fortunes of war. The ebb and flow of it the wires will record as allowed by the different Ministries of Information. For most people, already agog for news, they will appear to be very meagre. But, circumstanced as we are, we can of course read the broad outlines of the war as it opened. Thus, Poland in spite of the heroic defence, is, as feared, already overrun. Indeed, the German plan of "three weeks for Poland" appears to have been fulfilled. The advance of the mechanized army was too swift, the weapons too superior and devastating, and, their method of application thoroughly German. As some experts explain, the German plan of the Tannenburg campaign of "enveloping action" was in this case now more thoroughly put into practice. The two wings, from East Prussia via Brest-Litovsk, and from Moravia via Lwow would close in on the army of Marshall Smigly-Ridz to annihilate it or to force it to surrender. Warsaw might hold out to be pounded, but Poland is already dead in all respects. The hurried flight of the Polish Government to Rumania makes the military position of Poland clear and supports the Moscow contention that Poland is without Government, without order, in absolute confusion.

Russian Riddle

Thus Russia entered the Polish arena. It was not unforeseen. The Moscow Pact had almost indicated the position. Polish inequities were not forgotten—how the new-born Soviet had been forced to part with the White Russians and Little Russians (Ukrainians) in the post-Revolutionary period; how Poland had occupied Vilna, and how, lastly, Tesch and the areas were anexed from Czech Slovakia in the last months. The Sov policy on nationalities would wait for th hour—the White Russian minority in Polan was to return to the White Russian Soviet an the Little Russian minority was to be joine with the Ukrainian Soviet. Thus the Soviet o Ukrainia was to be a sufficient attraction the Ruthenian, or Carpatho—Ukrainians, as th are called now, whom Hitler hoped to use his scheme of march on the Soviet Ukrain The Poles were to form a State of their ow between the Nazi and the Nazi systems. Th was to be foiled the Nazi ambition doubly— creating a bigger and unified Ukrain Soviet and probably by creating a buf state against the Nazis in Poland. Th was nothing probably dark or shame in the Soviet adventure; but it wo be, however, an aggression so far Poland is concerned, if that State were n dead. It would be labelled as 'Red Imperi ism' by the nations of the world, especia now, when Poland has raised sympathy in h distress in many quarters.

Above all, the Russian affair shows ho uncertain is this war, and, what an enigma the Soviet in the world. In a fortnight s can make pacts with Germany and Japan, an is about to enter into another with Turkey wh a secret design of Bolshevising the wh Balkan and Eastern Europe.

So Poland dies, but Poland's death w foreseen. If she is to live again, she must b won over in the Western Front and on the se where the war is to be, by its very nature, lo and dangerous. The resources of the Empires s to be tried there, while the German atten is to be devoted to end the war quick, *Britzkrieg*, to prevent the blockade by drawi supplies through Italy and Russia(?), a lastly, to save herself from defeat b a submarine warfare, air-bombing a a process of frightfulness as yet unknown to th world. As she is circumstanced now, alo against Britain and France, she is doomed t a prolonged war. So, she must draw in ne nations into this war-net before that catacly

But what would a prolonged war mean In the third week of the war we already kn we have to bid goodbye to many things. W have not yet known barbarities and devastati of any big dimension that this war is bound produce. If war continues—man will slo cease to be human, there is no denying it.

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HOME COMING
By Basudev Ray

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NOTES

ish Reactions to India's Demand Freedom

On Germany attacking Poland and the quent outbreak of war in Europe in which in and France have sided with Poland, Excellency the Viceroy said on September in the course of a broadcast message from to the people of India :

"What faces us today is the safeguarding of principal to the future of humanity, principles of national justice and international morality, the that civilized man must agree to settle disputes nations by reason and not by force, the principle the affairs of men the law of the jungle, the will strongest, irrespective of right and justice, cannot wed to prevail. To fail to take up this challenge be to destroy for mankind any hope of true pro- and true development. So long as this cruel and thing is in the world, there can be no freedom spirit for humanity.

INDIA'S TASK

Nowhere do these great principles mean more than this. There is no country that values them more than India, and none that has at all times been concerned to safeguard them. His Majesty's Govern- in entering the war have done so with no selfish They have done so to safeguard vital principles all humanity; to ensure the orderly progress of tion; to see that disputes are settled between not by the arbitrament of force, but by equitable peaceful means. They have spared no effort to avoid humanity that now threatens the world.

In a cause such as this the whole-hearted sym- and the support of all in this great country, in British India or in the Indian States, will, certain, be forthcoming without distinction of class, of race, or of political party.

I am confident that on a day in which all that is most precious and most significant in the civilization of the modern world stands in peril, India will make her contribution on the side of human freedom as against the rule of force, and will play a part worthy of her place among the great nations and the historic civilizations of the world."—*A. P.*

The Viceroy's appeal, on which we commented in our last issue, evoked wide response. At the same time it was pointed out that in order to enable the people of India to co-operate with Britain whole-heartedly and enthusiastically they should be placed in a position to feel that they were working as free men for the cause of world freedom and world democracy. For example, on the 8th of September last Rabindranath Tagore, P. C. Ray, Manmathanath Mukherjee, Nilratan Sircar, B. C. Chatterjee, Syamaprasad Mookerjee, S. N. Banerjee, N. K. Basu, N. C. Chatterjee, and Ramananda Chatterjee issued a statement (reproduced in our last number) of which the first few sentences and concluding passage are quoted below :

"At this supreme crisis which threatens not individual countries alone but the entire fabric of civilization, the duty of India is clear. Her sympathies are with Poland. She must stand by Britain and resist the disastrous policy of domination by force. No Indian would desire even in his own country's interest that England should lose the battle for freedom she is fighting today. In that contingency the realisation of Indian independence will be retarded. India will then have to start a new chapter of slavery under fresh alien domination."

"A new outlook is required of Britain towards India. We are ourselves without freedom and it is not in human nature for a people in bondage to feel any real enthusiasm for fighting for the liberty of any foreign country unless

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they know this will lead to their own emancipation. We say this not in a spirit of base bargain or for raising controversies at a time when unity is essential. But we consider it of supreme importance that England and India should know each other's mind without reservation. When we speak of justice to India or refer specially to Bengal, we stand pledged to the same righteous cause for which England, France and Poland are fighting today. For the sake of the peace of the world England should not miss this great opportunity for establishing ever-lasting friendship with India by restoring self-rule to her in order that a free India may freely render all possible help for the preservation of democracy."—*U. P.*

We gave expression to similar views earlier still in *Prabāsī*.

Among the organizations which either issued statements or passed resolutions with reference to the Viceroy's message, the Indian National Congress is undoubtedly the most important, the most powerful and the most representative of all sections of the people of India. In the course of the long statement which the Congress Working Committee issued on the 14th September last on the situation created by the war, occur the following paragraphs :

"The true measure of democracy is the ending of Imperialism and Fascism alike and the aggression that has accompanied them in the past and the present. Only on that basis can a new order be built up. In the struggle for that new world order the Committee are eager and desirous to help in every way, but the Committee cannot associate themselves or offer any co-operation in a war which is conducted on imperialist lines and which is meant to consolidate imperialism in India and elsewhere.

"In view, however, of the gravity of the occasion and the fact that the pace of events during the last few days has often been swifter than the working of men's minds the Committee desire to take no final decision at this stage so as to allow for the full elucidation of the issues at stake, the real objectives aimed at and the position of India in the present and in the future. The Working Committee, therefore, invite the British Government to declare in unequivocal terms what their war aims are in regard to democracy and imperialism and the new order that is envisaged in particular, how these aims are going to apply to India and to be given effect to in the present. Do they include the treatment of India as a free nation whose policy will be guided in accordance with the wishes of her people ?

"A clear declaration about the future pledging the Government to the ending of Imperialism and Fascism alike will be welcomed by the people of all countries, but it is far more important to give immediate effect to it to the largest possible extent, for only this will convince the people that the declaration is meant to be honoured. The real test of any declaration is its application in the present, for it is the present that will govern action today and give shape to the future."

Evidently the Congress Working Committee's invitation to the British Government to make a declaration on the lines indicated above has not been liked by the powers that be in Britain, as the House of Lords debate on Indian affairs on the 27th September shows. In the course of that debate

Lord Snell called attention to the statement on situation in India made yesterday on behalf of the G ernment, and said that his first word was that it necessary that "we should not over-estimate the seri ness of the attitude which the Congress party has th it right to assume."

Lord Snell was for under-estimating seriousness of the Congress attitude, obvio because the people's representatives in legislative bodies in India have no control Defence arrangements and Defence expend But perhaps Lord Snell has subsequently rev his estimate, as the following Reuter's mes would seem to show :

LONDON, Oct. 4

Lord Snell took up the question of India during debate in the House of Lords on yesterday's statemen it. 'I am glad to see,' said he, 'that the Viceroy has Congress leaders, and I have some hope that by co ences and an understanding of the difficulties these be lessened. India is very desirous to help in the for freedom and democracy and *wants to feel that it partner in the enterprise as a democratic partner.* contribution which India made during the last war of the greatest value. *We ought to see that no pride on our part prevents India from making a contri tion of equal value at the present time.'* [Italics ED., *M. R.*]

In the Lords debate on the 27th Septe Lord Snell proceeded :

It is natural that they would wish to take adva of this crisis to further their own political claims. claims are not new. They are part of a very ol gramme, and these claims are now being merel stated.

We have all been encouraged by what has hap since the India Act was passed. It has shown a se producing rising statesmanship and an experienc administration, which is going to be of increasing both to India and the Empire. This will undoubtedly duce episodes; but these will be overcome. Every m experience gained is something to the common adv

We understand the anxiety of the Indian people their political situation. We have always wished government in India to grow; but there is a time, or there are times, when to pause in demands is rea progress more quickly than by hurrying on where cannot see clearly.

We understand the British imperia step-by-step argument, which insists on '*progressive realization of responsible gov ment*' and on rigorously controlling the p of progress so that the full attainment of s rule may be relegated to the indefinitely di future. British imperialists and their pol kindred may not be able to "see clearly." Indian nationalists of different political sc do see clearly. Parts of India came British rule in the eighteenth century. W now in the penultimate year of the

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of the twentieth. But even now an "invitation" to the British Government to definitely declare their intentions in relation to India is "**hurrying on,**" according to the very progressive British people !

I have no right other than that of an old worker for India's freedom to advise the Indians at the present time. They are able, loyal and sincere men. But we have also social plans of our own which we have had to suspend. We shall not forget them when the time comes; but the things have to be put forward first. And so the first thing now before us all in every part of the world where free men exist is to deal with lawless aggression, so that free men everywhere may feel that they can continue to live in a free world. India will share in these great aims, and I am sure that the Indian people will know in these circumstances what to do.

If Indians are "**able, loyal** and sincere men," why not allow them to be self-ruling ? Britain has suspended her *social* plans "shall not forget them when the time comes." Similarly we Indians have our *social* plans and may suspend them. But as "first things have to be put forward first," as the fight for Poland's freedom is indirectly a fight for Britain's own freedom, too, and as this fight is not a *social* plan but **a political first thing**, Britain has not suspended it. Similarly India's endeavour for freedom is **a political first thing** and cannot be suspended.

Lord Snell is quite right in observing that the first thing now before us in every part of the world *where free men exist* is to deal with lawless aggression, so that *free* men everywhere may feel that they can continue to live in a *free* world." Indian nationalists want to make sure that they live in a "part of the world where free men exist," so that they may be able, in partnership with other free men, to deal with lawless aggression" and "feel that they can continue to live in a free world." Lord Snell uses the future tense with reference to India, because he knows that India is not a "part of the world where free men exist." He wants India to have faith in his promise that she "will share in these great aims." But when the Government of India was debated upon in the British parliament and attention was drawn to some unfulfilled promises of some British statesmen, including some ministers and of some British foreigns, too, some members of that august body, in both Houses, said without being contradicted that no one, not even a British foreign, was entitled to make a promise which Parliament was bound to fulfil; it was Parliament itself which could make a promise which it would be bound to keep.

Lord Crewe said that the more knowledge he obtained of Indian affairs the greater became his admiration and affection for India. [How nice !] "It is no surprise to me or to anybody acquainted with the subject that India's voice rang out clearly in support of the principles on behalf of which we have been unhappily forced into war. [Because India wants those principles to be observed in her case, too.] The attitude of the Indian Princes and Rulers of States has been clearly indicated."

The following extract from the Congress Working Committee's statement is a fitting commentary on the attitude of the Indian Princes and Rulers of States :

The Working Committee have noted that many Rulers of Indian States have offered their services and resources and expressed their desire to support the cause of democracy in Europe. If they must make their professions in favour of democracy abroad sincere, the Committee would suggest that their first concern should be the introduction of democracy within their own States in which today undiluted autocracy reigns supreme.

But let us take another bit from the Lord's debate.

Lord Crewe continued : Lord Zetland has alluded to the fact that in some quarters there has been a disposition towards a conditional form of agreement with the British Government—conditional on certain political advantages to be acquired in future. I can say confidently that in every case attempts to secure hypothetical advantages under conditions of war are radically mistaken when they are made by political Allies. During the last war, I know of no advantage to those who made such an attempt, nor, indeed, to the general cause of the victor or to the establishment of sound results to the victor.

But whatever might have been the result of "conditional forms of agreement," the *free* gift of £100 millions which India made during the last war and other similar *unconditional* help which India gave must have certainly brought her great advantages. Lord Crewe could have easily mentioned them and can do so still.

Lord Zetland's Reply to Congress "Invitation" For a Declaration of Intentions Regarding India

Replying to the debate on Indian affairs in the House of Lords on the 27th September, Lord Zetland, Secretary of State for India, said :

Lord Snell has said that it is natural, though rather ill-timed, that the leaders of the Congress should take this opportunity of reasserting their claims towards a fuller form of Self-government than they at present possess. I quite appreciate the fact that it is natural. I know many of the leaders of the Congress movement. They are men who are animated by burning patriotism; and they do, I think, sometimes a little lose sight, while lifting their eyes to the stars, of the practical difficulties which stand in the way on the ground at their feet.

But while I am ready to admit that it may be natural

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that they should take this occasion to re-emphasize their claims, I cannot help expressing the feeling that it is somewhat unfortunate that they should have chosen this time to reassert their claims.

The leaders of the Congress want, not "a fuller form of self-government than they at present possess," but complete self-rule, which is a different thing. But it appears that Lord Zetland thinks that even a fuller form of self-government than what India has at present—say, the Dominion form, is a remote star in the act of gazing at which luminary the Congress star-gazers may fall into some unnoticed chasm at their feet! It is not easy to agree with his lordship here.

He thinks the re-assertion of Congress claims is inopportune. It is not quite easy to discover when it may be convenient for Britain to listen to India's claims. When peace reigns, Indians do not find Britishers eager to do so. For example, when the Government of India Bill was discussed in Parliament in peace time, it was solemnly asserted that the term Dominion Status could not be inserted in that masterpiece of legislative drafting because that expression was incapable of definition. So, it comes to this that in peace time Britain is indifferent to India's claims,—to put it mildly, and in war time it is inopportune for India to press her claims.

Lord Zetland continued:

I say that for more reasons than one.

BRITISH TEMPERAMENT

I think the British people are very susceptible to treatment which they regard as honourable and appropriate to a particular occasion. I think they would be very much more willing when the time comes to listen to claims made to them than if they were animated by a spirit of resentment at the choosing of such an occasion for taking action which may be calculated to be embarrassing to them in their life and death struggle.

His lordship thinks it would be embarrassing to Britain even to consider India's claims at present. We beg to be excused for holding a different opinion. We submit that if Britain now treated India in practice as an equal partner, she would get more help and more enthusiastic co-operation from India than otherwise.

We do not see why there should be any spirit of resentment. Indians do not want to put obstacles in the way of Britain's efforts to obtain victory. They want, on the contrary, to be placed in a position to help Britain whole-heartedly. What Congress has done is neither dishonourable nor inappropriate to the occasion.

Lord Zetland is a scholar and a well-re man. It may be according to his reading history that imperialistic masters of depend nations have usually granted political rights freedom to the latter out of pure generos when they have been humoured and have b pleased with the good behaviour of th subjects but not otherwise. But we mean offence when we say that that is not our rea of history.

Proceeding his lordship observed:

I am sorry for a further reason. I agreed with L Snell when he pointed out that it was of tremen advantage to India that there was now a tremen number of ardent Indian nationalists who had the adv age of experience in the actual work of administra It would be a calamity if such men were at this withdrawn from Government in the provinces. They h shown that they are capable of dealing with the prob which face them in their country; and they have operated in an admirable spirit with the Governors whom they have been associated, I have nothing but pr for the manner in which, up to now, they have co-oper in carrying through measures which have been necessit by the outbreak of war.

So I say that I think that the time has been ill-ch by the leaders of the Congress for a reiteration of th claims.

The experienced nationalist ministers the Congress party do not long to withdr from Government. They are willing to rem associated with the Governors if they can do consistently with their political convicti and aspirations. Englishmen should und stand that others may have political con tions different from theirs and that it is possible that it is not an eternal law of nat that every one must always consult the co venience of Britain.

Concluding, Lord Zetland said:

I am not for the moment in a position to give further information with regard to the discussions are taking place between the Governor-General and In leaders. The Governor-General had a long talk yes day with Mr. Gandhi, and he is proposing to see—ind he may actually be engaging in discussion at this mo with—the leader of the All-India Muslim League. his intention to discuss matters with other leaders in course of the next few days, and we can only hope th as a result of a frank and free exchange of views betw the Governor-General and the leaders of the politic parties in India, we may find that they will co-operate with us in a task the aim of which they entirely approve of. There is not the smallest doubt that from one end of India to the other, there is a growing appreciation the necessity for uprooting and destroying once for all form of government which has been responsible for bri ing upon mankind this great calamity.—*Reuter.*

His lordship is absolutely right that th is such appreciation in this country. India irreconcilably against Hitlerism. In addit the Congress, the National Liberal Federa

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and other truly nationalist organizations in India have been condemning imperialism for years.

Mahatma Gandhi Defends Congress Stand

The debate in the House of Lords on Indian affairs to which our foregoing notes relate took place on the 27th September last. Mahatma Gandhi issued a statement on it which was sent to the dailies by the Associated Press of India and was published by them. It is reproduced below from *Harijan* of October 7, 1939.

An advance copy of *Reuter*'s summary of the Lords' debate on Indian affairs has been shown to me. Perhaps silence on my part at this juncture would be a distinct disservice both to India and England. I was unprepared for the old familiar flavour in the debate in the shape of drawing comparisons unflattering to the Congress. I maintain that the Congress is an all-inclusive body. Without offence to anybody it can be said of it that it is the one body that has represented for over half-a-century without a rival the vast masses of India irrespective of class or creed. It has not a single interest opposed to that of the Mussalmans or that of the people of the States. Recent years have shown unmistakably that the Congress represents beyond doubt the interests of the people of the States. It is that organization which has asked for a clear definition of the British intentions. If the British are fighting for the freedom of all then their representatives have to state in the clearest possible terms that the freedom of India is necessarily included in the war aim. The content of such freedom can only be decided by Indians and them alone. Surely it is wrong for Lord Zetland to complain, as he does, though in gentle terms, that the Congress should at this juncture, when Britain is engaged in a life and death struggle, ask for a clear declaration of British intentions. I suggest that the Congress has done nothing strange or less than honourable in asking for such a declaration. Only a free India's help is of value. And the Congress has every right to know that it can go to the people and tell them that at the end of the war India's status as an independent country is as much assured as that of Great Britain. As a friend of the British, I therefore, appeal to English statesmen that they will forget the old language of imperialists and open a new chapter for all those who have been held under imperial bondage.

Segaon,
8th September, 1939

We accord our full support to Mahatmaji's defence of the Congress stand.

Some have called in question the representative character of the Congress as stated by Mahatmaji. We do not think that he has claimed or will claim that the Congress represents everybody. What he means is that no one in India is debarred from becoming a member of that organization because of his race, religion, caste, occupation, language, class, and the like. It is not an "all-inclusive body" literally, but it may be all-inclusive. It is all-inclusive *in posse*, though not *in esse*. It is certainly without a rival. Gandhiji is also right in saying that "it has not a single interest opposed to that of the Mussalmans or that of the people of the States."

There is one omission in his statement, which may or may not be deliberate. He does not say that "it [the Congress] has not a single interest opposed to that of the" Hindus. That could not have been said truthfully. For the practical acceptance of the Communal Decision by the Congress is opposed to the interest of the Hindus. For this reason Hindus individually or collectively are entitled to say that the Congress does not represent the Hindus in *all* its opinions, principles and activities. But that is no justification for minimizing its importance. We have never supported all its views and activities. We have criticized it whenever we have felt it necessary to do so. But we cannot justify general and sweeping attacks on it on this crucial occasion. So far as we can ascertain Hindu opinion, it is undoubtedly in favour of India having full freedom.

"The Servant of India" on "Running Down The Congress"

The Servant of India of Poona, which is a and *the* leading Liberal organ, writes as follows in its issue of October 5 under the caption "Suicidal":

There are occasions when some people can serve their country better by their silence than by their statements. Sir Chimanlal Setalvad, Sir Cowasji Jahangir and Messrs. V. D. Savarkar, N. C. Kelkar, Jamnadas Mehta and B. R. Ambedkar issued a statement on the 2nd inst., on the eve of the interview which the Viceroy was to have with the Congress leaders, repudiating Mahatma Gandhi's claim that the Congress spoke for all communities in India, and warning the Viceroy against accepting the claim. On the question which is the subject-matter of negotiations between the Viceroy and the Congress leaders there can be but little difference of opinion between these leaders and the Congress. If there were any serious differences, they might have pointed out what they were and presented their own views. It would not make much difference with whom the Viceroy negotiated as long as the terms were satisfactory. And if these leaders feared that the Congress would deviate from the right path, they might have indicated the right path, and even repudiated in advance any wide deviation therefrom.

Instead, they have taken the unfortunate course of running down the Congress by accusing it of making false pretences, being insincere and unreliable, autocratic and fascist, and of having no majority of voters behind it. If all or any of these accusations be well-founded, the appeal lies to the electorate and not to the Viceroy.

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In preferring the charges to the Viceroy, these leaders have betrayed only their petty jealousies and personal piques, unworthy of the great cause and the great occasion. Even Mr. Jinnah may be ashamed of them !

Some British Press Opinions On India's Desire For Freedom

The following message gives the *Manchester Guardian*'s opinion on India's attitude to the war :

LONDON, Sept. 30.

"Without exception, leaders of Indian thought and affairs have accepted the cause for which this country is engaged in war as their own," says *The Manchester Guardian*. "Mr. Gandhi's personal decision—"What will India's deliverance be worth if England and France fall"—has perhaps been the most moving of the many signs of Indian generosity.

"That spirit calls for a clear recognition on this side that leaders of India find themselves in an honest dilemma. There are few patriotic Indians who do not heartily dislike the slowness of "deliverance" even if they accept the need for prudence. In making common cause with England in her fight against naked imperialism and for the preservation of democracy, it is only natural that Indians should wish to see more clearly the course of vanishing Imperialism and expanding democracy on which their country is embarked."—*Reuter.*

The opinions of the *Star* and of the *Daily Herald* are given below.

LONDON, Oct. 3.

Under the caption "Gandhi seventy" the "Star" says that the doctrine which Mr. Gandhi displayed, rather than preached throughout his seventy years of life, seems more other-wordly than ever today. The state of the world is a poor birthday present for the apostle of non-violence. "We need no converting to his horror of the use of violence between men. That is what we are fighting, though we are driven to the use of force. India wants more democracy. So do we all and that is what we are fighting for. Democrats here will sympathise with democrats in India in hoping that the war will give them more freedom and not less. Certainly if they cannot get it from Britain they cannot even hope for it from any other Power."

The Daily Herald in a leader wants to know whether Britain is fighting a genuine battle for democracy or a mere war of rival imperialisms once again and adds "if Britain can convince the Congress leaders that our allegiance to democracy is genuine then free and enthusiastic support of 350 million people will be given to us throughout the war. Let the British Government therefore agree to grant straightaway the fullest possible measure of responsibility at the Centre to India's elected leaders. We have never yet repaid in full the sacrifices made by Indians in the allied cause between 1914-18." —*Reuter.*

It may be that Britain wants "more democracy," as India does. But India will be glad to have even the small amount of it which Britain has and exchange lots with her ! How the war will *automatically* give us more freedom is not clear to us. Assuming that no other Power than Britain can give us freedom, that would be no consolation for not getting it even from Britain. Would it ? And we may be permitted to add that no power other than that of India herself can secure freedom for India.

The *Daily Herald* has spoken as all lovers of freedom ought to.

The *Manchester Guardian's* strong plea for Indian freedom in one of its leaders is summarized by Reuter in a London cable of the 3rd October, which is printed below.

LONDON, Oct. 3.

In the struggle which lies before us, says *The Manchester Guardian* in a leader, the whole-hearted support of the people of India may well be of vital assistance both materially, through men, money and materials, and morally, by proving to the world that England is not fighting oppression with bondage in her own house.

The spontaneous expressions of sympathy for the British cause that have come from Indian leaders of every persuasion must not mislead us into taking India's support for granted before India's support has been sought and won . . . .

But if the messages of sympathy that have so far been available only in summaries are read in full text, it will be found in every case that Indians have not gone farther than to offer Britain an opportunity of gaining their support . . . .

If Britain is fighting to save Democracy and establish a new world order India would gladly join in the struggle but if the war should turn out to be aimed at the defence of imperialist possessions, India could take no part in it. Thus the Congress invites the British Government to declare its war aims regarding Democracy and Imperialism and state how these aims will be applied to India now.

The few curt remarks by Lord Zetland in the House of Lords have been the only public response so far to an offer that is nothing less than a historic opportunity. It is impossible to believe that the Government, for all its urgent pre-occupations, can mean to leave unanswered the frank appeal of a body that is able to make or mar India's contribution to the world.—*Reuter.*

Under the caption "India—the Test Question" the *New Statesman and Nation* has the following in one of its leading articles :

Britain cannot bluntly reject the Congress demands nor delay her answer, and equally mere verbal promises will be unavailing. Fortunately, the unacceptable scheme of federation has been postponed. What then can we do? Among our war aims, after consulting recognized leaders, we must include, in words acceptable to them, an understanding to establish their democratic freedom as a nation controlling her own destinies. This must carry a pledge admitting her like the Dominions as equal partner in the building of a new world order.

Meanwhile, it is easy without any constitutional changes to realize responsible self-government at the Centre immediately. It is unnecessary to bind the Viceroy to bow to the opinion of India's elected representatives; let fact let him do so. It is unnecessary to define the status of India's responsible Ministers; in fact it would suffice to appoint some to the Viceroy's Council : when they are appointed, let him accept their advice. It might be advisable to dissolve the present Assembly and con-

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new elections under the existing provincial franchise. The briefest amending Act will be sufficient.

But if we are brave enough to face the act of faith, let us not spoil it by a timid choice of second rate men. There is only one man who could lead India in the new path. Second only to Mr. Gandhi, Mr. Nehru enjoys India's trust and respect. The Congress has named him its leader in the present emergency. By making him Premier in fact, if not in name, we should not only win India; we should startle the world into belief in our sincerity.

From Washington to Moscow, every neutral is asking the question that India has posed: is this war for the Imperial *status quo* or a new democratic world order? Not to-day, but months and years hence, our answer may decide the issue of this war. If we give India liberty, we shall win the leadership of all the free peoples; but if we must meet a rebel India with coercion, will anyone in Europe and America mistake us for champions of democracy?

The *New Statesman and Nation* has pointed out one way in which Britain can practically evince sincere sympathy with India's desire for freedom. As regards its suggestion that Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru should be made de facto premier of India, we doubt whether he will accept the premiership of a central government constituted in the way suggested by it.

The News Chronicle takes the Congress stand seriously.

LONDON, Oct. 10.

"In recent years there has been a steady advance towards the goal of Indian Self-government" says *The News Chronicle*, "but there are still obstacles to be cleared away and the vigour wherewith we go about this task will be taken in India and elsewhere as a measure of our sincerity in the present struggle. No time should be lost in seeking with Congress a generous solution of outstanding problems."—*Reuter*.

The Times reads a homily to the Congress but knows that it cannot be trifled with.

"It would be the greatest of pities if the present attitude of the Congress party were to obscure the fact that Indian opinion in Congress ranks and elsewhere is wholly hostile and aggressive to Nazism and that India has shown magnificent loyalty to the common cause," says *The Times* in a leader entitled "India and the War."

Referring to the statement by the Working Committee of the Congress party regarding British war aims, *The Times* says, "The leaders of the Working Committee to which Mr. Gandhi does not belong do not follow him in advocating unconditional co-operation of the Congress party with the Government of India. They evidently hope to extract political profit from the situation by inducing the British Government to make further constitutional concessions in the shape of modifications of reforms."

It would be trifling with the meanings of words to say, as *The Times* does, that Mahatma Gandhi advocates unconditional co-operation of the Congress party with the Government of India. That London paper would do well to read Gandhiji's defence of the Congress stand in reply to Lord Zetland's criticism thereof. Take also the Mahatma's message to the British people through the *Manchester Guardian*.

The message says: 'It will be the most serious tragedy of this tragic war, if Britain were found to fail in the very first test of sincerity of her professions about democracy. Do those declarations, or do they not include full freedom for India according to the wishes of her people? This is a very simple and elementary question asked by the Congress. The Congress has a right to ask that question. I hope that the answer will be as it is expected by the Congress and, let me say, by all those who wish well of Great Britain.'—*A.P.I.*

That is not advocacy of unconditional co-operation.

The Times proceeds:

"It is unfortunate that although in India opinion is united in condemning the aggressions of which Poland and other countries have been the victim, although Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru has sent a message to Warsaw recording his party's sympathy with the gallant defenders, Nazi propagandists should be able to represent the attitude of the Working Committee as a demonstration in Germany's favour. [It is not the fault of the Working Committee that the Nazis misinterpret its attitude. Why cannot the B. B. C. counteract Nazi propaganda by a correct interpretation of the Congress demand? Ed., *M. R.*] It certainly contrasts with the generous offers of aid and co-operation which the Government of India have received from the Princes and with the spirited attitude of the Premiers of the Moslem Provinces of the Punjab, Bengal and Sind."

Of course, the princes and the Moslem premiers are the British imperialists' prize-boys. And their offer of co-operation is "unconditional," because they can continue to have the patronage of imperialist Britain but not of a Britain actually democratic in her relations with India. So they need not ask Britain to act democratically with regard to India.

But, *The Times* continues,

"At the same time, it would neither be just nor politic to ignore the manifesto of the Working Committee.

"The Viceroy has made no such mistake. His task is difficult and delicate, but there is widespread belief in his ability to solve the problem."

It is not out of generosity that the Congress cannot be and is not being ignored;—it *has* to be reckoned with.

"The problem will not be solved merely by compliance with the wishes of the Working Committee. The British Government cannot bind themselves to concede to the Indian Congress Party what would amount to a monopoly of representation of Indian political opinion. Such undertaking would constitute an injustice to other and very important Indian interests, the Moslem community among them. The course now urged upon Government would be exposed to additional criticism of being constitutionally improper."

Any attempt to pit other parties and interests against the Congress is bound to fail in the long run. The Congress does not want any *concession* to it of the monopoly of re-

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presentation. For in election contests and by capturing power in eight out of eleven provinces, the Congress has established its claim to be considered by far the most representative body in India. The other parties are nowhere in comparison.

The Times then restates the step-by-step theory, which is entirely unacceptable to Indian nationalists, who are not children who have to be taught to walk with the help of the go-cart.

"The whole policy in British India since 1918 has been to prepare that vast country for Self-government by a succession of stages without abrupt revolutionary transitions. It is hard to see how the Imperial Government can do more to meet the Congress demands than to emphasise the determination to continue the progressive policy they have followed consistently for twenty years, in close consultation throughout with representative Indian leaders."

Too much space has been already given to extracts from British newspapers. We will conclude this note with one more extract from the *Manchester Guardian.*

London, October 7.

The setting up of a temporary War Council by the Government of India which will include representatives of the Congress, Moslem League, Liberals and States is suggested by the *Manchester Guardian* in the course of a leading article.

The paper agrees that until the Viceroy has completed his talks with Indian leaders and the Government has received his report, an official reply to the questions raised by the Indian National Congress can hardly be expected, but deplores that Parliament and public opinion do not so far appear to have realized the urgent need for some action that will bring India to the side of England as a contented partner. That silence must not continue.

After referring to the long series of solemn British assurances to India that self-government is the ultimate aim of British policy, the paper says that the choice is between yielded positions when they can no longer be held and granting liberties when by conceding them we can still gain the consent of the Indian people. It must be made clear, that one of our war aims is international order based on the freedom of all nations. In devising steps to achieve this aim in India, it would then be legitimate to take account of the difficulties of Indian defence and problems of internal dissension.

The paper declares that once convinced that these matters are not used as an excuse for delay, most Indians will probably be ready to consider interim proposals.

The paper points out that the Congress, though the largest and strongest body in India, is not the only one that can claim a hearing; the Moslem League has issued a statement that might be taken to show more fear of Congress rule than hostility to the British rule, and the Princes will have to be consulted about measures that would provisionally take the place of the postponed federation.

But the paper emphasises that all this does not mean that no practical step can be taken at once. The Government machinery of India is at present democratic in the provinces and autocratic at the centre, the paper declares, and an experiment similar to that in the provincial sphere is overdue in the Central Government.

Suggesting the setting up of a temporary War Council the paper concludes:

"There is no reason why a temporary War Council should not be set up that could speak with authority for India. It might well include leading men of the Congress and the Moslem League as well as Liberals like Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru and perhaps a spokesman from the States. Such a Council could then be trusted to work out in constant co-operation with the Viceroy the elements of a working constitution."—*Reuter.*

It is curious that in suggesting who should be included in the War Council, no one from the Hindu Mahasabha has been named or suggested. Dr. B. S. Moonje of the Hindu Mahasabha has done something practical for the military education of our youth, which no Congressman or Liberal has yet done. He has also studied and understands India's Defence problem. We do not know which Congressman or Liberal surpasses him in that respect.

British Press Opinions Should Not Mislead Us

It is for the information of our readers that we have brought together some opinions of the British Press on Indian aspirations. But we must not build any hopes on them. It is not the first time that some British papers have supported our claims. On some previous occasions the support of some of them was even stronger and more outspoken. But what came of them? Whatever the papers may write, it is the stolid Tory majority in the British Parliament and in the British Cabinet who will decide. But, of course, the ultimate arbiter of our destiny will be Necessity. And it is the manhood and womanhood of India who will be the shapers and makers of that Necessity.

The Scramble for Viceregal Recognition

There has been a regular scramble, as it were, for viceregal recognition in the form of being invited by Lord Linlithgow to see him. It has been a sorry spectacle. British diplomacy is quite equal to the utilization of this opportunity to Britain's own advantage.

Salvation may not lie in a multitude of counsellors eager to have *darshan* of the Governor-General.

When it was a question of suffering (including the bearing of *lathi* charges of varying vigour and intensity) and sacrifice in the cause of the country, the Congress was allowed to enjoy a practical monopoly. But when nothing more has to be done than the utterance of words in the presence of the Viceroy, there is a multitude of competitors.

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We have heard it said that it is the public spirit, the sufferings and the sacrifices of the Hindus which have made the Congress great and powerful. That is true. But these Hindus were Congress-Hindus. Let the Hindus of other political groups be actuated by the same spirit as the best of the Congress-Hindus have been, then those groups also will be able to speak with as much authority as the Congress as representatives of the country.

About the Muslim League's pretensions we will say nothing, even though Mahatma Gandhi has recently boosted it in *Harijan*.

A.I.C.C. Resolution on India and the War

The following resolution, placed before the All-India Congress Committee by the Congress Working Cimmittee at Wardha, has been passed by the former by a large majority :

The declaration of war in Europe has created an international situation of the gravest importance to the world and to India, and the All-India Congress Committee, charged with the heavy responsibility of guiding the people of India in this moment of world crisis, has sought guidance from the principles and declarations of the Congress in considering this grave situation.

The Congress has been guided throughout by its objective of achieving the independence of the Indian people and the establishment of a free democratic State in India wherein the rights and interests of all minorities are preserved and safeguarded. The means that it has adopted in its struggles and activities have been peaceful and legitimate and it has looked upon war and violence with horror and as opposed to progress and civilization. In particular the Congress has declared itself opposed to all Imperialist war and to the domination of one country over another.

In spite of the repeated declarations of the Congress in regard to war, the British Government have declared India a belligerent country without the consent of the Indian people, and various far-reaching measures have been hurried through the legislatures vitally affecting Indian and circumscribing and limiting the powers of the Provincial Governments.

The All-India Congress Committee, however, does not wish to take any decision precipitately and without giving any opportunity for the war and peace aims of the British Government to be clarified with particular reference to India.

The Committee approves of and endorses the statement issued by the Working Committee on September 14, 1939 on the war crisis and repeats the invitation contained therein to the British Government to state their war aims and peace aims.

While the Committee condemns Fascism and Nazi aggression, it is convinced that peace and freedom can only be established and preserved by an extension of democracy to all colonial countries and by the application of the principle of self-determination to them so as to eliminate Imperialist control.

In particular, India must be declared an independent nation and present application must be given to their claims to the largest possible extent. The A. I. C. C. earnestly trusts that this declaration will be made by the British Government in any statement that it may make in regard to its war and peace aims.

The Committee desires to declare afresh that Indian freedom must be based on democracy and unity and the full recognition and protection of the rights of all minorities which the Congress has always pleaded itself.

The Committee approves of the formation by the Working Committee of the War Emergency Sub-Committee and authorises the Working Committee to take such steps as may be necessary to give effect to this resolution and to their statement on the War crisis."

This resolution of the All-India Congress Committee is reasonable and couched in sober language. As such, it deserves reasonable and ready response.

This resolution lays stress in two paragraphs on the full recognition, protection and safe-guarding of minority rights. Advocates of democracy and national unity can support these parts of the resolution only on the understanding that by minority rights are meant only religious and cultural rights; for minorities have no separate political rights. It would have been better if this had been made clear in the resolution.

Compulsory Registration of Marriages

The Bombay Presidency Social Reform Association's circular note to municipalities in the Bombay Presidency, explaining the utility of making marriage registration compulsory like registration of births and deaths, should receive support not only in that province but outside it as well. At present nowhere in India is any record available of any marriage celebrated according to orthodox Hindu rites. If the fact of any such marriage, including widow-marriages, having taken place be disputed in any law-suit, there is often great difficulty in proving its actual celebration. The measure suggested would make such proof easily available. The compulsory registration of marriages would go a great way to make the Child Marriage Restraint Act effective, as it would serve to bring to light the violations of that Act, if any. In addition, it would increase the effectiveness of legislation for enforcing monogamy and making divorce practicable where necessary. Last year Mrs. Radhabai Subbaroyan gave notice of a resolution recommending compulsory registration of marriages to be moved in the Central Assembly. If moved hereafter, it ought to be carried unanimously.

Education of Indians in Britain

The Report on the work of the Education Department, London, for the year 1937-38,

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prepared by the Secretary to the High Commissioner for India, Education Department, contains much useful information. Last year's report recorded an increase in the number of Indian students pursuing courses of study or training in Britain. The year under review witnessed a further increase, the number of Indian students pursuing full-time courses at universities and colleges being 1566 as against 1477 in 1936-37. Mr. S. Lall, Deputy High Commissioner, expresses the opinion that the economic side of this sojourn of Indian students abroad is not without significance. He estimates that, assuming that the average annual cost of each student is from £250 to £300, the aggregate amount involved is not far short of half a million pounds a year, or about three-fourths of a crore of rupees. The High Commissioner is right in thinking that it is a matter of important national concern that India should derive the maximum benefit from this increasing expenditure which is being incurred on the education of her students in the West. It should be borne in mind that it is not to Britain alone that our students go for education. They go to some other countries of Europe, too, notably Germany, and to America also. Some go to Japan. If there were educational institutions of all kinds and of a high grade, in sufficient numbers, in India itself, so many students would not require to go abroad for study. The absence of such institutions is not, however, the only cause of our students going abroad. There is a false notion that foreign degrees necessarily indicate higher acquirements and intellectuality in their holders than in those who hold Indian degrees.

As regards those who go to Britain for education, the Deputy High Commissioner observes that, "Unfortunately, though there are signs of improvement in this respect, in quite a number of cases young men are still being allowed to leave India apparently with little or no idea of the exact purpose in mind, or of the advantage or utility of the proposed study or training abroad, and its reasonable prospect of leading to suitable employment." This ought not to be.

Teaching of Indian Languages in Allahabad University

The interest which the Vice-Chancellor of the Allahabad University has been taking in the teaching of modern Indian languages under the auspices of that University is praiseworthy and ought to be emulated in other universities. It was noticed in our last issue that the Bengali Association of that University had commenced teaching Bengali. Recently at the instance of the Vice-Chancellor, the Allahabad University Maharashtra Association has also decided to hold free elementary classes in Marathi for adult students wishing to learn that language. In Lucknow University also an association has been formed for teaching Bengali.

It would be of great advantage if in the Calcutta University arrangements could be made by graduates whose mother-tongue is Hindi to teach Hindi to those students whose mother-tongue is Bengali or Oriya, or Assamese, or some other language.

The Patel Will Case

On the 28th September last the appeal filed by Sj. Subhas Chandra Bose against the judgment of Mr. Justice B. J. Wadia in the Vithalbhai Patel Will case was dismissed by the Chief Justice and Mr. Justice Kania at the Bombay High Court.

We are not competent to discuss and do not want to discuss the correctness or otherwise of the judgments of their lordships of the Bombay High Court from the technically legal point of view. Taking it for granted that the gift made to Sj. Subhas Chandra Bose by the late President Patel by his Will is not valid in law, one can still hold that it is unquestionable that that eminent patriot earnestly desired that more than a lakh of rupees left by him should be devoted to the political uplift of India, particularly by means of publicity work abroad. That being the case, it is the bounden duty of his heirs to devote the amount to the purpose indicated in the Will. His brother Sardar Patel can easily get some committee appointed, say, by the Congress Working Committee, to give effect to President Patel's wishes.

Political Use of the Radio by Germany

On the 4th October last, initiating a debate in the House of Lords, designed to ascertain where the responsibility for the conduct of the B. B. C. lay, Lord Strabolgi referred to British broadcasts to India. "India," he said, "was being flooded just now with radio broadcasts from Germany. The reception was good and these programmes were subtly presented whereas there was little broadcasting from England, and the reception was poor. Doubtless that was due to some technical reason which should be looked into."

Referring to the news programmes, Lord

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Strabolgi said that "on Tuesday last Lord Snell asked a question about India and Lord Zetland made a very important announcement on behalf of the Government."

In the news bulletin that night, with the usual colour-less statement on war which had already appeared in the newspapers the day before, the announcer said at the end, 'We shall have some gramophone records as there are still four minutes to spare.' There was not a word about Lord Zetland in the announcement. Lord Strabolgi said that he 'wrote to Lord Zetland about this, because if the Lords are going to be censored, we ought to have something to say about it.' Lord Strabolgi complained that the same thing happened the next day when Lord Snell initiated a debate on India and not one word of the proceedings was mentioned by the B. B. C.

Lord Astor also made references to India.

Replying to the criticisms of the B. B. C., Lord Macmillan explained in detail the changes made in the Ministry of Information. He said that a much smaller staff would be required now and the press section of the censorship staff would be removed from the control of the Ministry.—*Reuter.*

It may strike journalists in India as surprising that censorship is not considered sacrosanct and above criticism in Britain. But that is by the way. Our object in this note is to draw attention to the political use of the radio made by and in various countries.

A few days ago we received for review from the Geneva Research Centre a book on the *Political Use of the Radio.* It contains the chapters dealing with Broadcasting for National Consumption, Broadcasting for European Consumption, International Broadcasting, The Effects of Political Transmission on the Public, and Efforts to Control the Political Uses of Radio.

The section in the third chapter devoted to international broadcasting from the Third Reich is particularly interesting at the present moment. From it (p. 47) we take the following items of anti-British propaganda which have been or ought to be contradicted by the B. B. C.:

Or in another instance, the speaker may proclaim: "In no other historic empire have there been so many murders as in the British Empire: nobody has shed as much blood as the English people....."—A Broadcast from Berlin, in English, directed specifically to the United States, 2:15 A.M. (Central European Time), July 27, 1938.

As nobody has attempted the impossible task of counting the murders committed in all the historic empires or of measuring the blood-shed by the different peoples of the earth, such assertions have no scientific value.

"While the German concept of space is ethnic and consequently brings with it the creative use of land," writes Springer, a Nationalist Socialist scholar, "the imperial concept of the British Empire exhausts the soil, for profit, and has no spiritual meaning, but springs from commercial aims."—Springer, "Rundfunk und Geopolitik," *Zeitschrift fur Geopolitik*, 13 : Aug., 1936, p. 552.

Officers of the central and provincial irrigation departments in India should be able to tackle pripaganda like the above.

Labour Trouble in Cawnpur and Bombay

It is greatly to be regretted that there is serious labour trouble again in Cawnpur and Bombay. The imports from abroad have already decreased and if, as is likely, the war continues for some considerable time longer, they will go down still further. Therefore, to cope with the public demand there ought to be increased production of various classes of goods. But if there be strikes, far from there being increased production, it will diminish and may come to a standstill in some areas as regards particular kinds of goods.

There is a possibility of starting new industrial concerns at the present juncture. But the menace of strikes may stand in the way, deterring entrepreneurs from venturing upon new undertakings.

The provincial governments concerned are probably doing their best to end the strikes by means of arbitration and the like.

"Italians Admit Ethiopia Unconquered"

Such is the heading of an article in *The Voice of Ethiopia* (New York, August 19, 1939) in which it is stated that Italians admit that Ethiopia remains unconquered. Details are given below.

The Italian high command in Ethiopia called together all the townspeople some time back, and told them openly that they had failed in conquering the Ethiopian nation. More resistance was being offered every day in all parts of the country, but they are determined to continue fighting even if it takes them twenty years to subdue the people. Their bearers were mainly Mohammedans, Gallas and only a few old Amharras, for most of the Amharras and Tigreans are with the Ethiopian armies in the field.

An engagement is reported between Limmo and Jimma about twenty days ago. It is said that a large column of Italian troops was between these two places. First they were attacked by the Ethiopian General Darassa; then after some hours' fighting, more Ethiopian troops came from Walagga to General Darassa's assistance, and forced the Italian column actually to run away.

General Darassa captured 75 lorries of arms and ammunition.

Engagement on Road to Addis Ababa

Another big engagement is also reported from the Gibbe River, which is very near the Jimma country and on the big caravan road from Addis Ababa. There is a renowned General in camp there who has blocked this road completely. No one dares pass that way, and the troops of this General are always on the look-out.

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The troops of General Abebe Arragai are not used to remain inactive. Now that the Italians keep within bounds owing to the rainy season, there is none abroad to fight with. Abebe Arragai's troops go out in parties everywhere. One of these found some lorries on the road between Mojo and Marama; they first attacked and dispersed the Italian convoy, and then looted 25 lorries full of provisions. This is constantly happening.

REVOLT OF BLACK TROOPS IN HARRAR PROVINCE

From Harrar Province news of a revolt by the Italian Somali troops has come through. It is said that a battalion of these troops revolted because two of them had been shot by the Italians without any reason whatever. The other Somalis therefore rose and fighting broke out between the White Italian troops and the Black. Seventy-five men were killed. The Somalis are said to have fled to the bush because as there is not much rain in Harrar Province they were afraid of the aeroplanes.

ITALIANS SHORT OF FOOD

Rumours prevail in French Somaliland that very soon all the Italian armies of Ethiopia will surrender to the French, as they are short of provisions and necessary arms, and if war starts in Europe they will prefer this way of saving their lives than to be captured and killed by the Ethiopians.

Cawnpur General Strike Called Off

Since writing the note on labour troubles in Cawnpur and Bombay, we are glad to find from the following telegram that the general strike at Cawnpur has been called off :

CAWNPORE Oct. 11.

The general strike, which was launched by the Mazdoor Sabha on Thursday, October 2 was called off today and the workers returned to work peacefully.

A meeting of the workers held last night ratified the decision taken by the General Council of the Sabha to call off the strike at the request of the Government. At a meeting of the Labour leaders, this decision was subjected to severe criticism by the extreme section of workers, who thought that their cause was betrayed in calling off the strike without obtaining any concession.

The U. P. Government in the course of a letter to the Mazdoor Sabha says that in the circumstances the general strike was uncalled for and clearly inadvisable. The letter adds that the Sabha ought not to have resorted to strike unless and until all possible avenues for settlement had been exhausted.—*A. P.*

Imperialism of the Russian Brand

Russia wants to sovietize the Baltic states and other regions in her vicinity. This attempt to bring these regions under her ideological, political or economic domination is a form of imperialism which, too, is a menace to human freedom. Since annexing the better half of Poland she has been unceasing in her imperialistic endeavours, of which the Soviet-Lithuanian pact forms a part.

Moscow, Oct. 11.

The Soviet-Lithuanian Mutual Assistance Pact, signed last night contains provisions for the return of the City of Vilna and the Vilna district to Lithuania.

The city of Vilna and the Vilna region (which were seized from Lithuania by Poland in 1920) will be returned to Lithuania under the terms of the pact negotiated by M. Stalin and M. Urbsys and signed in Moscow last night. The pact also provides for mutual assistance including military assistance "in the aggression against the U. S. S. R. over Lithuanian territory on the part of any European Power." Special agreements will fix the positions and strength of the Soviet forces in Lithuania.

Article 4 of the Soviet-Lithuanian pact declared that the U. S. S. R. and Lithuania undertake jointly to effect the protection of the Lithuanian boundaries. For this purpose the U. S. S. R. is granted the right to maintain at her own expense at certain points in Lithuania, established by mutual agreement, Soviet land and armed forces of a strictly limited strength.—*Reuter.*

According to Reuter (London, October, 11), it is firmly believed in Copenhagen that the Soviets are making exacting demands on Finland, which will certainly be refused, as indicated by the Finnish evacuation of big towns. It is thought that the Soviets have an eye on the Lapland port Petsamo, which is of great value to Finland, and it is therefore considered that she will not give it away without a great fight.

Congress Reminded of Its Duty to Bengalis in Bihar

At a meeting of the Executive Committee of the Bengali Association, Bihar, held at the residence of Mr. P. R. Das, the President, the following resolution, among others was adopted :

"Resolved that several months having elapsed since the resolutions of the Working Committee of the Indian National Congress regarding the problem of the Bengalis in Bihar were passed at Bardoli on the 13th January, 1939, the Government of Bihar is requested to implement the said resolutions at an early date."

The duty of the Congress Working Committee in any matter does not end with the passing of a resolution. It ought also to see that the resolution is carried out. In the matter of the Bengalis in Bihar the Working Committee has shown regrettable remissness.

Similar has been the case with the resolution of the All-India Congress Committee in favour of returning to Bengal the Bengali-speaking areas in the province of Bihar.

Menace to Bengali in Bengali-speaking Areas in Bihar

Another resolution passed at the meeting of the Executive Committee of the Bengali Association of Bihar referred to above related to the menace to the Bengali language in the Bengali-speaking areas in Bihar, and was of the following effect :

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Resolved that organized and effective steps be taken by the Branch Associations concerned to resist the move to oust the Bengali language from the Bengali-speaking areas in Bihar, particularly from Manbhum, Dhalbhum and Santal Parganas, and to maintain the Bengali language in those areas and that a Sub-committee consisting of Rai Bahadur S. C. Sinha (Purulia), Rai Bahadur H. P. Banerjee (Jharia), Rai Bahadur G. N. Roy (Dhanbad), Mr. J. C. Sarker (Dhanbad), Mr. Ambika C. Mallick (Dhanbad), Mr. Suresh C. Sarker (Purulia), Mr. Jitendra Nath Bose (Dhanbad), Mr. Kshitindra Nath Bhattacharya (Jharia) and Mr. Annada K. Chakravarty (Purulia) be formed to devise ways and means of attaining the objects aforesaid and to report to the Secretary within a month and that Rai Bahadur G. N. Roy be the convener of the Sub-committee.

Resolved further that the Secretary do circulate the report to all the Branch Associations and ascertain the help to be obtained from them.

Congress Demand To Be Reiterated in Provincial Legislatures

WARDHA, Oct. 11.

It is understood that the question of asking the Congress parties in the provincial legislatures to take the measures in their respective legislatures in consonance with the Congress demand as set forth in the Congress Working Committee's statement on War crisis of September 14, was considered at a conference of Members of the Congress Working Committee and Congress Premiers and Congress Ministers.

It is believed probable that as a result of this conference resolutions will soon be sponsored in the various Legislatures where Congress is in a majority proclaiming support for the Congress demand for a declaration of India's war and peace aims.—*A. P.*

Central Government Announces Army Expansion

The Central Government has announced from New Delhi an army expansion scheme. "100 recruits are to be registered first, and these will be taken from the existing recruiting areas." So the injustice hitherto done to India for the greater part of India is not going to be immediately attempted to be remedied. The declaration that "classes and communities which are not now represented in the Indian army or are only represented in small numbers *will be* provided with opportunities for service," is not enough. To begin with, small quotas might have assigned to the non-recruiting areas and recruits coming up to and surpassing the prescribed standards and quality might have been registered there from the very beginning of the recruiting campaign. It is said in the course of the official announcement that

The Government of India has been most gratified at the spontaneous offers of service which have been received and has considered most carefully the best means for taking full advantage of this widespread desire to share in the burdens and sacrifices of the war. It has been realized that, up to date, the increases in the numbers of men recruited for the Indian Army may appear to have been very small and that many individuals who have appeared at the recruiting offices have been disappointed that it has not been possible to accept their offer of service at once.

NO HURRIED EXPANSION

The Government of India wishes to make it quite clear that whlie there is every desire and intention to provide adequate opportunities to those who wish to serve, any hurried expansion of the Indian army would be unwise until developments in the military situation indicate more clearly the extent of expansion which may be necessary and possible and the form which will be most suitable. Those who have offered their services and the public generally are asked to remember that in the early days of 1914, when war with Germany had broken out, there was no great intake of recruits for the Indian army. It was not until the middle of 1915 that the situation demanded that Government should call for large numbers of recruits, but thereafter, year by year, requirements for men gradually but steadily increased.

"India Will Get Complete Independence After The War"

LAHORE, Oct. 11.

"It is my firm conviction that India will get complete independence after the present war." This opinion was expressed by Sir Sikander Hyat Khan, Premier of the Punjab, addressing a batch of 70 Panchayat officers, who arrived here for training this morning.—*A. P.*

Vis-a-vis the present situation neither the British Parliament, nor the British Sovereign, nor the Secretary of State for India, nor the Viceroy, has yet declared Britain's intentions relating to India's future political future. Therefore, it was rather presumptuous on the part of a provincial chief minister to speak as he did.

Subhas Chandra Bose On Questions of the Day

In the course of a speech delivered at New Delhi on the 10th October last Sj Subhas Chandra Bose gave out his opinions on many current topics. He referred to the international situation and said that

he much regretted to say that the statement of the Congress Working Committee on war indicated a policy of indecision. Mr. Bose thought that there could be no compromise on the question of Indian freedom.

"It is not a fact the Congress is talking of compromise," observed Dr. Rajendra Prasad, in the course of his speech while hoisting the National flag on the 11th October in the premises of the Nava Bharat Vidyalaya, where the A.-I. C. C. meeting was held.

Continuing, Sj. Bose said :

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Britain had entered the war to save Poland against Nazi aggression and enable her to retain her freedom. But the question of Indian freedom had not received consideration. He particularly referred in this connection to the official statement declaring India's readiness to co-operate with Britain in the war.

Sj. Bose declared that he was opposed to Hitlerism, whether in India, within the Congress or any other country, but it appears to him that Socialism was the only alternative to Hitlerism. Sj. Bose expressed the view that all European countries would come under the influence of Socialists.

Referring to the situation in India, the speaker said that they in India were concerned with the problem of achieving Swaraj. For India as a free nation could decide her policy to the war in Europe. Internal differences in the Congress would vanish, declared Sj. Bose, if the Congress were to secure its objective.

Explaining the circumstances leading to the formation of the Forward Bloc, Sj. Bose said the refusal of the Rightists to co-operate with the Leftists, coupled with their opposition to the Congress engaging itself in Parliamentary activity to the exclusion of other activity, were mainly responsible for the birth of the new group.

Sj. Bose, concluding, observed that a self-governing India alone would be able to solve her domestic problems to the satisfaction of the minorities. He urged members of different communities to think in terms of Indians first and work together for their common objective.—*A.P.*

Abyssinia Indians Forced to Leave All Property Behind

Over two hundred Indian residents of Abyssinia have arrived in India from Addis Ababa, the capital of Abyssinia.

More than a hundred of them disembarked in Bombay the rest landing at Porbandar. It is understood that these Indians, most of whom are traders, have left behind in Addis Ababa property worth over twenty lakhs of rupees.

The exodus of the Indians from Abyssinia was a sequel to the advice tendered by the British Consul-General at the Abyssinian capital in view of the grave international situation which prevailed towards the end of August.

There were some preliminary talks between the Consul-General and representatives of the Indian community and on September 2 Indian residents were given four hours within which to prepare themselves for starting, the Britith Consulate having arranged for a special train to take them to Djibouti. From Djibouti they proceeded to Aden and arrived in India exactly one month after they left Addis Ababa.

They had a comfortable voyage. They were not allowed to take more than 350 lire each (about 17 or 18 rupees), which fell far short of the passage money required. This difficulty was, however, overcome by arranging for the necessary amount with Indian merchants at Djibouti. An Indian owning a steamer running between Djibouti and Aden also offered to take 70 persons free of charge.—*A. P.*

These Indian merchants of Djibouti evinced true fraternal spirit.

Poor Quality of Quinine Preparations in Indian Market

A press note on quinine preparations India, issued from Simla, says:

Data obtained indicate, in no uncertain way, that unsatisfactory state of affairs which existed 30 years in India with regard to the deficiency in the strength quinine mixture and other preparations still continues.

This observation is made by the Bio-Chemical Standardisation Laboratory, Calcutta, on a study during the last two years, in the course of an all-I survey of the quality of drugs and medicinal chemi of more than 125 samples of quinine preparations various categories such as Quinine Sulphate mixt Quinine Sulphate powder and tablets, Quinine H drochloride powders, tablets and mixtures, Quine Quinine ethyl carbonate, Tinc Quinine Ammon Quinine Tannate, Pillula Quinine, Ionized Quinine,

The samples were obtained from practically all provinces of British India through the co-operation courtesy of the heads of the Medical and Public He administrations and were analysed according to the meth laid down in the British Pharmacopoeia, quantitative es mations being made in each case.

The note gives full details, which very discreditable to all who have anyth to do with these preparations.

In view of the heavy toll of life taken fevers, particularly malarial fevers, vigoro steps should be taken immediately to reme the state of things revealed in the press note.

Fever's Heavy Toll of Life

'Fevers' alone accounted for ov 3,000,000 deaths or 55 per cent. of the to mortality, and respiratory diseases for 8 p cent., according to the Public Hea Commissioner in his Annual Report for 1937.

The large figures for 'fever' almost certainly cludes over a million due to malaria and large unkno numbers due to typhoid fever and tuberculosis.

Existing agencies for the registration of vital statis in rural areas make it impracticable to carry out clas fication of the causes of death except in a few large grou and, apart from such diseases as cholera, small-pox a plague wth which the people are familiar, other dea are ordinarily recorded as 'fevers,' 'respiratory diseas and 'other causes.' So true is this that nearly 93 p cent of the six million and odd deaths registered dur 1937 were placed in these three groups.

Dietary Survey of India

It has been officially announced fr Simla that

a dietary map of India showing, among other things, defects of diet in different areas is being prepared nutrition research workers at Conoor, under the auspi of the Indian Research Fund Association.

Diet surveys have been carried out in Madras C Delhi Province, the United Provinces, the Central P vinces, Bengal including Calcutta, Orissa, Assam

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district in the Punjab. Data about the state of have been collected, the major portion of which to rural areas.

survey of families with leprosy in Madras revealed these families consumed an extremely deficient diet. of interest was the relative freedom from dental of children examined in Delhi province.

Question of Immediate Independence

India

It is natural for human beings to desire live and die in a free and independent land. If a country is not free, it is for its people to desire that it should free as early as possible. Normally old among whom the editor of this paper is to reckon himself, cannot expect to many years or months or weeks or days as those who are younger. Therefore, old cannot wait so long for the freedom their country as those who are younger. freedom can be expected to come only after old men must be sorrowfully content in a subject country, for they cannot to live for decades. Hence we old men eager for the advent of freedom, though it be presumptuous on our part to claim to more eager than the young. We say only that if freedom comes after some years, will still have the happiness to live in land for years and die in it, which we expect to if freedom be late in

Such being the case, we hope we shall not misunderstood if we try to understand the implications of immediate independence for just in its present condition.

Owing to the Communal Decision and Government of India Act of 1935 based on the Central Legislature talent and public must agree to be eclipsed. In any case, and public spirit must agree not to free scope there. The Hindus not only the majority of the inhabitants of in numbers, but in the aggregate they represent the talent and public spirit of country to a far greater extent than any community and than all the other communities combined. Yet the Government India Act based on the machiavellian communal Decision reduces them practically powerlessness in the Central Legislature. Bengal, though the Hindus are a numerical majority by some lakhs, they are immensely superior to the majority community in education, intellectuality, public spirit, taxpaying capacity, and the like. Yet they have been reduced to powerlessness in the provincial legislature.

All over India, and particularly in Bengal, Hindu talent and capacity, which constitute the major portion of Indian talent and capacity (and in the case of Bengal, of Bengali talent and capacity), are being increasingly excluded from the administration of the country by means of fixing the communal ratios in the various All-India and provincial public services.

Thus both in the central and provincial legislatures and in the central and provincial public services which constitute the administration, the fittest and the fitter, speaking generally, are deprived of adequate opportunities for serving the country in order to enable it to keep pace with the progress of the world. It is the unfit or the less fit who are to rule the roost.

If this state of things is not changed—if the Communal Decision and the various rules fixing communal ratios in the services be not relegated to the dust heap, more of Swaraj, nay even Purna Swaraj, will be more a curse than a blessing.

We do not in the least mean to say that talent, public spirit and capacity are a monopoly of the Hindus. There are non-Hindus who are among the fittest. What is desired is that there should not be any racial or communal bar.

There is another direction in which radical change would be necessary to enable India to be and remain really free.

The other day Sir Sikandar Hyat Khan boasted that 62 per cent. of the soldiers in the Indian section of the army were Panjabis. That fact may feed the vanity of some people, but it is certainly not desirable that a vast country should depend on a small portion of it for its defence. Defence of the motherland is both a right and a duty. There should not be any obstacle in the way of this right being enjoyed and exercised and this duty being done by the inhabitants of any part of India. Without the least desire to wound the *amor propre* of the people of the present main recruiting area it may be pointed out that there were fine Indian soldiers before the British annexation of that area and that that area was annexed with the help of those fine soldiers. The race which produced them remains, the soil and air and water which nourished them remain. So, given the opportunity, the rest of India can produce fine soldiers again. Not only should the whole of India share the right and duty of defending India, *no part of India should lie at the mercy of any*

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other part. The past history of India should teach us to be on guard against and to provide against a repetition of it.

Independence or a greater degree of Swaraj would be desirable only if it means, among other things, both the desire and the power to knock on the head the policy underlying the Communal Decision and the Communal Division of public service appointments and the policy which dictates the recruiting of soldiers only from a few limited areas.

The Paramount Duty of Defence

With many other Indians we long for the day when the lion and the lamb may lie side by side in peace. But, inconsistently and illogically enough, we have also to have our eyes open to realities as they are today and prepare for the same. Hence it is that we find many thoughtful men in our midst emphasizing the paramount duty of defence and preparation for the same.

In concluding the Convocation Address at the Andhra University on the 7th October last Sir Nilratan Sircar said :

> Before I bring my address to a close, I desire to refer very briefly to another matter of vital importance, namely, the need of effective measures for the protection of the people of India against foreign aggression. The sanguinary conflict that is raging since some time past between different nations has brought home to all thoughtful Indians the utter helplessness of her people against any future foreign offensive. For over half a century Indian public men have urged that proper steps be adopted for opening recruitment to the Army to all classes and sections of the population, in place of the present system, which favours certain classes and provinces against others, and that adequate opportunities be given for the appointment of educated Indians in the higher ranks of the Army in sufficiently large numbers in order that India may gradually become self-dependent in the sphere of defence. This just demand has so far met with a very meagre response. No time should now be lost in bringing into being a modern and efficient force manned by Indians, without any distinction of class, creed, or province, in order that the people of the country may be enabled to defend themselves effectively against foreign attack. Dr. B. S. Moonje, of Nagpur, is entitled to our gratitude for his ceaseless efforts for the establishment of the Bhonsla Military Academy at Nasik, the first of its kind started for military training, under non-official auspices. It is desirable that Military Training should be organized in all the University centres, as has been done in Calcutta, so that educated young men could be trained and would be prepared to protect their motherland in case of need. The accounts we have in old Bengali literature show that Bengal was till the eighteenth century full of 'Telenga Soldiers,' who were held very formidable in war. It should not be very difficult for you to revive your old martial instincts under proper conditions. No autonomy or self-government can be real so long as the people concerned are not able to defend their country and their liberty against hostile assault and encroachment.

Government's Irrigation Policy

According to the Government report irrigation in 1936-37, of the cultivated area Sind 86.02 per cent. was under irrigation, in Panjab 36.50 per cent., in Madras 20.02 cent., in N.-W. F. P. 17.04 per cent., in Bur 11.85 per cent., in U. P. 10.80 per cent., and on. But in Bengal only 0.68 per cent. of cultivated area was under irrigation. Not Bengal does not require irrigation. All districts of West Bengal—Burdwan, Birbh Bankura and Midnapur in particular, sorely in need of it. The Central Governm has all along taken a disproportionately la portion of the revenues collected in Be without any corresponding expenditure on part for the benefit of the province. The ca tal expenditure on irrigation works in some the provinces will bear out our observati Madras, 15 crores and 39 lakhs; U. P., 24 cro 89 lakhs; Panjab, 33 crores 58 lakhs; Sind crores 46 lakhs; Bengal 1 crore 26 lakhs.

Congress Attitude Towards Communal Decision

Sj. Sarat Chandra Bose wrote a letter Dr. Indra Narayan Sen Gupta, a lea Congressman and general secretary to the recen anti-Communal 'Award' Conference in Calcutt in reply to the latter's invitation to him attend the conference. This letter stated Congress attitude vis-a-vis the Commu Decision and the Congress method of combat it. Dr. Sen Gupta, who is a member of Congress Nationalist party, sent a long re to Sj. Sarat Chandra Bose, from which make the following extract :

> Your views must be well known, particularly w in 1934 you had contested, on behalf of our Party, election to the Central Legislative Assembly on the issue of rejection of the Award.
>
> We feel, however, constrained to mention that statement of the Congress attitude in regard to the Aw does not present a complete picture; since you stop 1936 and would not go beyond the Congress Elec Manifesto and the B. P. C. C. resolution in that con tion. Subsequent events have, however, shown unmis ably that these were at best paper resolutions and e then, did by no means constitute the last word on subject. It cannot be denied that the exigencies elections to the provincial Legislative Assemblies in primarily contributed to the change of the Congress tude, referred to by you, in the election manifesto an the B. P. C. C. resolution. It may not be unknow you that no sooner were the elections over, than changes came to be characterised as mere alterations."
>
> As for example, Mr. Kripalini, the General Secr of the Congress, stated on 19th May, 1937 :
>
> "Whatever verbal alterations may have been

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...ed in subsequent resolutions, the Congress attitude ...d neutrality) has remained the same; that it will not ...ry on public agitation against what the Mussalmans ...ly or wrongly,—from the Congress point of view ...ly or wrongly,—hold to be an advantage."

As if this was not sufficient, on 29th May, 1937 the ...retary further expressed himself as follows:

"It (Congress) has never disguised the fact that the ...ecision has created division in our body politic. But ...was not prepared to agitate for its removal. Violating ...al and national consistency, it passed its resolution ...non-acceptance and non-rejection. I hold, no change ...been made in the resolution. The language has ...ged but the substance has remained the same."

In view, however, of your very many pre-occupations, ...e might have escaped your notice, reference may, ...well, be made in this connection to a similar state-...nt on 10th October, 1937 by Dr. Mahmud, the Congress ...cation Minister in Bihar. According to him:

"The Communal Award is there. Nobody has touched ...and nobody is going to touch it so long as the Muslims ...ste it. The Congress may not have accepted it in ...ciple but it has practically accepted its real effects; ...our community is quite free to reap the benefit ...the Communal Award."

Apart from such views on the matter, the Resolution ...Minorities' rights, adopted by the Congress Working ...mittee in Calcutta on 31st October, 1937 and sub-...ently ratified by the Haripura Congress, is also very ...ificant. The resolution runs thus:

"The Congress is opposed to the Decision, as it is ...rational . . . Nevertheless, the Congress has decided ...change in or supersession of the Communal Decision ...ld only be brought about by mutual agreement of the ...ies concerned. The Congress has always welcomed ...is prepared to take advantage of any opportunity to ...about such a change by mutual agreement."

In the matter of any change in the Communal Award, ...above resolution is parctically a paraphrase of the ...ish Premier's directions, making the consent of com-...nities concerned a condition precedent to any modi-...ion of the Award. Even the Bengal Nationalist ...slim Party condemned this condition as virtually ...ing the door of settlement between communities. The ...gress resolution is equally open to this serious ob-...ion. It is not difficult to understand why Nawab ...hammad Ismail Khan welcoming the resolution in a ...er dated 10th November, 1937 to Pandit Nehru stated:

"Your recent resolution on Communal Award has ...inly removed one great grievance of the Muslim ...munity and we trust it would be allowed to stand."

It was rather surprising that Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru ...his letter to Mr. M. A. Jinnah on 4th February, 1938 ...not so far as to acknowledge that the "Communal ...ard, unsatisfactory as it is, holds the field for the ...ent and till such time as it may be altered by the ...ual agreement of the parties concerned."

From the foregoing it becomes apparent that you ...e done less than justice in maintaining that, since ...publication of the election manifesto in August, 1936, ...Congress policy in regard to the Communal Decision ...has never been one of non-acceptance or non-rejection ...of total disapproval and rejection. From the authori-...e declarations quoted above, repeated times without ...ber, the conclusion becomes irresistible that the pre-...ent attitude of the Congress *vis-a-vis* the Award is far ...erwise than what the election manifesto had declared. ...The attitude is, therefore, no longer, one of neutrality,—much less of rejection; but, for all practical purposes, of acceptance of the Award.

According to the dispensation of the Congress, the Communal Award thus stands till the impossible happens; namely, the community or communities pampered thereunder by a self-denying ordinance agree to forego the advantages gained for the benefit of less favoured communities.

After this, you would certainly concede that the Congress attitude has eventually become far worse than the attitude of neutrality you fought against, both from within and without the Congress.

Dr. Indra Narayan Sen Gupta then observes that "it has thus become imperative that anti-Award Conferences should be held for mobilizing the nationalist forces and bringing the Congress back to its proper moorings." He then turns his attention to the Congress method of combating the so-called Award suggested by Sj. Sarat Chandra Bose.

This method in your words may be boiled down to this: without having recourse to external authority or setting up a rival communal ideology for the rejection of the Award, agitation should be directed against the entire Constitutional scheme and not against the Communal Award alone, by means of educative propaganda amongst the masses including the Hindus and Muslims, about the imperialistic motive behind the Award, such as its denial to both the communities of their just share of representation with a view to securing the Europeans a preposterous weightage.

So far so good: but may not one be permitted to enquire what has the Congress done in this regard? Instead of merely suggesting the method for rejection of the Award, the Congress should have, particularly in view of its Mass Contact programme, proved its efficacy in actual practice. As to the Constitutional scheme, the Congress has, indeed, shown a novel way of rejection by working at least the provincial part of it. . . Anti-Award agitation as such being a taboo, under the circumstances, the Congress method can only succeed in stopping for good all agitation against the Award.

It must be obvious that "non-agitation" against the Constitution is not so much fraught with mischief as acquiescence in the Award. The working of the Provincial Congress Ministries shows that, despite its inherent defects, the Constitution may be somehow made to further our national ends. But the case with the Communal Award is quite the reverse. The acquiescence in it cannot but perpetuate communal divisions in our body politic, to the undoing of nationalism. Already it has given rise to Prof. Latiff's scheme of dividing India into twain.

The Anti-Award Conference has, therefore, other objects in view than what you characterise as "setting up of a rival communal ideology." Fighting the Communal Award, the fountain spring of communalism, it aims at stemming the tide of communalism at the very source. If, according to the Congress view, the Communal Award is allowed to remain untouched, signs are not wanting that Indian nationalism is doomed for ever. We expect you would agree that the fight against the Award is essentially a fight for Indian Freedom. When will the Congress leaders come to realise that it is not on Anti-Award drive, but on Congress "hush" "hush" policy of acquiescence in the Award, that the Communal ideology is destined to thrive?

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Next Session of the Hindu Mahasabha

The next session of the Hindu Mahasabha has been announced to be held in Calcutta in December. Most probably the Communal Decision will be one of the subjects to be discussed in that session. The foregoing note is meant to show that it deserves the serious attention of all nationalists, whether Hindu or not.

Pourparlers Between Congress Leaders and Mr. Jinnah

Congress leaders of the Rightist and Leftist groups have had talks with Mr. Jinnah, no doubt with a view to establishing Hindu-Moslem unity. And Mahatma Gandhi has given a flattering certificate in *Harijan* to the Muslim League. It may be necessary, therefore, in the public interests to remind Congress leaders of a few facts.

The first condition for a Hindu-Muslim settlement which Mr. Jinnah is sure to insist upon is the recognition, on the part of the Congress, of the claim of the Muslim League that it is the only representative of the Mussalmans of India to the exclusion of any other organization. Hitherto the Congress has refused to recognize this claim. Its recognition now will be for the Congress to stultify itself. But not only that. If the Muslim League be the sole representative of Indian Mussalmans, then does it represent those nationalist Mussalmans also who are members of the Congress? If so, then both the Congress and the Muslim League represent these nationalist Muslims! And these nationalist Mussalmans owe allegiance to both the Congress and the Muslim League! If generally or occasionally, these two bodies issue to their members instructions of a mutually conflicting character, as is bound to happen, whose behests will these nationalist Mussalmans carry out? They cannot carry out those of both. If they do not obey the Muslim League, they will come in for disciplinary action; if, on the other hand, they do not obey the Congress, the Congress will take disciplinary action against them. A truly unenviable fate!

To save the Mussalman Congress members from such a fate, the Congress would have to cancel their membership. Note what that would mean.

The Mussalman Congress members have had to endure persecution and obloquy at the hands of their brethren in faith for having joined the Congress. For that body now to throw them overboard would be dishonourable in the extreme. But such a step would be also suicidal for the Congress so far as its claim to represent all communities in India is concerned. That is an important claim, and on it is based its national character. To admit the sole representative character of the Muslim League for the Muslim community would degrade the Congress from the position of an organization representing all Indian communities to the position of an organization representing only the non-Muslim communities of India. Such degradation would deprive the Congress of the right, which it claims to speak in the name of the Indian nation as a whole.

Though, ostrichlike, Congress leaders may not sometimes face facts, it is a fact that a growing body of influential Hindus repudiate its claim to speak in all matters on behalf of the entire Hindu community. Should the right of the Congress to speak on behalf of the whole Indian nation be lost owing to its recognition of the Muslim League's exclusive right to represent the Muslims, the right of the Congress to represent all non-Muslim communities would also be challenged with increased vigour by the aforesaid section of the Hindus, to whose ranks there would be fresh accessions. And it is not these Hindus alone who would challenge the right of the Congress to voice their opinions. Many Sikhs also will do so.

There are some influential Muslim organizations which have been disputing the exclusive claim of the Muslim League to represent the Mussalmans of India. If the Congress recognized such a claim, these Muslim organizations would indignantly repudiate the right of the Congress to extend such recognition to the Muslim League. As we have repeatedly suggested months ago, whenever Mr. Jinnah asks the Congress to recognize the Muslim League as the sole representative organization of India's Mussalmans, they should invariably ask Mr. Jinnah to produce the credentials of the League from all the other well-known Muslim organizations. Should they all recognize the sole representative character of the Muslim League, it would then be time for the Congress to consider its claim, but not till then.

Besides the recognition of the sole Muslim representative character of the Muslim League, another condition which Mr. Jinnah may most probably insist upon is that the Communal Decision must remain intact and that appointments in the public services should continue to be divided among the different communities as at present arranged by the Government. Both these are absolute negations of democracy and

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nationalism. These should be resisted by all nationalists to their dying day. Among the members of the Congress itself an uncounted number would always stoutly condemn and oppose them.

Democratic party government means government by the *political* party in the majority for the time being, consisting of members of communities. But in a recent press interview Sir Sikandar Hyat Khan said that the basis of settlement" should be the formation of coalition ministries, of which the Muslim members were to be chosen by the Muslim League. Such a "basis" would be a negation of democracy and nationalism and would strengthen communalism.

Momins Challenge Muslim League's Claim

BIJNOR, Oct. 12.

"The Muslim League has no right to speak and act in the name and on behalf of the nine crores of Indian Muslims," declared Mr. Abdul Qaiyum Ansari, Vice-President, All-India Momin Conference, presiding over the Bijnor District Ansar Conference held at Nihtaur.

Mr. Ansari criticised the War resolution of the All-India Muslim League Working Committee and characterised it as reactionary, unchivalrous and derogatory to the self-respect of the Indian Muslims.

Continuing, he said that the Muslim League could not speak and act in the name and on behalf of the nine crores of Muslims of India. Its claim to do so, he said, was not based on reality, as a very large majority of the Muslims of the N.-W. F. Province and Sind, the Ahrars, the nationalist Muslims, the Krishak-Proja Muslims and the Jamiat-Ulema, besides the four and half crores of Momins (Ansar) who formed about half the Muslim population of India, did not subscribe to the creed, policy and programme of the Muslim League.

Speaking about the position of the Momins in relation to the war situation, Mr. Ansari declared that while giving its fullest support and co-operation to Britain at this critical juncture, the Momin Ansar community earnestly trusted that the demands of the community, which had already before His Excellency the Viceroy, would be immediately conceded.—*United Press.*

Contemplated Ratification of Congress Demand By Provincial Legislatures

WARDHA, Oct. 12.

It is understood that the Congress Ministries may postpone the usual sessions of their respective legislatures or even summon special sessions to record votes on their demand as also to expedite disposal of other business.

It is expected that the Bombay and Bihar Assemblies will lead the other Provinces in this respect.—*A. P.*

The States' People and the War Situation

A statement issued by the Standing Committee of the All-India States' People's Conference from Wardha on the 11th October gives its full support to the position taken up by the Congress Working Committee in relation to the war situation. It says among other things:

"The Standing Committee of the States' People's Conference has met at a time of grave crisis in the world when war rages in Europe and the people of India have to take vital decisions of the gravest import to their future. This future necessarily comprises the States and even the present crisis is having its direct repercussions in Indan States. The Committee desire to associate themselves fully with the statement issued by the Working Committee of the Indian National Congress on September 14 and with the resolution of the All-India Congress Committee on the war crisis passed on October 10. Believing as they do in the unity of India and common freedom for all the Indian people, they record their deep satisfaction that the Congress has at this critical juncture given a powerful voice to the demand of the Indian people for democratic freedom. In this freedom to come, the people of the States must be equal sharers and they must be prepared to shoulder equal responsibilities."

The statement then proceeds to urge the introduction of democratic institutions in the States, some of which, it is a a pleasure to note, have already made promising beginnings in this direction.

Many of the Rulers of Indian States have offered their services and resources to Great Britain for the prosecution of war and expressed their support of the cause of democracy in Europe. It is incongruous in the extreme that such professions should be made while autocracy prevails in the States. The Standing Committee cannot agree to the continuation of autocracy in the States because war has broken out in Europe. The Committee notes that in some of the States promised reforms in administration have been postponed because of the war. A war ostensibly for democracy is thus resulting in stopping all advance. The people of the States express their strongest protest against this.

In the opinion of the Standing Committee, the question of introducing democratic institutions in the States is of urgent and vital importance so that the people of the States might take their place in the shaping of a free India and in the new world order to come. The Committee, therefore, invite the various Rulers to declare that they accept the objective of full responsible Government in their States and undertake to give effect to it in the largest pissible measure in the immediate future.—*A. P.*

More, Time-worn, British Criticism of Congress Demand

There have been some more criticisms of the Congress demand in the British press, of the usual time-worn character, which we have answered in advance years ago, we do not remember how often. But still they come. And they will continue to come until India is free. Here are some of them.

LONDON, Oct. 12.

"The middle of a war is scarcely the time for a major constitutional operation." says the 'Scotsman' in the course of a leader on the Indian situation. It adds: "How far Government can go to-day will depend

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upon the extent to which all sections of Indian opinion are united. It has also to be remembered that India has just received from Westminster the pattern of a new constitution and this could not be reasonably changed after so recent an examination of the whole problem."

The article opines, "not only is it difficult to stereotype war aims when the full development of events is not yet clear, but it is scarcely right that this country should make vague and general promises which might deliver Indian minorities into the power of the Hindus. It may be possible to make some reassuring declaration for it is no part of Britain's policy to impede the development of self-government in India or elsewhere, but as trustees(!) for the future of India, the British Government must consider the claims of other sections in India who distrust the Congress."

"EXTENSIVE" CLAIMS

The article characterises as "much too extensive" Mr. Gandhi's claim that the Congress is the one big body which represented the masses of India irrespective of class or creed, and adds that Mr. Gandhi could not speak for the Princes, while even in British India there was lack of unity which contradicted Mr. Gandhi's claim to speak for all.

"Moslem circles, now as in the past, view with fear the possibility that the Hindu majority might obtain control in India and the Moslem League is anxious that Government should make no pronouncement until its views have been expressed. Indian Liberal Federation in its turn points out that Congress and Moslem League between them do not exhaust the variety of Indian opinion. In these circumstances Lord Linlithgow is engaged in the delicate task of sounding Indian opinion. There is no doubt that India as a whole will appreciate the necessity of opposing Nazi designs of conquest and enslavement but the Congress apparently could not resist the temptation to press its claims at this difficult moment.

No Indian has asked Britain to stereotype her war aims or to make vague and general promises. Indian nationalists want a declaration in the clearest possible terms.

Britain considered the claims of the Ulsterites and was aware that in Eire itself there was no literal and mathematical unanimity. Yet she was obliged to yield to the will of the Irish majority. Here in India, too, the majority of politically-minded persons have formulated a demand. It would be wise for Britain to treat it seriously. Freedom was never demanded by all persons in any country with complete mathematical unanimity. At the time of the Abolition of Slavery there were some slaves who did not want emancipation. Nevertheless slavery was abolished.

It is idle to trot out the Mussalmans and other sections. There are numerous Mussalmans and people of other minority groups who are members of the Congress, and many of them who are outside the Congress also support its demand.

It is mathematically and literally correct to say that Mr. Gandhi cannot speak for *all* the princes, but he can speak for some of them, namely, those who have introduced democratic institutions in their States. Moreover, what is of greater importance, Gandhiji *can* speak for the *people* of the States. The Standing Committee of the States' People's Conference has fully supported the Congress demand. Though the Government of India Act of 1935 has completely ignored the people of the States, they are more important than their Princes. It is they who feed and support the latter. There are many states in the world which have no princes, but there is no state in the world which has no people but has only princes reigning in solitary grandeur.

It is Hindu control which is said to be distrusted and feared, but foreign control is all right !

The mention of the Liberal Federation, which does not count for much so far as influencing public opinion goes, shows that the statement issued by Sir Chimanlal Setalvad and others has done the full amount of mischief apprehended, though the premier Liberal organ *The Servant of India* called it "*suicidal*" and strongly condemned it.

India (including the Congress) has already without any prompting on the part of any British mentor, has given full expression to her appreciation of the necessity of opposing Nazi designs. But India has expressed its belief also in the necessity of the disappearance of imperialism and the emergence of democracy.

In the course of a leading article on the Congress resolution about war aims of Britain, the "Birmingham Post" comments that on the same day that India received and accepted an invitation to join other Dominions in Empire discussions on the progress of activities in connection with war, the Congress passes a resolution which at least by implication suggests that India is not quite wholehearted in her support of the Empire's war. The paper adds that if the Congress is at all reasonable accommodation ought to be possible. The Viceroy is trying hard to get it and most of India is anxious to see him successful.

The paper suggests that the reason for this is that the Congress is still just a little bit afraid that to help the Empire to win another great war is or may be to set back the cause of Indian independence. After assuring that there is not the smallest reason for this fear, the paper declares that to satisfy the Congress completely they might have to depart from their considered Indian policy notably by giving smaller scope to the minorities and increased power to the non-Muslim majority which today dominates the Congress. Such a surrender is impossible. Their considered and accepted Indian programme is not to be overthrown for the sake of Congress support in war.

The paper concludes that none of the Viceroy's statements will count so much as plain warnings to be inserted in or into every Hitler speech. Even Congress-dominated India knows that there could be no really free India if the Berlin-Moscow axis had its way.—*Reuter.*

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This paper says that "India received and ...ted an invitation to join *other* Dominions ...the Empire discussions on the progress of ...rities in connection with war." As India ...not a Dominion, it is wrong to suggest that ...ia is one by writing that this country has ...n asked to join the *other* Dominions. Then, ...is wrong to say that "India" has been ...ted. As the Dominions are self-governing, ...invite a Dominion Government is the same ...g as inviting the Dominion. But as India ...not self-governing, to invite the *British* ...ernment of India is not identical with or ...ivalent to inviting India herself. If the Gov...ment of India had decided to send some Indian ...ted by the elected Indian members of the ...tral Legislature to take part in the Empire ...ussion, that would have been a partial ...gnition of India's claim to be heard. But ...m what has appeared in the papers, the ...ernment of India are not going to do any ...h thing.

It is unjust to accuse the Congress of being ...whole-hearted in its support of Britain's ... The fact is, British imperialists want ...n to "co-operate" with them on their own ...s. But such co-operation would not be co-...ation at all. Co-operation to be of value ...worth the name must be between free and ...l partners. And that is the meaning of ...Congress demand.

The paper gives an assurance that helping ...in "to win *another* great war" will not set ...the cause of Indian independence. But what ...e assurance of a newspaper worth? Why not ...British Parliament give such an assurance? ...s the Birmingham paper think that India's ...to Britain to win the last great war ...not push forward the cause of Indian ...endence?

Does what the paper writes mean by implica... that Britain's considered policy is to give ...er scope to the minorities and smaller scope ...e majority? A truly democratic policy, if ...d. Perhaps the Birmingham paper thinks ...it is a sin to be a majority, and therefore ...recognition of the rights of the majority is ...impossible surrender!

Of course, "Congress-dominated India" ...s what would happen if the Berlin-Moscow ...had its way. But it also knows the mean... of imperialists of the *Birmingham Post* type ...their way.

The paper uses the expression "Congress-...nated India" in an article meant to belittle ...Congress. But the very use of the expres... is an admission of the great power which Congress possesses. And as the Congress dominates not by force of arms but by the influence of its principles and its sufferings and sacrifices to uphold those principles, it has a greater right to be heard than any other organization in India.

"Times of India" Thinks Congress Demands Not Unreasonable

The following paragraph is taken from an Associated Press summary of a leading article in the British-owned and British-edited *Times of India* of Bombay of the 12th October last:

> ". . . . . nobody questions the dominating position in our political life of the Indian National Congress. Its demands are not unreasonable, but they clash in some respects with those of important minority communities." However, the *Times of India* declares, "We must have our goal explicitly declared and we must be assured that it will be achieved at the earliest possible moment. Justice demands that, and Great Britain cannot refuse justice to India."
>
> "We are confident that the British Government's response will be of a kind which will enable our Provincial Ministries to continue their task, undeterred by threats of left-wing trouble."—*A. P.*

While recognizing that the *Times of India's* tone is better than that of some of the Tory papers of Britain, we dislike its girding at the left-wingers. Their demands are substantially the same as those of the rightists. The provincial ministries need not be patted on the back at the cost of the leftists.

Hindu Consolidation Movement in Bengal

Dr. S. P. Mookherjee, M.L.A., ex-Vice-Chancellor of the Calcutta University and Vice-President of the Hindu Mahasabha, and Mr. N. C. Chatterjee, Bar-at-Law, General Secretary of the Bengal Hindu Mahasabha, made an extensive tour throughout eastern Bengal and north Bengal in connection with the movement for Hindu consolidation. They addressed many meetings in various districts which were very largely attended. They have issued a statement after the conclusion of their tour in Bengal, in the course of which they say:

> We are glad to announce to all interested in the movement for Hindu consolidation in Bengal that our appeal received a warm and wide response and in a measure far beyond our expectation. The response was spontaneous and sympathetic in all the places we visited. The different sections of the public were impressed that the policy and the programme of the Bengal Hindu Mahasabha were planned on the broadest basis of nationalism and were consistent with the evolution of real national life in this country. We did not take our stand on any narrow communal plane, nor did we plead for any special favours for the Hindus. We emphasised that, for the sake of nationalism itself, the Hindus of Bengal must consolidate and guard by all effective means the present attack on their rights, political, economic, cultural and social.

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After dwelling on the very harmful effects of the Communal Decision which they witnessed in all spheres of public life everywhere, the two leaders state :

We found the countryside in a state of extreme nervousness and intimidation. The movement for Hindu consolidation was meant principally to stamp out the spirit of defeatisim which has come upon the Hindus. From that point of view our campaign was eminently successful . . . . .

Our movement received additional impetus owing to the opposition which was put forward by a small section of misguided Muslims in Barisal and Comilla . . . .

As regards the attitude of the authorities, they say :

The authorities . . . . . had banned our tour in Noakhali and Serajganj. We strongly deprecate the attempt to nullify the movement for the consolidation of the Hindus in these areas. If the Hindu movement is a necessity in any part of Bengal, it is in these places. However, we availed ourselves of the opportunity of meeting local leaders and they impressed upon us the serious state of affairs prevailing in these areas, particularly owing to the propaganda carried on by certain Muslims . . . . . Specially in Noakhali, the Hindu leaders informed us that an organized attempt was being made to start an economic boycott of Hindus. It is high time that Bengal should realize the critical situation in which Hindus have been placed in Noakhali and Serajganj. The Hindus throughout the province should make up their mind to make common cause with their fellow men in these affected areas. There should be an immediate enquiry by an independent commission in respect of the perilous situation prevailing specially in Noakhali and Serajganj . . . . .

Hindu consolidation will not be effective unless we root out unjust inequities and inequalities in the Hindu fold.

In concluding their statement the two leaders say:

We desire to state that we are fully aware that in view of the present international crisis, undue or unnecessary emphasis should not be laid on minor sectarian issues or local problems. We are fully convinced in our minds, specially after our recent tour, that ours is not a minor issue that can await settlement but is a life and death struggle. While we call upon the Hindus of Bengal to consolidate and protect and fight for their legitimate rights, we do so with a full sense of our responsibility and ask our countrymen to face and solve a situation the like of which Bengal had seldom any experience of, a situation, which if not changed, will render the Hindus of this province irrevocably reduced to a state of serfdom in all spheres of their national life.

Chiang Kai-shek Re-affirms China's Policy of Resistance

The China Weekly Review of September 23 last writes :

Surprised and bewildered by the spectacular series of international developments, notably the signing of a Soviet-Japanese truce on the Nomonhan front and the Soviet's sudden invasion of Poland, every Chinese in Shanghai is keenly interested in the question : How will these developments affect the Far Eastern situation ?

So far as China is concerned the answer is to be found in General Chiang Kai-shek's re-affimation of China's policy of resistance. The same paper writes :

Out of the welter of international chaos and intrigue one voice is most heartening to the Chinese, and that is General Chiang Kai-shek's timely reaffirmation of China's unwavering determination to continue resistance against Japan despite recent changes in the international situation.

Addressing the fourth session of the People's Political Council held at Chungking on Sept. 9, General Chiang declared that the European war will not affect China's resistance against Japan, but "will make us fight Japan with greater vigor, since we are confident of ultimate victory and of China's rightful place in the shaping of the new world order." The Generalissimo ridiculed Japan's claim that the European holocaust would enable her to settle the "China incident" at an early date, stating that since the Japanese had failed to beat China during the past two years, it would be impossible for them to subjugate her now that their war machine is declining in effectiveness.

Referring to military affairs, General Chiang declared :

"During the past six months, Japanese troops have made no progress and on many fronts, at many places they have been forced to retreat. Our military strength as compared with that at the beginning of the war, has been more than doubled."

Of foreign affairs, the Chinese leader said :

"The Chinese-Japanese problem is a world problem . . . . The Chinese people constitutes one-fourth of the world's population. We realize our responsibility in the noble task of promoting permanent world peace. But world peace is far distant as long as our conflict with Japan is not terminated."

Puppet Treaties Invalid

Referring to the forthcoming organization of a puppet regime by the Japanese, Gen. Chiang declared that a handful of traitors may establish such a regime in Japanese-occupied China and sign a hundred treaties with the enemy, but they will have no validity whatsoever and will not have the slightest effect upon the war of resistance.

Subhas Babu Says "Press Your Demands Now"

Addressing a packed gathering at the Gandhi Prasad Memorial Hall on the 12th October on the present political situation, Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose dealt at length with the two burning problems of the day, namely, war and Indian independence.

He felt that India missed a splendid opportunity by not presenting a united demand immediately after war was declared.

Mr. Bose foreshadowed another opportunity which would present itself in the near future, and made a fervent appeal to Indians to muster strong, sink all differences and present a united front in which he had not the slightest doubt that within an incredibly short space of time they would achieve the country's freedom. He urged his countrymen to press their

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and now, for he felt convinced that the Congress in recent years had been growing from strength to strength.

The war aims of the democracies, as declared by their statesmen, failed to carry conviction with him. What they were now concerned with in India was that if the war was being fought for the sake of liberty and freedom India should not be denied that freedom. They could only fight as a free nation, he declared.

He did not consider the so-called obstacles to Indian independence, such as Hindu-Muslim problem, as insuperable. In any case they were domestic problems and were the concern of anyone but Indians.

Concluding, Mr. Bose appealed for Indian unity and common front.—*A. P.*

United Provinces' Speaker's Statement

When the United Provinces Assembly met October 3 last, Shri Purushottamdas Tandon, speaker, made a considered statement on the situation, which has been published in full in all Congress and non-Congress dailies of that province. It was a sober and reasonable statement, which did not lose in firmness owing to subdued tone.

The speaker referred to and pointed out the effects of the amendment in the British Parliament of the Government of India Act of 1935 on its bearings on the powers of the provincial legislatures and ministries, and showed in detail the differences in their results and implications and their probable durations between the Emergency Powers Act of Britain and the Act amending the Government of India Act. Regarding the war he said :

The war is a serious matter. Wars always are. Appeals have been made by high authorities both in England and in India for the co-operation of the Indian people. As a matter of fact, the Indian people have not declared that they are at war with any people in the world. The Indian Government, not responsible to the people, have been dragged into the war because of their ties in relation to the British Government. But the appeals to the Indian people are based, and rightly so, on grounds of human liberty and democratic principles. At the same time it has been authoritatively said on behalf of the British Government that constitutional claims relating to India and the demands of the Indian people should not be pressed during the war; even ethical principles have been pressed into service by some British statesmen to persuade the Indian people not to divert the attention of the British authorities to concentrate on winning the war. By age-long habit our people are known to be particularly sensitive to appeals to their honour, generosity and humanenessness. Appeals of this nature always touch our hearts, though our own miseries, due to our political bondage, are overwhelming and though such appeals are not new and were repeatedly made during the last war which began in 1914. But it is a very serious matter for the British Government to consider whether wise and justifiable, even in the name of war, to put back fundamental questions affecting the liberties and well-being of such a vast country as ours, when the war itself is being waged to preserve democratic liberties in a small country like Poland. That country, naturally, has all our sympathy, but that sympathy would have been fuller, the energy to put that sympathy into operation would have been more effective, if we, ourselves, enjoyed the status to secure which for them our assistance is needed.

The speaker proceeded to point out how India could have been placed in a better position to defend itself and help Britain.

This House, by a resolution which was discussed at great length, voted on October 2, 1937, that is, soon after it began to function, that the Government of India Act was unsatisfactory and designed to perpetuate the subjugation of the people of India, and the House demanded that the Act should be replaced by a constitution for a free India, framed by a Constituent Assembly. If that demand of our House, which was also made by a majority of other provincial assemblies, had been met by the British Government in a spirit of sympathy with the principles of democracy, which they said they defended in the last war and which they are out to defend in the present one, our country would beyond doubt have been in a stronger position to-day to defend itself and to help Britain and other nations fighting in a righteous cause. On behalf of the House I make bold to say that the policy of the British Government in ignoring our resolution has definitely weakened the fighting strength of Britain.

In conclusion, he pressed for the immediate solution of the question of India's status.

Even the exigency of a war is not a good ground for shelving the very important question of India's status. It calls for immediate solution. The war, I say, has made it even more urgent. Statesmen must recognize that to win modern wars it is essential to harness the popular will in their support. And nothing would be more opportune to win the people of India than giving them the initiative and necessary control for carrying on the fight for freedom and democratic principles with enthusiasm and sacrifice and making them feel that the war in which they are helping safeguards what they value and cherish.

British Labour Members Want Freedom For India

Major Attlee had previously spoken more than once in the British House of Commons in favour of Britain following democratic principles in practice in India. More recently other Labour members spoke in a similar vein.

LONDON, Oct. 12.

The Indian question was mentioned incidentally by one or two labour members in the course of tonight's debate in the House of Commons following Mr. Chamberlain's pronouncement.

Sir Stafford Cripps said :

"Hitler's offer we cannot for one moment accept but it is folly to turn it down without putting forward our own objective. If we are fighting for democracy, freedom and a new world, our care for India must be as great as for Poland."

Mr. Campbell Stephen supporting Sir Stafford Cripps said :

"If we are believers in democracy we should believe in democracy in India as much as in Germany."

Mr. Sorensen said :

"We should try to reach the minds of the German

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people and must put our own house in order. If we could say to the Indian people at the present that we were prepared to implement democracy in India that would do more to establish democracy than all the arms."—*Reuter.*

Bengal's Youth Ready to Handle Hard Jobs

In the report of the Appointment Board of the University of Calcutta its Secretary Sj. D. K. Sanyal gives indications of the well-known fact that many among Bengal's educated youth are quite ready to do hard manual work. We personally know many educated "high caste" young men who are willing to do the work of even the ordinary unskilled labourers for remuneration. They already do such work as a labour of love.

Allegations of Oppression on Muslims in Congress Provinces

There have been repeated allegations of oppression on Muslims in Congress-ruled provinces, jeopardizing their life, liberties and religious and cultural rights. But in not a single case have these allegations been substantiated. Nevertheless, Dr. Rajendraprasad, Congress President, proposed to Mr. M. A. Jinnah, president of the Muslim League, that these allegations be placed before the Chief Justice of the Federal Court, or failing him, some other person of a similar status and judicial position, for inquiry. Mr. Jinnah has written to Dr. Rajendraprasad in reply that he has "already placed the whole case before the Viceroy and the Governor-General."

It is said that Gandhiji also has asked the Viceroy to inquire into the Muslim League's allegations.

But Who Cares For Hindu Complaints ?

The Congress President, or any other Congress authority, cannot be expected to take up the cases of the Hindus of Burdwan, Serajganj and Noakhali. But the Hindu leaders of Bengal may with advantage emulate the persistence and enterprise of Mr. Jinnah. None of the Muslim League allegations have yet been substantiated. But in the case of Serajganj, a list was given in the Bengal Assembly on behalf of the ministry, which showed that there have been cases of breaking of the images of Hindu deities, defilement of Hindu temples, and the like.

Communal Service Ratios in Postal Department

Hindus are at a disadvantage as regards employments in Government departments not only in Bengal but even in departments under the Government of India. So far as Bengal concerned it may be argued that as the Hindus are a minority community in this province, they can claim only a small number of appointments in the public services of the province. We need not stop to examine this so-called argument. Assuming but not admitting the correctness of the principle underlying it, one may say that as the Hindus form the overwhelming majority of the population of India, the bulk of the appointments in the deparments under the Government of India ought to go to the Hindus. But as a matter of fact the Hindus do not get appointments in them in proportion to their numbers. In some cases no posts at all are reserved for them. Recently, Mr. Conrau-Smith stated in the Council of State on behalf of the Government that reservations for Anglo-Indians in the Telegraphists' grade in the department of Posts and Telegraphs had lately been raised from twenty to forty per cent., that for Muslims being twenty-five per cent. and for other minorities thirty-three and a third per cent. There was no reservation for the Hindus. But we suppose they can have one and two-thirds per cent of the posts after other communities have been provided for !

President Savarkar's Statement on Meerut Riots

We finished writing our Notes for the November issue on the 14th October. And it was on that date we first read in *The Leader* of Allahabad, dated the 14th October, the statement which President V. D. Savarkar issued on the 6th October " in connection with the Moslem riots at Meerut on October 2 on the occasion of his visit to Meerut city " " to support a Hindu Sabha candidate at the ensuing election to the U. P. Legislature." **It is an extremely serious indictment of the local city magistrate, district magistrate and police officers and also of the provincial Congress ministry.** We should like to know what that ministry have to say in regard to this affair. There is no time now to write more on the subject.

Durga Puja Holidays

Our office and press will remain closed for the Durga Puja Holidays from the 18th to the 31st October, both days included. Work in departments will be resumed on the 1st November, 1939.

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ARMAGEDDON *

By RABINDRANATH TAGORE

A letter to Dr. Amiya Chakravarty

s enter a darkened world possessed by ghtmare. Civilised conduct, even as we watch is being tortured beyond recognition. Such ulsive caricature and world-wide brutalising civilisation would have been unthinkable a rt while ago. Values in civilisation have ergone secret transformation: they are nly identifiable with skill in material manu-ure. Sitting in warehouses stocked with chines breeding goods, *Greed* has become more lustful. Nations, vulturelike, hover ceaselessly. Sanguinary greed hides behind pits and classrooms; streams of religious ion and science pour from specialised intel-s without washing it clean. Civilisation's e is being sapped; in the dark underhalls of res live acquisitive passions; pillars of mph slowly rot threatening in their down-the fabric of sane humanity. Where is ess? I wish I knew. Towards abyss slide ded empires once formed by feeding, in turbed security, on the two weak continents sia and Africa. The devourers could not k that their own have-not cousins would day rise up and threaten their spoils. whirlwind of killing goes on, weapons follow ons in unending mathematics, where can stop? Mutual manslaughter proceeds on es strewn with leavings of ill-gotten food; erday's carousers talk peace today in the of disaster, but even then they will not their courtyard.

You ask me to write—what can I write, I er, that might be acceptable to either side. pen falters, following a weak body; a ing despair tempts me to reign alone in ee realm of my mind in which I can weave ns of verse, undisturbed, attuned to the sion of seasons, to the surrounding trees. d you call this an ego-centric existence? would not be quite correct; the centre lies eat Reality which, in spite of life's muddied ils, remains transcendent. Thousands of in man's cruel history have gone scarred suffering no less terrible than ours; Central hordes scattered skulls in their paths of e, Assyrian rapacity knew no limits in human torture, Christian trustees in the name of religion burnt, crushed and tore human beings to win divine grace—but the Great Reality persists unaltered. His account was being kept in silence. Victors have vanished, great nations have lain dormant, dynamic changes have taken place in world-relationships, new challenges are being thrown to humanity. We in India are being debarred from accepting these challenges; had our fate been favourable, we could have been associated with history's chess-board as players rather than as pawns. We have steadily lost our individuality, how can we now, in our crippled state, join a world-war holy or unholy? Rather than indulge in mimic or slavish gestures, I would rather take shelter in what you would call my poetic escapism. With anguished heart I have seen how a great Imperial Power, in supine indifference, has allowed China to be swallowed morsel by morsel and disappear in the jaws of Japan, and at last from Japan itself came ugly insults such as Imperialism sheltered by its Eastern throne had never experienced. That vainglorious Empire, again, idly watched Italy devour Abyssinia and helped Germany, in amity's name, to crush Czechoslovakia under mailed boots. We saw how pursuing a crooked "non-intervention" policy she reduced Republican Spain to destitution and after bowing her head at Munich, waved Hitler's signature with ignoble joy. By sacrificing her dignity and neglecting her honour she gained nothing her-self but at each step strengthened the hands of her enemy finally having to plunge into this terrific war. In this war, I earnestly hope, England and France will win: the disgrace of civilisation by Fascism and Nazism has become intolerable. But it is for China I suffer most; the Empire-builders have enormous power and wealth which could be brought to help her, but China fights alone, almost empty-handed, with indomitable courage as her ally.

A poet's ultimatum, remember, was delivered already during the cataclysm of the last war; the answer to it will not come just yet; the last date for the answer is perhaps centuries hence.

* Authorised translation.

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"Greed's hungry flames mount ever higher
As evil ego's appetite is fed;
The universe it demands as its victual,
Monstrous food mercilessly shames monstrous hunger—
And then, O Terrible, with terrific clash your thunder descends".

And also in another poem—

"Whom do you blame, brothers? Bow your heads down!
The sin has been yours and ours.
The heat growing in the heart of God for ages—
The cowardice of the weak, the arrogance of the strong, the greed of fat prosperity,
The rancour of the wronged, pride of race, and insult to man—
Has burst God's peace, raging in storm."

(*Fruit-Gathering*)

I have finally said. They ask me to call a conference but what power can a conference have, what scope?—how far can its feeble voice reach? Is the poet then to be a loud-speaker for newspapers? Read *Balākā* once again, perhaps you have forgotten those poems. If you had not, you would agree that to issue one's finished expression in diluted form, is a crime against literature.

Postcript

Since writing the above, I have read Sir Norman Angell's comment in *Time and Tide* on the present situation.

Lord Halifax, he says, referred last week to Great Britain's war aims: we are demonstrating, by word and deed, our will to defend the freedom of nations which are immediately threatened. For this reason, we are ready to take the side of Poland. If we do not agree to maintain the freedim of other nations, then the principle of freedom will be betrayed, and along with it our own freedom.

Praising this statement of Lord Halifax, Sir Norman adds: But this principle of freedom which has been attacked in Poland was also attacked in Manchuria, Abyssinia, China, Spain and Czechoslovakia. In regard to all those countries, however, Great Britain betrayed by word and deed their responsibility to protect them.

Do go through the whole of Sir Norman's discussion. One more proof of the difference that lies between the little and the great Englishman. When the diminutive variety sits on a high pedestal and rules, not only is that country's glory shed but its self-interest vitally injured.

Some hints contained in Sir Norman's article alarmed me. Rumour is rife in different quarters, he said, that since Japan has lost faith in Germany, Great Britain should at once make it up with Japan and push China to the wall. Says Sir Norman, "Now to sacrifice China to Japan would be to revert to appeasement in its most evil form. And we are in danger of doing it from sheer moral obtuseness."

We in India can add that, if groups of English people want now to establish safe friendly relations with Japan, we shall know then to what depths the nation's self-respect has sunk.

28th September, 1939

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THE HITLER WAR

By Major D. GRAHAM POLE

My usual monthly article did not appear last month owing to the general upset caused by the beginning of the War. It was considered advisable by the powers that be that all who could conveniently carry on their business outside of London should do so. It seemed to me that there was no compelling necessity for me to travel backwards and forwards doing about a hundred miles a day of motor and railway travelling when I could with little inconvenience carry on as well from my house in the country. I therefore evacuated my office and, out of the smoke and grime of London, I can work amongst pine trees and flowers in a delightful atmosphere of peace and quiet. Here one has the greatest difficulty in realising that there is a war on, nor do the very scanty and uninformative bulletins issued by the Ministry of Information (so-called), or even by the French High Command, bring us much nearer to such a realisation.

From where I write it is easy to run up to London as occasion requires and there, in contradistinction to here, one can see the changes that war has brought. For years we have been accustomed to regard London as a city set apart, a city to which all the various streams of British life converge—a city therefore that always bears the face of prosperity—but because of this special destiny one which in no way reflects the general state of the commonwealth. It was pre-eminently the great consumer, the great spender. But now all this is changed. Wealth and fashion, where it still remains, has gone into uniform. The children and their teachers and very often their mothers too have gone away. Numbers of Government departments, head offices of companies and large business and so on, which could function just as well elsewhere, have followed them. Numbers upon numbers of private individuals of independent means—and such people gravitate towards London, especially in the winter—have given up their London homes. The result of all this is that London, which a year or two ago seemed a million miles removed from the depressed areas, has at times all the air now of such a lost area. Sandbags are in evidence everywhere. During the last war the Horse Guards on duty in Whitehall were always mounted on their wonderful horses and arrayed in their resplendent uniforms. Now the horses have disappeared and the Guards themselves are in khaki with "tin" helmets and on foot. Many Banks and Shipping Offices have had their windows taken out and are boarded up. London, in fact, looks as if it were in splints. And overhead, and all around, and always over strategic spots, a vast number of silvery sentinel balloons. . . Wherever you go you see an arrow on the wall leading you to the nearest air-raid shelter. That certainly is very well planned and sign-posted. Indeed in the large shops and department stores the assistants assure you that London is the safest place there is. . . But when, you ask yourself, will the raids begin and all this vast preparation be put to the test? Ought not the raids to have begun long ago? Why did we not raid Germany as a retaliation for the merciless bombing of Warsaw? Ought we not to have done *something* to draw off the fire from Warsaw?

People in India, no less than we in England, must find it very difficult to form a positive opinion as to what is going to happen in Europe and how England and France propose to influence such happenings. But however difficult the future, however much our Government and our Ministry of Information contrive to leave us in the dark, one thing I can say quite definitely. Nowhere in England is there any feeling of defeatism. We may have to get rid of our present leaders before we can get on much faster with the war. But no one doubts that we shall win the war—or, to put it perhaps a better way, that Hitler will lose the war. This may seem a "phony" war to Americans and other neutrals. We may be taking a long time to lumber into action. (General Gamelin, who, it is said, had to scrap all his plans because they had been revealed to the Russians at the recent Staff talks in Moscow, may have reasons for this). But there is no doubt whatever of our determination. From the very beginning of this war I have been struck by the general attitude on

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the matter and how strongly it contrasts with that of 1914. There is no passionate feeling about the Germans. No feeling against them at all. For one thing, there are so many of them here—I have two in my own house—as refugees. But every one feels that Hitler must be destroyed. The general feeling approximates more to that of a jury finding a thug guilty. And just as a jury knows that it has the support of all law-abiding citizens, the general feeling here is that there must be sane elements in Germany as anxious as the rest of us to rid their country of its evil genius. It is for this reason, moreover, that opinion is growing in England that the allies would do well now to make a statement of their peace aims. Hitler must not be allowed to derive any support from those who, though they loathe what he has done to Germany and Europe, feel that they must support him lest Germany at the end is broken by the terms of a vindictive peace settlement.

If only there were a body of opinion in Germany strong enough to overthrow Hitler and make an honourable peace. But, alas, though there are many reports of unrest in Germany, there seems to be little cohesion. The German Army, for instance, has often been hostile to Hitler, often had its leaders changed. One leader, it will be remembered, has recently been murdered in Poland by the Nazis. But the Army none the less has its own brand of imperialism. It is said to be pan-German and anti-British. . . . Is there never to be an end of German expansionism? I have heard it said that expansionism is a German mania, that German socialists, that Pastor Niemoller even, though they are opposed to Hitler and all his methods, have the "Deutschland uber alles" bug. Perhaps it is because they are so young a people. It is not a hundred years since the German Empire was forged into a unity by Prussia. To a new people, it seems, greatness can only mean conquest. (As has been the case with the new Italy, although the Italian temperament has not been able to stay the course). . . And only a new people could imagine, as the Germans seem to imagine, that Britain and France, after giving a guarantee to Poland, could abandon Poland to her fate simply because they had not been able to succour her in time.

At the moment of writing Germany and Russia have just issued their famous declaration. A scrap of paper from the Kremlin is the way in which one American newspaper dismisses it. Certainly, whatever the outcome of this move may be, this document in itself strikes anyone who reads it as one of the most superficial of utterances. Does Hitler really think that he can put this paper lid over the fire he has made in Europe? Germany and Russia, they say—in just an over-night visit—have settled all questions arising out of "the dissolution of the Polish State." In consequence France and Britain should now liquidate their war against Germany. And if they don't, theirs will be the responsibility for the continuation of the war. . . . Such a simple syllogism! But the premise is false.

The part which Russia is playing in the present war is of course the great question mark. No doubt people in India canvas it as much as we do. Events may prove that Russian intervention has been the decisive factor in defeating the Nazis, but for the present a few general reflections can be made. In the first place Russia must bear the responsibility for the outbreak of war. War no doubt was inevitable, but when Russia suddenly announced that she had concluded a Non-Aggression Pact with Germany, announced it while the French and British delegations were still in Moscow trying to worry a way through to a Peace Alliance, war from that moment became a certainty—and indeed broke out within a few days. On the other hand, no doubt, it is argued that Russia by this one simple stroke, broke the Berlin-Rome-Tokio Axis. This ensured that the coming war would be a local war and not a world war because both Japan and Italy were left outside. And most important of all, as this strange "co-operation" continues, Russia is making itself a barrier to German expansion into Eastern Europe—thereby destroying the dream of Hitler, and the Kaiser, and Bismark, that the East their future lies.

Russian intervention has taken such surprising forms, has seemed at first glance so opposed to everything that they have hitherto stood for—for instance, it is somewhat of a shock to find Russia linked with Germany as describing themselves as the "two imperialist powers"—that even the faithful, the Communists, have been hard put to it to find a rational explanation. *Steeple-chasing over paradoxes* is the way in which one American commentator has summed it up. But at the moment opinion is growing that the Russian action is after all directed against Germany, that Russian imperialism along the Baltic fringe, no less than the Russian barrier along the Balkans, is designed not so much as a carve up of Europe between Germany and Russia as a move on the part of Russia to keep Germany

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check. Russia, in other words, is playing part she would have played had she come the abortive Peace Bloc—and is playing without bloodshed so far as she is concerned. ever, long-headed, Stalin. . . .

This reading of Russian intervention may ove to be the true one. The first nightmare, t Russia and Germany would combine to ose a tyranny from the Black Sea to the ific, may be receding. But democrats must be blamed if at the outset they completely read the Russian intention. The *manner* the Russian intervention was deplorable. en the heroic Poles were making a last perate stand against the Nazis, Russia came and gave them the knock-out blow. And er this Russia proceeded, with Germany, to a rth Partition of Poland. The latest news ms to show that Russia intends to include her part mainly the Ukraine and those parts her side of the Curzon line to which perhaps has as good an ethnographical claim as any e. And if this is really the case, the Com- ists and others argue, it looks as if Russia wash her hands of Polish Poland—of the man share of Poland—and make no bones t it if and when the democracies defeat Nazis and reconstitute a Polish State.

All this may be true. I hope it is. But n't see how any democratic people can find h to be glad about in Russian methods. sia has undoubtedly a good claim to the r half of the Ukraine which Poland under ski forcibly took from her. It is not sant though to read of Russian soldiers ing Polish landlords as if they were vermin shooting Polish Officers. Can the "liberated" tories prosper in the midst of such mies? The Russian regime has continued for twenty-two years. Yet it still has to n with shooting landlords. It is still not sure self. Isn't it time that someone arose in tern Europe and revived the old doctrine the means is as important as the end? ed, it is more important than the end! e no one can tell which way the world is g.

But supposing Russian intervention is in sinister. Supposing there really are teeth he German-Russian threat that, since there o longer any reason for continuing the War, will "consult together". should Britain France persist in going on with it. Can do much damage to the democratic cause? this subject there is at present much specu- ion—and considerable optimism. The man wireless speakers have taken good care to point out that they can now get all their raw materials from Russia. And of course Russia is rich in raw materials though not in every essential one. But on the other hand Germany has no money with which to pay for such imports. She can only pay for them by exchanging machinery and manufactured goods. And how, in war-time, can she increase her production of such goods—with so many of her workers at the front, with so great a margin in her own needs to make up, as a result of the French and British blockade? Another point is this. The Russians, it is said, have exploited those sources of raw materials which lie nearer to Germany. Any great increases will have to come over miles and miles of railway. And Russian transport is extremely limited and backward.

From the foregoing, it will be deduced that we in Britain believe that time is on the side of the democracies—and one good reason for this lies in our superior economic resources. We can buy abroad. We police the seas. The Nazis have no money and, judging from their mad-dog acts of piracy at sea, the blockade is making them frantic. How else can be explained their attacks on any shipping they can get hold of, even neutral Swedish shipping carrying cargoes to neutral Belgian ports. Not to speak of their latest announcement that they will treat all British merchant vessels as if they were warships.

The part which the Navy is taking in the War is undoubtedly our chiefest pride and cause for gratification. We hear so much of the dilatory methods which appear to be the fashion on the Western front—although the strategy of "masterly inactivity" is no new thing—but we ought rather to consider the truly amazing feats of the French and British Navies. Not only have they been destroying submarines at the rate of three or so a week, they have swept every German merchant vessel off the seas. And consider how they have reduced the toll on British shipping. In the first week of war, when Germany had time to place all her submarines, we lost 65,000 tons, in the second 46,000, in the third 21,000—and by the fourth week the Navy had got this down to 9,000.

All things considered, it looks as if this War is entering on a new phase. Poland, for the moment, has gone under. Russia has intervened and shot to pieces the Nazi dream of expansion in the east. She may have some shot for the democracies also, but for the moment it has turned the Nazis west. Nazis and Russians

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together are putting forward proposals for a peace. At the same time the Nazis are in the grip of a fit of fear and ruthlessness. And so, if the so-called peace offer is rejected, can we expect some desperate gamble now in the west? Well, India will know of this as soon as we do.

No sooner were the Russians and Germans shaking hands over the body of Poland than it was said in France, and especially by Mme. Tabouis, that famous political prophet, that Hitler would turn Germany into a Soviet Republic rather than fall into the hands of the Allies. That no doubt was drawing a bow at a venture. But it may prove true and sooner than anyone supposes, especially if a moderate party does not come into power in Germany and make peace while it is still possible to stop the rot. As all the world knows the Nazi leaders (with the exception of Hitler himself for whom a violent death has always been predicted) have built up fortunes abroad against the time when they may have to fly the country. But they are not the only ones who are afraid of what is going to happen to them. Big industrialists are getting anxious—especially in view of the explosions and sabotage reported on all sides, the attempted risings in Czecho-Slovakia and Austria—and one of the greatest, and one-time fervent supporter of Hitler has already gone while the going is good. Russian support, they reflect, may save Germany from the Allies. But what can save Germany from revolution? How can they stop Communist doctrines from seeping through when Communist Russia is their new saviour? Von Ribbentrop, they see, is summoned to Moscow nowadays, just as in the former days the Austrian Chancellor or the Czech President was summoned to Berchtesgaden. Germany has lost the initiative and they know it. At any rate, that is the opinion of Von Papen, now Nazi Ambassador to Turkey. In the past Von Papen has done much of the Nazi underhand work. He it was who at the outset of the Nazi regime was sent to Rome to lull the Pope (and came home with some kind of sacred cope to please the German Catholics). He it was who, as German Ambassador to Austria, turned the Embassy into the headquarters of the Austrian Nazi traitors. He was sent to Turkey to try to checkmate the British negotiations for a Turkish Alliance. He of all men should know when the game is up. And he is said to be the most dejected man in Turkey. Nothing he feels can prevent the spread of Communism now in Germany.

Well, war more than anything else, the whole outlook into uncertainty. It been defined as the utmost act of force, would describe it as the utmost act of ness. No one, no nation, can see very far Even if a nation feels so confident that envisage victory, it cannot envisage the of world that will be left at the end of war. myself, I feel that one of the many changes that will have to come about, the end is in sight, is a change of our leaders. They seem in no hurry to this war. Delay, they say, is on our side is money that is going to win this war as the last war. Yes, but it is money that made this war! We have seen our leaders allow the Disarmament Conference die on their hands. We have seen them up the Empire in a tariff wall thereby giving tremendous spurt to German ideas of expansion in Europe. We have seen them let China, Abyssinia and Spain rather than peril the "interest" of the British Empire. are all paying lip-service now to the idea new order in Europe. But can a business Government, led by the principal believer tariffs (which is simply *economic* war), draw outlines of the new Europe—persuade various States, at their various levels of development, that they must not shut themselves up behind tariffs and give rein to economic nationalism which always leads on to war. Our blockade may be necessary to win this But when war is ended, who is going to rid world of blockade, of tariff psychology? President Roosevelt may give the world a lead. Some say it is most important that America should stay out of this war, so that liberal may still flourish in the midst of our desolation. Well that's as may be. I have no great in saviours from outside. I hope rather both Germany and Britain may throw somehow men who have an idea of a new federated Europe.

Months ago I wrote that the United States of Europe must eventually be brought about. And this would be merely the preliminary the United States of the world, where there be no "dependent" nations and all will be to work out their own salvation with such from outside as they may require and ... That may be some way off but everything working—blindly in most cases—towards ... Such an idea keeps one sane in this mad ...

Westminster,
1st October, 1939

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EMERSON AT HARVARD AND IN THE UNITARIAN MINISTRY

By J. T. SUNDERLAND

Emerson was a graduate of Harvard college, the class of 1821. Though he entered young, he had such excellent preparation in Greek that he was able to read and write with considerable ease. His acquaintance with English literature was already wide, and in his college course he read extensively the works of the great English, French and German writers. Courses in literature and rhetoric he liked and excelled in, while mathematics he disliked.

As a student, Emerson was generally liked by his fellows and by the professors. The president (for whom he rendered certain clerical services) became particularly his friend. Emerson was described in those days as a sensitive and retiring nature.

His talents for writing and for speaking were already beginning to manifest themselves. He won two college prizes for essays and one for declamation. He was also beginning to write poetry and was chosen class poet.

After graduating from Harvard Emerson taught for a time. In 1823 he began the study of theology under the guidance of Dr. William Ellery Channing. Dr. Channing was one of the most eminent of the Boston preachers. He was the intellectual and spiritual leader of the Unitarian wing of the Congregational church. Emerson's father was a Unitarian minister and it was natural that Ralph Waldo, preparing himself for the ministry should look to the leading thinker and preacher of the Unitarian movement as his ideal. The noble and fearless character of this great man and his clear and independent thought had an important influence upon the youthful Emerson and became a permanent source of inspiration in life and work.

Thus inspired by the ethically and spiritually rich liberalism of Dr. Channing's teaching, Emerson entered the Unitarian ministry in Boston in 1829. For about three years he was pastor of the second church there. At the end of that time he resigned because of conscientious scruples against administering the "Communion" in the customary way, and he never took a pastorate, though for some years he continued to do occasional preaching in neighboring Unitarian pulpits.

In the winter of 1836-7, three years after resigning his church, he delivered a series of ten lectures in Boston which attracted much attention though they were considered by many conservative critics dangerously heretical.

In August, 1837, he delivered an address before the Phi Beta Kappa society at Harvard on "The American Scholar," in which he set forth his philosophy. Lowell speaks of the occasion of this lecture as "an event without parellel in our literary annals, a scene to be always treasured in the memory for its picturesqueness and its inspiration. What crowded and breathless aisles, what windows clustering with eager heads, what grim silence of foregone dissent!"

The following year Emerson gave at Harvard his famous Divinity School Address. The radical religious views he expressed in this address caused a break between him and his *alma mater*. It was a clear, outspoken and uncompromising statement of his religious philosophy and ideals, and proved a thunderbolt out of a clear sky to the conservative element among the professors of Harvard Divinity School. Rev. Henry Ware, junior Professor in the Divinity School, strongly dissented from certain of Emerson's ideas, declaring that they appeared to him "more than doubtful, and their prevalence would tend to overthrow the authority and influence of Christianity." At the same time he took pains to speak with great respect of Mr. Emerson himself and of "the lofty ideas and beautiful images of spiritual life which you throw out, and which stir so many souls."

As a matter of fact, the address met with more favor in the Divinity School than outwardly appeared, while in the College proper it was received with enthusiasm by not a few students and professors. Nevertheless, for some years after this the college authorities generally were cold toward Emerson; he was not particularly welcome at college functions nor was he shown much honour or attention as an alumnus. His criticism of Edward Everett and Daniel Webster, and his sympathy with the

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anti-slavery movement added to the antagonism which Harvard felt toward him.

However, conservative feeling could not permanently obscure the greatness of such a thinker as Emerson and it was inevitable that eventually Harvard should be proud to bestow upon him some of her highest honors. In 1867 he was made an Overseer of the college and the degree of L.L.D. was conferred upon him. Also at this time he was invited to deliver another Phi Beta Kappa address,—afterward published in his volume, "Literary and Social Aims." It had been almost thirty years since he had appeared before as a speaker in the Harvard halls.

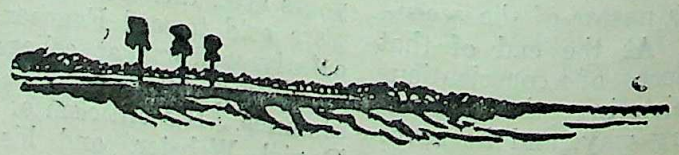
In 1870 he accepted an invitation to deliver a course of fourteen lectures under the philosophical department of Harvard. These were warmly received by both faculty and students.

It is gratifying that Emerson's *alma mater* grew into an appreciation of this great alumnus during his lifetime. Later a hall of philosophy at Harvard was built in his honor and named after him.

A POEM

By RABINDRANATH TAGORE

Through the troubled history of man
comes sweeping a blind fury of destruction
and the towers of civilisation topple down to dust.
In the chaos of moral nihilism
are trampled underfoot by marauders
the best treasures of Man heroically won
by the martyrs for ages.
Come young nations proclaim the fight for freedom,
raise up the banner of invincible faith.
Build bridges with your life across the gaping earth
blasted by hatred,
and march forward.
Do not submit yourself to carry the burden of insult
upon your head,
kicked by terror,
and dig not a trench with falsehood and cunning
to build a shelter for your dishonoured manhood;
offer not the weak as sacrifice to the strong
" to save yourself.



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General Gamelin presenting the regimental colours to the 8th Battalion of the Chasseurs

A view of Danzig
The Town-Hall, St. Mary's Cathedral and the Khantor

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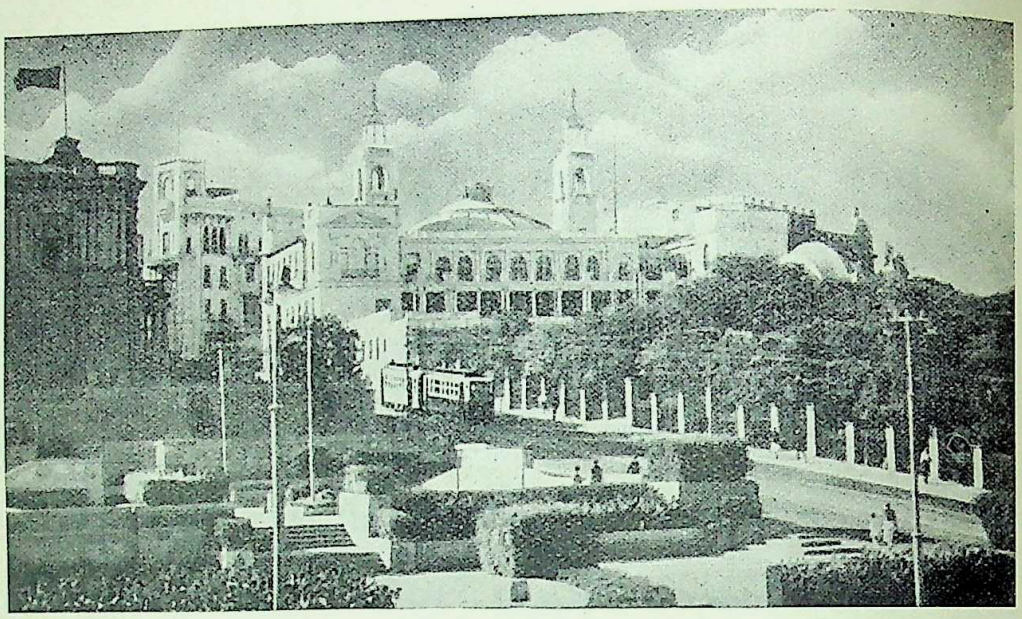

Public garden facing the building of the Azerbaijan Baker

A national dance of the North Caucasus Cossacks

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INSIDE THE U. S. S. R.

Fourteen Days Hard

By Prof. SHYAMA CHARAN, M.A., M.SC. (London)

PREFACE

It was with considerable difficulty and after a long wait that I was able to get an endorsement on my passport from the British Indian Government permitting me to visit U. S. S. R. But that was not the end of the troubles. After waiting patiently in Tehran for some time and sending cables to Moscow, it was with difficulty that I was given a transit visa through Russia *via* Baku and Leningrad to London. I was refused the Tourist Visa for which I had applied originally.

I selected a route through Russia which enabled me to spend some days in Leningrad and Baku. The rules of transit visa through U. S. S. R. are such that a traveller has to catch the next available boat or train—no halts are permitted.

My route from India lay through Baluchistan, Zahedan, Meshed, Tehran and then across the Elburz to the southern shores of the Caspian Sea. This sea was crossed by a Soviet Steamer from Bandar Pahlavi to Baku.

The details of my journey through Baluchistan and Persia are described in detail in the First Part of this book.

CHAPTER I

Russia at Last

[May 23]

At last we were in the jurisdiction of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

I wandered about the ship trying to find my berth. It was rather rusty and looked old and weather-beaten. Everybody on board seemed to be busy preparing it for departure so that I could find none to attend to me. After some trouble, however, I came across a sailor who knew some German. He directed me to III Class near the steerage.

I went down some steps into a smelly and unfurnished dormitory with 24 bunks arranged in double tiers all round. The prevailing colour was a rusty brown. The paint was flaking off everywhere. In one corner was a tap with a large bucket under it. There were no other arrangements for washing and toilet.

My suitcases were placed upon one of the bare bunks. I was disappointed. There was not even a mattress on it, just a wooden plank painted dark brown. After the customs and police ordeal ashore I was rather tired and felt the need of a cup of refreshing tea to cheer me up. I wandered about in search of the dining-room for the Hard Class passengers. From the travel pamphlets I had learnt that I and II Class passengers dine together while the Hard Class ones have separate dining arrangements.

Near my *state room* I found an excellent dining-room. The walls were decorated with the portraits of the leaders of the Russian revolution and Russian mottoes in white letters on red strips of cloth. It seemed odd that a dining-room with clean white table linen, good cutlery and crockery, and the table decorated with beautiful flowers in vases could be meant for passengers travelling in the neighbouring saloon. A stewardess was in attendance, and from her I learnt that the room was for the use of the crew only and that I was to dine upstairs with the upper class passengers.

So I went up the ladder, crossed the intervening open space and mounted the stairs to the main deck, from where I found my way to the dining-room. Here I met the Iranian doctor, who informed me that they had just finished tea while I was wandering about getting my bearings, but he said that he would enquire if some could be served to me then. He knew a stewardess who could speak German. She said that I was to dine there and that the dinner would be served at 5-30, hardly half an hour afterwards. I told her that in that case I did not require any tea but would be glad to have a glass of cold water.

On the table were lying carafes full of luke-warm water, so she brought me a glass of cold water from the refrigerator.

I had met this doctor in Tehran at the French Consulate, where he was getting his visa for France. He was a medical officer in the employment of the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company and was being sent to Dublin for further studies by the Government. He was accompanied by his wife and child. Now they were going to England through the Russia-Berlin route. From England they would go on to Ireland.

In the whole ship there were altogether a dozen passengers. One of them was in the Tourist class, I alone was in the Hard class, and

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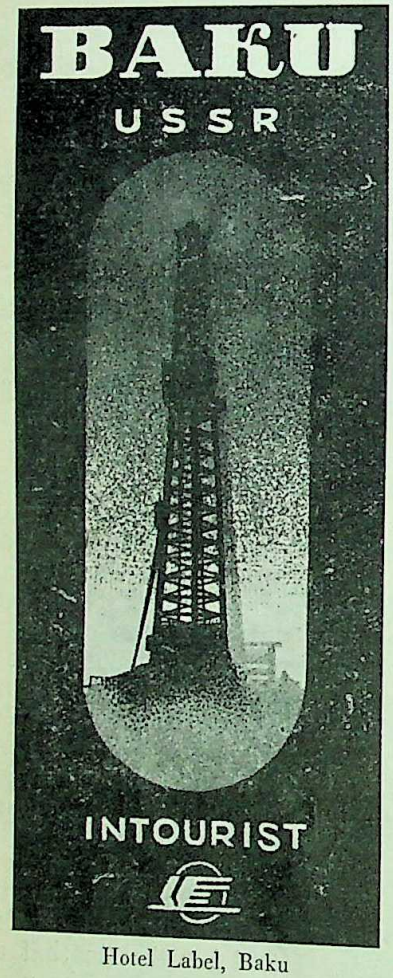
the remaining ten were I Class. The latter were mostly foreigners—Swedes in the employment of the Iranian Government, who were going home on furlough at its expense.

We sat down to dinner exactly at 5-30. The dining-room was beautifully and tastefully furnished. There were portraits of Lenin,



Hotel Label, Baku

Stalin and Vorosilov looking down at us from the walls. In 1920 when I went to England for the first time, we travelled by S.S. *Friedrichsruhe*, a German boat given to the P. & O. to cope with after-war rush of passengers from India to England. In the dining-room of that boat our meals were supervised by the portraits of Kaiser William II and Bismarck.

The food and service were excellent. We were served with Brosch, chops with potatoes and beans, and compote, followed by tea in glasses without milk, but sugar was provided. Drinks like beer—known as *pievo* in Russian, Vodka and mineral *vadah* had to be paid for extra. Vadah meant water. When I enquired if they had some of it they said "dā-dā." I could not understand what they meant by "dā-dā," but later I learnt that it meant "Yes" in Russian.

After dinner I went upto the top deck and sat on a wicker lounge chair which was lashed to the railings. A stiff breeze was blowing, but it was not hard enough to whisk away the chairs. The lashings too prevented them from rushing about the deck when the ship pitched and tossed.

We had left Pahlavi an hour ago but it was still visible in the distance. Towards the west the sun was just setting behind the well wooded and green covered hills of Caucasia. The scenery was just like the one we had encountered while going along the coast of Mazandran in Iran.

Feeling rather tired I retired early to my solitary saloon, of which I was the sole monarch. But now I was agreeably surprised to see a white oasis in the middle of the brown desert of the room. A nice and clean bed had been made for me on one of the bunks. Sheets, pillow cases and towels were all snow-white. By mistake a long table cloth had been supplied instead of a sheet but as it was folded double it did not matter much.

I suppose that bedding was a special concession to me. The usual type of passengers travelling steerage by this boat, I am sure, are not looked after so well. They have just to put it out on the bare bunks. However, I had all the facilities of I Class except that I had to sleep apart in that dormitory. On Russian boats the decks, lounge and smoking rooms are common to all the passengers irrespective of their classes of travel.

[May 24]

I had quite a refreshing sleep. During the night I felt some small objects dropping into my bed. So, I thought that even this place was not free from bugs and insects. But with the help of my electric torch I discovered that they were not what I was afraid of, but just some flakes of paint that had fallen from the ceiling.

I was up at dawn and began a search for a lavatory and bath room. There were none near the Hard Saloon, so I went up the ladder and discovered some filthy latrines and a wash basin, equally filthy, with a tap of water above it. I went up to I Class and used their conveniences. The bath tub looked rather rusty so I poured some hot water on my body with the help of a mug.

We were nearing Baku and the character of the land had changed entirely. The sandy barren hills and brown desert were once more

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near the coast. I went below and packed in readiness for landing.

Breakfast was served early and we had omelette, sausages, two kinds of cheese, bread, butter and tea. Sea air always makes one feel very hungry.

A turn round a promontory and Baku was spread out before us in the distance. I had gone to the pilot's deck and the view from here was superb. A forest of derricks above the oil wells was visible all along the crescent shaped coast.

We docked at 8-30 A.M., Baku time, which half an hour in advance of Tehran time. The ship's clock was showing Moscow time which was one hour behind Baku time. I had set my watch with the ship's clock, and on shore found that the time as given by the customs house clock was an hour in advance. These different times lead to a great deal of confusion.

Our luggage was now brought from our cabins and stacked on the deck. Soon we docked and a gangway connected the ship with the wharf. All of us were waiting on the deck like sheep to be allowed to step ashore. Our passports were still with the captain. Then the police came on board the ship and went into his cabin. The passports were handed over to them and were scrutinised by one of the officers who then handed them over to another officer on the pier standing near the gangway.

Next, our names were called and we were permitted to walk one by one up the gangway—where our faces were compared with the passport photographs and we were permitted to set foot on the Russian soil.

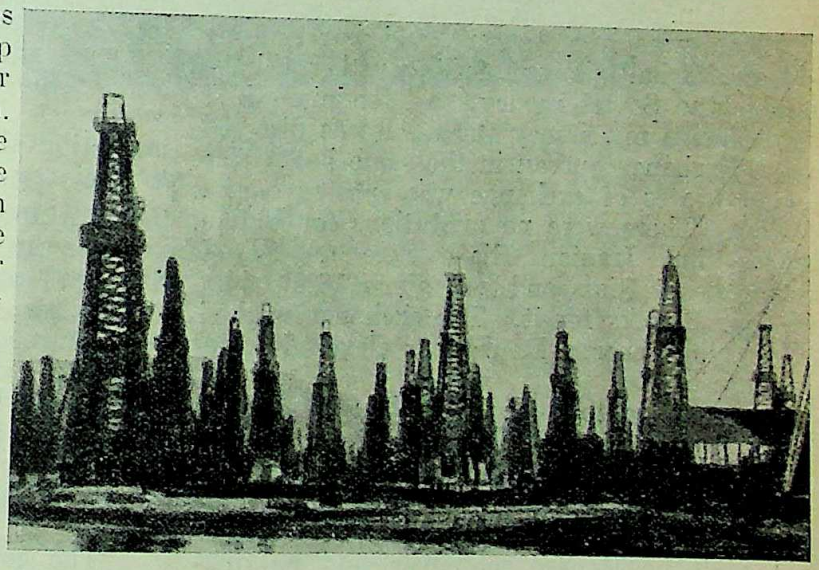
As I put my foot ashore my feelings were very peculiar and strange. I had heard and read many tales about Russian atrocities that I wondering all the while if I would at all be able to leave this country alive. A story came to my mind which I had heard at Pahlavi.

A family somehow managed to secure passage on a Russian ship. When they reached Pahlavi they were not allowed to land as they did not possess proper passports and visas. They had to return to Baku, where too they were not permitted to land. They went to and fro in vain, till in desperation the man procured some kerosine oil, sprinkled it upon himself and his family and set the unwanted bodies on fire. I wonder if he and his family were allowed admission into the other world without a proper death warrant.

I myself had seen several persons squatting round the customs house at Pahlavi. They had crossed over from Russia but were not permitted to get away into the interior of Iran. They were alleged Iranians living in Russia who were being repatriated but had no passports or visas. Their cases were under consideration.

Our luggage was taken ashore and loaded on trolleys which were pushed along the rails laid on the pier. We were asked to go ahead to the customs examination hall.

A glass-panelled door was opened by a porter and we were in a large room well furnished with lounge chairs and Persian carpets. The walls had the usual pictures of the leaders of the Russian revolution. Vases full of flowers were placed upon the tables. One did not feel that one was in a customs hall, but this feeling soon disappeared when the actual examination began.



Oil Wells, Baku

I wandered about seeing the luggage of the others being inspected. My own luggage had not arrived till then. Soon a well dressed lady came up to me and asked me first in Russian, then in some other language and finally in German if I had shown my money and valuables to the officers there. I told her that the traveller's cheques and the letter of credit had been placed in a letter case in one of my boxes. She asked me to go back to the pier and bring those things with me.

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Fortunately my two suitcases were on the top of the trolley, so I opened one of them and took out the letter of credit and travellers' cheques, closed the box once more and hurried back to the hall.

The money was counted and entries were made on the passport and on duplicate sheets of paper, one of which was given to me. I was asked to be very careful of this paper as it was to be shown at the exit frontier before I could be permitted to take away the balance with me. I was also asked if I had any gold or jewelled ornaments like rings, etc. I had none and said so.

I noticed that the others, mostly ladies, had to take off their rings, bangles, necklaces and ear-rings, which were examined and appraised by the officials. Gold and jewelled watches, cameras and binoculars had their turn also. The value and descriptions of all such articles were also entered on duplicate forms. one of which was handed to the owners for careful preservation.

There was a restaurant and bar on one side of the hall. I was feeling rather thirsty and had no Soviet money, so I enquired if I could change my money there. I was directed to the Exchange bureau in the same hall. The current rates of exchange were posted on its window. There were no quotations for Indian Rupees, but Iranian Rials were quoted. I exchanged 55 Rials and was given 18 Roubles and four Kopeks for it. The exchange worked out at nine pence a Rouble, or eleven Kopeks a penny.

I now went to the bar and bought a bottle of mineral water for 1 Rouble and 10 Kopeks. Soon my turn for examination came. I threw open the lid of the suitcases. I never keep them locked as usually there is not much to steal and the thieves moreover find no difficulty in picking open the flimsy locks with which the suitcases are usually provided. Two officials started looking into my luggage. All the books and papers were taken out and minutely examined. They were puzzled what to do with the sealed letters of introduction that I had for Turkey and Iraq. Suddenly one of them had a brain wave and asked me whether I was a transit passenger, and on my assuring him that I was, he asked me to put all the articles that would not be required during my journey through Russia in a suitcase which would be lead sealed with the customs house seal. There would be no bother about any examination as far as that sealed case was concerned.

Now started the unpacking of both the cases and their repacking under the eyes of the officials, the passengers and the Intourist lady guides. I was advised to put my camera, letters and writing case inside the box to be sealed up. Binoculars also would have been shut up, but I had none.

One of the travellers told me later that some time back when he was crossing Russia for the first time, he too was advised to have his camera and the binoculars sealed up. But he insisted on keeping them with him. Some time later he found that both the articles were stolen from his trunks though nothing else was touched. The police officials and the Intourist agents were very sorry for the mishap and promised to make a search for the culprit. Perhaps it was a genuine case of burglary.

The suitcase was soon packed up, corded and lead sealed. I had to pay about a Rouble or so for this service. The contents of the other case were examined once more very minutely before the chalk mark was placed on it. Owing to this packing and repacking I was the last passenger to be examined. The others had left for the hotel as soon as their examination was over. All the bags had tags put on them indicating the numbers of the rooms allotted to their owners in the Intourist Hotel.

The Intourist guide now asked me for the voucher for the railway journey to Moscow. She said that the Railway ticket would be ready for me next morning. My passport was returned to me after the entrance visa had been stamped upon it. She now asked me to accompany her and another passenger, who had been kept back, to the taxi waiting outside. My chamadans were put in front with the driver, we all got inside and were driven to the hotel.

The gate from the customs house on the quay opened on to one of the main streets of the town. Overloaded trams and buses were rushing about and cars and pedestrians filled up the remaining space on the road and the footpaths.

After a short drive we stopped inside the portico of the newly built Intourist Hotel in the Malygin Street. The building is in the modern cubist style and looks grand. We were ushered in and had to get ourselves registered at the Hotel office, where our passports were retained.

I was now shown to my rooms on the second floor. They were plainly but tastefully furnished. Immediately on entering from the corridor, one comes into the ante-room, which

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the wash basin with hot and cold water, a large wardrobe and a chest drawers. A low table is also placed for a chair. From the ante-room a door leads the bed room which is provided with a table and chair. All neat and clean. The table had a telephone, inkstand, pens, writing pad and the hotel stationery. From room a huge window opened to a small balcony which looked a large quadrangle a tennis court in it.

I unpacked the unsealed and went for a wash and up to the lavatory in the floor. This too was very and provided with a porcelain bath with hot and cold as also some arrangement a shower bath.

I now went into the lounge stairs, where I was informed I was expected in the room for breakfast. On the we had a very early breakfast and so were ready for it.

As soon as I entered the room, the chief waiter me to a table where I was only occupant. He was dressed in a Russian blouse—a white shirt with red embroidery on the cuffs, collars and along the of the buttons; a pair of white trousers, and tied round the waist of the shirt, which not been tucked inside the trousers. There no slits at the hem of the shirt. It was one piece like a smock.

He was a clean shaven fellow—even to head—and very humorous. He asked me beautiful but clipped copy-book English I would be pleased to have for my breakfast, Cafe-au-lait, tea or chocolate? I red cafe-au-lait. I was served with cheese, eggs, bread and butter. The bread was two kinds—the usual white bread and the called black bread of Russia. The latter turned out to be the rye bread so very common Scandinavia and Germany where it is known roggen brot. I like its taste better than of white bread. It is slightly acidic, makes some people believe that it is Even the freshest rye bread has this

After the breakfast was over the chief again came round and asked me if I had the food served. I assured him that I had. He then said, "I invite you to lunch today at 1-15. What would you like to eat? Some chops with peas and potatoes, eh?" I told him that they would do for me.

Now one of the Intourist guides came to us and asked us if we would like to have a round of the town before lunch. The Swedes declined as they had been through Baku several times

Intourist Label, Caucasus

before. I agreed to do so with the Iranian doctor and his family. A taxi was sent for and accompanied by the guide we set out to see the town.

As a Hard class traveller I was entitled to a bus ride only for the sight-seeing trip, but being the only one as well, I had to share the taxi with the I class travellers. It would have been absurd to have provided a whole bus for me alone. The guide asked us what language we would prefer for the description of the sights, French, Russian or Turkish. I asked her to confine herself to French. The Iranian doctor had no choice as he did not know any of the above languages. His wife knew some Turkish and was able to converse with the guide. I explained the latter's remarks to the doctor in English who in his turn repeated them to his wife in Persian. The wife thereupon passed on her own bits of information to the husband in Turkish, which was translated to me in English. In this way a quadruple language alliance was established and we got on cheerfully.

CHAPTER II

Baku the City of Black Gold

Baku is the capital of the Azerbaijan Autonomous Soviet Republic. Its population has

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more than trebled since 1917, when it had 208,000 souls. In 1933, this figure swelled to 633,000. The majority of people are Turks.

It is one of the oldest and at the same time newest cities of the Caucasus. Founded by the Arabs in the fifth century, the ruins of the eastern architecture mingle strangely with the modernistic new apartment buildings of steel and glass. Baku now seems to combine two entirely different cities : the new city with its offices, factories, cultural centres, hotels and restaurants; and the old town, walled off from the noisy thoroughfares, once the residence of the Shervan-Khans.

Blocks of model apartment houses have been built for the workers in the new city, with clubs, kindergartens, hospitals, and all the other essentials of civilized life. There are museums, scientific departments and a university in the new city.

Public utilities date since the revolution; these include in addition to electric trams and a suburban electric railway, water and sewerage systems, a gas station and central heating.

Baku is a great centre of oil industry. Oil fields surround the city. From here a pipe line runs right across Transcaucasia, past Tiflis, to Batum on the Black Sea, where it is connected directly with the oil tankers which sail from there to all parts of the world.

When Russian petrol is sold in any town in India the prices go down all round by about 6d. per gallon.

We first visited the oil fields in the neighbourhood. Curiously enough there was not much stink of the oil, which was oozing out of the soil in many places, making it look black. All round were huge towers erected above the oil wells. In this locality all the oil practically has been taken out of the earth. In some places the engines were still pumping up the remains and sending them through pipe lines to a central station.

These oil fields are known as Azarnaphtha. Trams running on this route had the caption "Azarnaphtha" on them. We followed the tram lines and soon left them to mount up the side of a cliff, where we stopped at the highest point. We got out of the car and stood surveying the scenery spread out before us. Below was the forest of the oil towers. In the distance was spread out the Bay of Lenin, in which could be seen the pumping tower of an oil boring deep under the surface of the sea.

We got into the car once more, passed through the boulevard along the sea, and went up another steep street till we came to a beautiful park. There was a fine garden, a kiosk, and a bandstand with some benches lying all round it. As it was nearly midday everything was closed and only a few persons were loitering here and there. The view of the town and the sea is superb from here; the former seemed to be spread out like a coloured map before us.

The guide with us was a young lady tastefully dressed. She had a pair of very elegant shoes on her feet. I asked her if they were made in Russia. She said that they were and had cost her only 400 Roubles. We expressed surprise at the costliness of the shoes as the value in English money was about fifteen pounds. She noted our wonder and said that the price was not much for her in her money, though no doubt for us tourists it seemed much.

By noting the price tags in the shops and comparing the prices with those of the same articles in England I came to the conclusion that the exchange allowed to the travellers is about $\frac{1}{5}$th of what it actually ought to be. It is like compelling the Americans to exchange their money in England and giving them only 9d. a dollar instead of four shillings. To the natives of England the cost of the articles would not seem much but to the Americans everything would be very expensive.

Apparently the motive of the Russians in giving such an exchange is to prevent tourists of moderate means from abroad to move about independently. And also to compel them to book in advance through the Intourist, which charges far less for the same journeys at an inclusive rate. However, there seemed to be plenty of money in the country.

The town of Baku looked neat and clean and the people well-dressed and cheerful. We made a round of it and passed by the Club for Turkish women, the palace of Khan Ali, the ruins of the temple of the fire worshippers, Muslim mosques and old churches now used as museums. We were back in the hotel by about 1-30, when immediately we were asked to go up to the dining room, as lunch was being served.

Our friend the chief waiter turned up with a smile and said, "After an excursion a good dinner is welcome." We were served with cheese, sausages, brosch—the Russian cabbage soup which tasted very nice, chops with peas, potatoes and a sauce, compote of fruits, bread and butter. A jolly good feed in a country where I had been told people were starving. And mind, it was not, as some people had said

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all the nice things had been gathered in the hotels to create a good impression on tourists of the state of the country, but everywhere in the city we had seen shops, wayside kiosks and restaurants doing a roaring in foodstuffs and drinks.

After lunch I retired to my room and had couple of hours' rest. Tea was served at 4-15. consisted of lemon-tea, biscuits and jam.

I and a Swede now went out for a stroll the town. He was working in the Noble's munition and arms factory in Tehran and travelling with me upto Leningrad, from he was to go to his country through land. We were not accompanied by anyone, as far as we could see, and were free to about wherever we liked.

Men, women and children were all feeling happy and full of the joy of life. Stalin to have done wonders in restoring order the country and making it well governed organized in such a short time.

Gardens were dotted all along the ward by the sea. In some places, there skating rinks where children were having licking time. In a square facing the sea surrounded by tenement houses there was a of children learning to dance. A young in their midst was showing them the while a man was playing a concertina. two, three ! and round they went.

At a kiosk we bought some lemonade for kopeks a bottle. Here and there on the enade were automatic weighing machines, weighed persons for only twenty Kopeks ed.

There was a swimming club with a huge connected to the promenade by a wooden We went over to it. The rooms for ing were well constructed. There were halls and a cafe restaurant on the pier. swimming pool itself was fenced off from by a wooden railing. The water inside, as outside had an oily sheen on its surface. In a shady nook, under a greenwood tree, ced some boys and girls studying their books. A young girl had in her hand a of Euclid, which could be recognised by the ms only as the text was all Greek (I say Russian) to me. Perhaps in this they had some new propositions proving all triangles were equal to one another ective of anything.

In the neighbourhood was a parachute . People went upto its top by means of rase inside. There a parachute was on to their backs. It was tied at the top to a rope, which, passing over a pulley, supported a weight, that could be varied to suit that of the jumpers.

The person now launched himself into the air and slowly floated down to the ground. The counterweight was adjusted in such a way that the speed of the parachute was not much. There was no danger of any sort, only a little nerve was required to throw oneself into space. Glider flying and parachute jumping have become mass sports in the USSR, and training circles for them are found in almost all big enterprises and cities. It is a good preparation for war time. In Turkey also these sports are encouraged and are becoming very common.

A very curious thing was that old men or women or beggars were not to be seen anywhere. Perhaps, as sombody humorously put it, all of them were put on board old and rickety ships and *liquidated* in the Caspian Sea one dark night. Even a dark night was not necessary for such a deed as it could be very well performed in the light of the day.

The exterior of the buildings that were not new was depleted, paint having become dirty and falling off in patches. Otherwise prosperity was visible everywhere. Soon it became dark and we wandered into the shopping district. The market, a kind of covered bazar but modernised, was full of shops which were well stocked with articles of commerce as well as food and drinks. A roaring trade was being done. The place was full of shoppers. The price tags no doubt showed that according to our exchange the process were rather heavy and beyond our means, but we saw people of evidently ordinary means buying them.

We now walked upto the old city which was neither so well lighted nor so full of people as the newer parts lower down. We returned to our hotel at about 11 P.M. after making a thorough and unrestricted round of the town, and seeing all that could be seen, from the outside, of course, of the houses, shops and places of amusement. Somehow I had an impression that the town was not so well populated as it ought to have been.

In the dining-room I found that the tourists were served with dinner, or supper as it is called here, upto midnight when the real life of the new bourgeoisie of the town began. They kept up dancing and drinking till the early hours of the morning.

For the supper I was given a sturgeon steak, sweets and coffee. A band was in attendance which played the usual jazz tunes. The jazz has now become a nuisance every-

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where. In Budapest once we visited a couple of restaurants where the Jigeuner (Gipsy) bands provided music. They too were playing only the jazz dance tunes. With some difficulty and persuasion they could be induced to entertain us with real Gipsy and Hungarian music.

Soon the prosperous citizens with their wives and sweethearts began dropping in. The restaurant became crowded and full of gaiety. The waiters rushed about with dishes piled high in their hands. Champagne and drinks littered the tables. Chatter and laughter resounded from every side. The citizens were having the time of their lives.

After dinner I came out on the spacious balcony of the hotel and looked over the brilliant lights of the town. A refreshing breeze from the sea was blowing. I went out into the street and strolled about the promenade which was practically deserted by now. Soon the cinemas began disgorging their crowds. It seemed that all Baku was either going to the midnight cafe-restaurants or coming out of the cinemas and theatres.

Although the music and gaiety were in full swing in the restaurant, on return I went up directly to my room for a much needed sleep.

I was pleasantly and agreeably surprised with the state of affairs in the USSR. They have had their troubles, no doubt, but are getting on splendidly now.

[May 25]

After a refreshing sleep during the night I was up in good time, and had a hot bath. At breakfast, I found that I and the two Swedes alone were left. The other tourists who had travelled with us on the Caspian boat had left for Shepektova en route to Berlin. They were escorted by a buxom lady interpreter of the Intourist who was to accompany them right through Russia to the frontier.

When the breakfast was over the chief waiter asked for a breakfast coupon, but as I had only one set of coupons for Baku none were left. He then asked me to give him one from the Dining Car folder for meals on the way. The Intourist guide told me not to do so but stick to the coupons as I would require them in the way.

The train was due to leave at 10-13 A.M., so I wandered once more about the town. On turning a corner I saw a pretty sight—a squad of young toddlers, about three to four years old, walking by in charge of a nurse. They were prettily dressed and were very neat and clean. Later I learnt that they belonged to a creche maintained by the Government and were out for their morning constitutional.

I was back in the hotel at 9-15 and enq[illegible] when we were to leave for the station. [illegible] were assured that there was no hurry. A lug[illegible] van had been sent for, while we were to g[illegible] the station in a taxi. In the hotel office I [illegible] given my railway ticket upto Moscow, [illegible] reservation card and a ticket for bedding [illegible] the journey.

I asked them if they had received per[illegible] sion for me to stop at Moscow for a coup[illegible] days instead of spending all the four day[illegible] Leningrad. They had received no such int[illegible] tion from Moscow, they said, nor had the Te[illegible] or Pahlavi offices informed them of my req[illegible]

However, they assured me that a tele[illegible] would be sent to Moscow, and in case of [illegible] difficulty I should ask the agents of the [illegible] tourists who would meet me at the Mos[illegible] station to take me to their headquarters wh[illegible] everything, they were sure, would be arran[illegible] to my satisfaction.

We walked about the protico but there [illegible] no sign either of the taxi or of the luggage v[illegible] It was now 10-30 by the Intourist clock. T[illegible] guide assured us that the train would not le[illegible] without us. There was no need to worry. [illegible] last the cars turned up and we left for the s[illegible] tion. It turned out to be built on a la[illegible] scale. We were ushered into the I Class wa[illegible] ing room which looked like any well furni[illegible] drawing room. It had carpets, bear skins, [illegible] tures, etc. Our luggage was brought in a[illegible] The train was waiting on the platform, wh[illegible] it had arrived from Batum *via* Tiflis about [illegible] an hour ago.

From the station clock I discovered [illegible] the railway time being Moscow time was [illegible] hour behind Baku time. So there was no ha[illegible] This accounted for the guide not being wo[illegible] about our arriving late at the station.

She now went out to find our berths in [illegible] train. I was travelling Hard class while [illegible] Swedes were I Class. Their sleeping car [illegible] right at the end of the train. My seat [illegible] nearly in the middle in car number seven. [illegible] porter picked up my suitcases, and preceded [illegible] the guide I went out of the waiting room [illegible] looked about me with a natural curiosity. [illegible] had read much about the Russian railways [illegible] seen many pictures of them. The carri[illegible] were green in colour and the roofs were [illegible] closely interspersed with conical chimney[illegible] the top, which made them look like hedge[illegible] There was a huge crowd on the platform.

Carriage number 7 was soon found a[illegible] went down the corridor till we came to [illegible] number 24 nearly in its middle. The con[illegible]

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ment had six berths and mine happened to be an upper bunk. It was crowded with passengers and their friends who had come to see them off. My luggage was placed on the bunk alloted to me—a bare wooden plank, and the conductor, after being unearthed by the guide, was told to look well after me. There was nobody in the compartment who could understand or speak any of the languages that I knew.

She then said goodbye to me and went to look after the Swedes and escort them to their carriage. I sat down on a seat and took stock of the persons in the compartment. Outside the vendors were running about from window to window with foodstuffs, which were being purchased in good quantities by the travellers. A gong was sounded and the train got ready to depart. There was an old lady in my compartment and a young man was kissing her goodbye. He looked at me sheepishly with moisture in his eyes, and said, "Maman." He and the other persons who had come to see their relations and friends off now got out of the carriages and the train was in motion.

The windows on the platform side were all occupied by passengers waving goodbye to them. I sat quietly in my corner watching these farewell scenes. So the *comrades* had after all a sentimental and domestic side to their nature!

The train gathered speed and was soon out of the huge station yard which was full of locomotives and other rolling stock all kept in a clean and workable condition. It was running to time. It had left the station exactly at 10-13 A.M.

To be continued

"FOREIGN" INDIA

By Professor PRIYARANJAN SEN, M.A., P.R.S.

It is an irony of fate that India is *not* one and indivisible. The country has been partitioned into British India, Princely India, and India that belongs neither to the British nor to the Princes but to some "foreign" power. I am at a loss how to give the last a name, though local habitation it possesses, and for want of a better term I may perhaps call it "foreign" India—belonging to a power we consider to be foreign. Not that British India is India unqualified; but that there exists a remarkable divergence between British India and the Indian States, and also between British India and "foreign" India. The compartments are not exactly watertight, but in a sense may be described as air-tight. The Indian National Congress, for example, has been understood and suffered to remain in British India; then, after about half a century of its creation, the principles have to be preached *de novo* in Princely India. The ideology there is different, and the development of the people has been equally different.

A section of "foreign" India, Portuguese India, has far-reaching historical associations. Writers on modern India are necessarily struck with the deep influence which the West has exercised on it; the study of modern India from any viewpoint—art, literature, society, architecture, etc.,—is bound to a large extent to be the study of western influence in it. And such western influence is associated with the story of Vasco da Gama's exploration and discovery of a direct route to India. It is in this sense that we may say that Calicut and Cochin played an important part in matters concerning Bengal and Assam in the sixteenth century, and though we may be indifferent to modern Portugal and its economic recovery, we cannot afford to ignore the historical past when Portugal introduced or induced other European nations to come into direct contact with India for reasons of commerce.

That historical past has left a material legacy—I refer to Goa, Daman, Diu, which make up altogether 1,460 sq. miles. Four centuries of Portuguese occupation of these territories have been of late surveyed by the Goa Congress Committee, and the results issued in a brochure through statistics "compiled from the official blue-books" of Portuguese India. We are familiar with such topics as "Poverty and un-British Rule in India," and the Indian States or Princely India has also come under the purview of the politician and the legislator. It will be interesting to offer or attempt a study in comparison of British and Portuguese India. We shall, for obvious reasons, refrain here from that attempt and confine ourselves to some of the facts and figures quoted in the pamphlet.

Economic condition, education and popular representation in the Government—these are generally considered for judging the progress and civilisation of a country. Of these the economic condition of Portuguese India depends largely on foreign trade, for every individual has to buy. Rice, the staple food of the inhabitants, is the second most important commodity in imports; high customs duties imposed by the Gov-

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ernment even on goods of primary necessity have resulted in outside goods superseding agricultural and industrial articles of local production. An observation made in the pamphlet in this connection is worthy of careful consideration :

> "The fundamental cause of the economic ruin of this country lies in the deliberate ignorance, not to say open hostility, which the government shows in our relations with India on whom we are dependent for practically everything."

We are told of an important economic treaty between England and Portugal concerning Portuguese India which was signed on the 26th December, 1878. This treaty released the trade between Portuguese and British India from the customs duties, allowed the construction of the Railway and the Harbour at Marmagoa, and opened a period of relative prosperity for the land. Unfortunately, the Portuguese Parliament revoked this Treaty in 1891, and the days of gloom returned with redoubled force. The Customs being the chief source of revenue, it is unwise for every civilised Government to neglect this particular item; and if there had been any benefit out of the Anglo-Portuguese Treaty resulting in the good of the people of Portuguese India, it would be to the interest of the Government at Goa to press for its revision. The interest shown by the Government in the maintenance of the Catholic church as well as the provision for retired officers through generous pensions may be taken for granted, things being what they are, despite all criticism levelled against them by outside organisations or inside critics. But the income from alcoholic drinks—second highest source of revenue—is a source of danger to the Prohibition programme of the Indian National Congress. Will the influence of the environment ultimately tell upon the coffers of the Government at Goa, or will pecuniary interest prevail over the moral ? The question comes up again : Can we think of India *only* in terms of British India ?

In educational matters, there has been considerable criticism which seems to be based on strong grounds. First of all, the Portuguese language is compulsory in the Government schools, and even for primary education, we are told, Indian languages are excluded from the official institutions. Secondly, everything Indian is kept out of the curriculum, so that the successful student knows nothing about the history and geography and the cultural life of India. Thirdly, students going in for higher studies have to join the Medical School of Nova Goa where the teaching has to be through French, because "the Portuguese language possesses no scientific literature." The utter neglect of the mother-tongue has resulted in the wholesale deterioration of the intellect of the people. In spite of grave persecution, Konkani has survived; it is instructive to know that in the past an attempt was made to legislate that everyone would have to speak the Portuguese language and use it in the course of three years, and an Archbishop went so far in the 18th century as to "ordain" that the people of Salcete and Bardez must learn Portuguese within a year under pain of "not being able to contract matrimony with any man or woman who might not know or not make use of and speak the Portuguese language." Though Konkani is the mother-tongue of all Goans, and is spoken by Hindus, Christians and Mahomedans, it is not taught in the schools.

That civil rights should be treated with scanty respect readily follows from the situation detailed above. It was considered subversive propaganda some time ago for officials to greet Pandit Jawaharlal. The Government Council is a purely advisory body, we are told, and power is concentrated in the hands of the officials. The Colonial Minister in Portugal supervises the administration, and the Governor-General at Nova Goa presides over the Council which consists of four official members, three members nominated by the Governor and five elected by the board of directors of associations recognized by the Government or by the forty highest tax-payers.

Mahatmaji had been very cautious about interfering in the administration of the Indian States. Time and again proposals for more active co-operation between the States and British India were turned down. But the demands from the States people have been insistent and they have met with some response from the leaders of the Indian National Congress. One wonders if the Indian National Congress at Goa (its Bombay Branch is responsible for the brochure on which the present criticism is grounded) will succeed in cementing the natural bond between the people of Goa numbering about 6 lakhs and the Indians who live outside Portuguese territory. That success depends both on the Indian National Congress and the people of Portuguese India; but if India is really one and indivisible, the problem should not be too difficult for solution. Here there is no scope for any appeal to "Paramount" power as in the case of Princely India, but the moral and spiritual forces which govern the struggle for freedom in British India may be expected to prove invincible in every field of operation.

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CONSTITUTIONAL STATUS OF THE ORISSA STATES

A Criticism of the Findings of the Orissa States Enquiry Committee

By RONENDRA PROTAP SINGH DEO, B.A., B.L.

To arrive at a correct decision regarding the present constitutional position of the Orissa States, it is essential that the history of each individual State or group of States should be properly considered. It is well known to all students of history that conditions in different States differ and that historical truth can never be arrived at by generalizations based on the history of any one State or group of States. This is as true of the Orissa States as of any other part of India.

The 26 States which were formerly known as the Orissa States, we can divide broadly into at least three different groups:—(1) The Sambalpur Group, (2) The Cuttack Group and (3) The Singhbhum Group. The history of the different groups differs from each other in many respects, and consequently any correct findings cannot be arrived at unless the circumstances of each group are properly considered. Generalizations based on the findings on any one group are bound to be incorrect. The Orissa States Enquiry Committee has, however, based its conclusions purely on the incorrect findings on only one group of States, *i.e.*, the Cuttack Group.

Before we proceed with the consideration of the history of these States, it is also necessary to remember that for the purpose of a correct appreciation of the present constitutional status of the States, it is not necessary to go into the ancient past history of the States in detail, but it is sufficient only to consider the history from the time these States came into relationship with the British Government; for, the present constitutional status of these States is based on their political status vis-a-vis the British Government. The present status of the States starts from the date of the British connection and the independence of a State confirmed by the British connection, effectively nullifies the former dependency of that State upon another State. Whether or not these were the results of historical accidents is beside the point and cannot alter the position. The former dependence of Pal-Lahara upon the State of Keonjhar or of Athmallik upon Baudh or the former dependence of Gangpur, Bonai, Bamra, Sonepur, Rairakhol, Khariar, Borasambar, Phuljhar and Bendranawagarh, etc., upon Patna and Sambalpur, or of Kharsawan upon Seraikella does not now stand in the way of Pal-Lahara, Athmallik, Gangpur, Bonai, Bamra, Sonepur, Rairakhol and Kharsawan from being recognized as separate States. The attitude of the officers of the British Government also confirms this view.

"5. Whatever may have been the relative positions held by the different Chiefs originally in their state of dependency to Sambalpur and Patna, it is clear that from official records in book styled "Treaties, Engagements and Sunnuds Indian" that on the cession of these two dominant powers to the British Government each other State was separately acknowledged as a Tributary Mahal attached to Ranchi and they began at once to be treated politically as States having independent judicial and general administrative powers subject to British supervision and control."

"6. In recommending therefore that they should be regarded as superior to Zamindars of the ordinary description and that they should as a mark of distinction from the latter receive especial Sunnuds of a higher stamp, I do not take a retrospective view of their primitive status, but considered that only which the Government had confirmed to them as independent Tributary Chiefs..." (*Vide* letter No. 301, dated the 20th May, 1863, from Deputy Commissioner, Sambalpur, to the Commissioner, Chattisgarh.)

It will therefore serve no useful purpose to delve into past history. We should therefore confine our discussion to only such broad aspects of past history which had any bearing on or in any way influenced the British connection.

Let us now proceed to consider the brief history of the different groups of States :

(1) *The Sambalpur Group.*— The following States belong to this Group,—Patna, Sonepur, Bamra, Gangpur, Bonai, Rairakhol (Baudh, Athmallik) and Kalahandi. Of these, Kalahandi has a separate history, but is included in this group owing to its long and close connection. Baudh and Athmallik were transferred to Cuttack in 1837. All the other States of this group together with certain other Gurhjats which are included in the C.P. States and some others which have now become zamindaries in British India, "were at first independent, but were subsequently held in subordination to the Maharaja of Patna, the most powerful of their number. In later times he was

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compelled to share this supremacy with the Maharaja of Sambalpur." (*Vide* Aitchison's *Treaties, Engagements and Sanads*). In 1755, these territories fell under the dominion of the Marhattas who continued to exact an irregular tribute from them until 1803.

The status of all these States was that of autonomous States with full internal sovereignty, paying only an irregular tribute to the Marhattas, while before the Marhattas they were paying that tribute to Patna and Sambalpur and all were members of the Atharagarh confederacy under those two States.

"The States now known as Gurhjats were formed into a cluster by the Maharajas of Patna and the Rajas of Sambalpur, in some cases by conquest and in others by consent of the Chiefs, the object being apparently to secure power and influence to the principal State, and to give protection and security to the smaller ones by reason of the combination." (*Vide* letter No. 1401 of 1867, dated 26th June, 1867, from Capt. A. B. Cumberlege, Deputy Commissioner on special duty, Sambalpur, to the Commissioner, Chattisgarh Division.)

The payment of tribute does not affect the internal autonomy and sovereignty of a State and in this case the payment of tribute being for a limited purpose of protection and security the independence of the States had not been affected.

".....Firstly, that for centuries they have held independent sway in their respective States and that though some of them recognize Patna, and others Sambalpur as the paramount State, they paid a fixed tribute and were united together as a confederation for mutual support and protection and that these relations subsisted without interruption until the time that the country was overrun by the Marhattas, (who) even in most cases were satisfied with the same tribute.....Thirdly, that they have always understood and been led to believe that they stood in the same position with regard to the British Government as they did to the Native paramount powers, that is, not as mere subordinate landholders like the Khalsa Zamindars...." and "though conquered by the Chowhans these Gond Chiefs were seldom molested or interfered with....so long, therefore, as they recognized the paramount power by the payment of a small tribute, they were otherwise quite independent." (*Vide* the same letter referred to above, paras 15 and 22, respectively).

It is thus clear that these States were autonomous States till 1803 and by accepting the assurance of protection and as a result of engagements entered into with the British Government nothing more was transferred by them than the allegiance which they formerly owed to Patna and Sambalpur. It was under the following circumstances that these States received assurances of protection from the British Government. In 1803, when the Marhatta War was going on the commissioners for the affairs at Cuttack and Col. Broughton entered into negotiations with the Rulers of the Orissa States. These negotiations were in various stages when the Treaty of Deogaum was signed.

In the letter from the Commissioner at Cuttack to the Resident at Nagpur, dated 18th November, 1804, it was stated :

"At an early period of our establishment in the Province of Cuttack, the Commanding Officer transmitted to the Rajas of Sambalpur and Sonepur offers of the same advantageous terms for the transfer of their allegiance as those embraced by the Raja of Baudh, namely, a promise never to demand tribute from them further than five gold Muhurs annually by way of acknowledgment of their submission."

These States having received assurances of British protection, made common cause with the British Government against the Marhattas. The States of Sonepur, Baudh and Athmallik received promise of permanent protection both from Lt.-Col. Broughton and also from the Commissioners at Cuttack, while Rairakhol, Bamra, Bonai, Gangpur and Patna received similar assurances of protection from Lt.-Col. Broughton. (*Vide* letter, dated 28th January, 1804, from Lt.-Col. C. S. Broughton to the Secretary, Government of India.)

"Those persons having received positive assurances of protection and of exemption from the oppressive control of the authority of the Marhattas, in the name of the British Government and confiding in the sincerity and realization of those assurances, those persons have united as in a common cause with the British Government against the Marhatta power." (*Vide* para 39, letter, dated 4th March, 1804 from Secretary to Government of India to Hon'ble Major-General Wellesley.)

Article 10 of the Treaty of Deogaum required that the Rajah of Berar would confirm the treaty engagements entered into by the British Government with the Tributary Chiefs and Rajas. The Raja of Berar, however, was unwilling to sign the list and made various pretexts and excuses. Lord Wellesley, who was the Governor-General, however, decided after the fullest inquiry that all the Orissa States (excluding the Singhbhum States, which were not tributaries to the Marhattas and therefore were not within the scope of the Treaty of Deogaum and also excluding Kalahandi, which, though a tributary of the Maharattas was excluded from the scope of the treaty as no engagement had been entered into with it and the British at the time) were covered by Art. 10 of the Treaty and that the British Government had pledged its faith to protect those States though written engagements had not been executed by all the States on the date the Treaty of Deogaum was signed.

The reasons which led the Governor-General to come to the above conclusion were stated in the Government of India Secretary's

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, dated 4th of March, 1804, to Hon'ble r-General Wellesley, in para 14 which reads follows :

> . . . It is not necessary to the validity of an ement that a treaty should have been formally ded between the parties, but it is necessary that parties should have concurred in certain reciprocal tions and that satisfactory evidence exist of such tract . . . ."

The relation that was established between States and the British Government was in nature of a "contract" giving rise to "cer- reciprocal obligations." This, it should be mbered, was in the nature of bilateral agree- s. On the one side the States transferred allegiance and on the other the British rnment pledged their word to give protec-

> "No concession on the part of those Chieftains was ed as the condition of our protection excepting their nt to the payment of the inconsiderable sum of 5 Mohurs as an acknowledgment of that relation it was the express object of their solicitation to be with respect to the British Government." (*Vide* referred to above).

There can be no doubt that these States into relationship with the British Govern- as autonomous and independent States and it was also the intention of the British Gov- ent to respect that autonomy. This will be antly clear from the following additional . In para 41 of the letter referred to above stated :

> In adopting that resolution, the object of the r-General in Council is limited to the preserva- the public faith. His Excellency in Council is neither of establishing the British authority the territory to be separated from the dominion er by the operation of the 10th Article of the of Deogaum nor of deriving any tribute of revenue that territory."

It was also stated in the same letter that tive of the British Government in giving ment protection to the States was " wholly rested" and originated "exclusively in an s desire on the part of the British Govern- to maintain the obligations of its public Mr. Elphinstone, the Resident at Nag- was also instructed to inform His Highness Rajah of Berar that " it is not the intention British Government to exercise any autho- ver them." "The Rajah of Berar must be satisfied that the British Government intention to establish its authority within Provinces, or to derive any tribute or re- from them." Lt.-Col. Broughton was also ted on the 23rd November, 1804, to inform Rajee of Sambalpur, Rajah of Patna and others who had been placed under the protection of the British Government by the operation of Art. 10 of the Treaty of Deogaum :

> ". . . . That it is not however the intention of the British Government to introduce into their territories the British laws and regulations nor to require from them the payment of any revenue nor to interfere in any respect with the internal management of their territories. . . . "

The subsequent history of the relationship of these States with the British Government is, however, in sad contrast to the intentions of Lord Wellesley and is a sad lapse on the part of the British Government from its fame for justice and fairplay. The few extracts quoted above from the Government's official correspondence of the time leaves no room for doubt regarding the autonomous position of the States and the bilateral and binding nature of the agreements between them and the British Government. Yet with the changes of policies from time to time, encroachments on the internal sovereignty and autonomy of these States took place by unilateral action on the part of the British Government in direct contravention of the solemn pledges given and against the contractual nature of the original relationship.

Being placed in relationship with different local authorities at different times these States received varying kinds of treatment according to the different policies followed by the various authorities and the vagaries of the local officers.

The first encroachment upon the autonomy of the States occurred when attempts were made by the local authorities by the imposition of rules to curtail the criminal jurisdiction of the States, in direct contravention of the assurance not to "interfere in any respect in the internal management of their territories." This unilateral action was clearly unjustified and was resisted by the Rulers and in practice these imposed rules were not always followed by them.

The second important departure of the Government from previous assurances was the imposition of tribute against the oft-repeated assurances not to demand any tribute or revenue from these States beyond 5 gold mohurs in acknowledgment of their allegiance. Subsequently, even when, after prolonged inquiry, revised Sanads were granted to some of these States in 1867 to remove some of the unauthorized encroachments on their powers, the Government insisted on inserting a clause making the tribute liable to periodical revision in spite of the protest of the Rulers, which was strongly supported by the local Government officers.

The Government divided the States and Zamindaries into feudatory and non-feudatory

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in 1867 after prolonged inquiry and it was the intention

"that the feudatories will be Chiefs who, in some sense, manage their own territories. Their territories will be in the position of protected States, and neither they nor their subjects are amenable in respect of acts done or property possessed in their States, to British laws . . . In all affairs within their own States, they will be sovereigns." (*Vide* para 5 of letter No. 394|47, dated 1st March, 1865 from Secretary to Chief Commissioner, C. P., to Secretary, Government of India, Foreign Department). ". . . The most considerable of these Chiefs have practically governed their territories, subject to little more than a general political control." (*Vide* para 6 of same letter).

But unfortunately justice was not done in all cases and though the new Sanads partially restored the original rights, some of the Gurhjat States, *e.g.*, Khariar, Borasambar, Phuljhar and Bindranawagarh, which were of the same status as Gangpur, Bamra, and Bonai, etc., were reduced to the position of British subjects and treated as Zamindars in British India, on improper and insufficient grounds. Gangpur and Bonai on the one hand and Baudh and Athmallik on the other were also denied the same treatment as they were unfortunately at the time under the control of different local Governments.

It will thus be clear that discrimination between States of similar status was made owing to the different policies of different provincial Governments, and also due to the vagaries of different officers. Khariar, etc., went up even to the Privy Council as late as 1912, but unfortunately they could not get back their lost status, as the Civil Courts had no jurisdiction over the actions of the Government, which amounted to "Acts of State."

These facts will clearly show that the original status of these States was high and that there was never any raising of the status of these States for Imperial reasons, as suggested by the Orissa Enquiry Committee. On the contrary, there had been unjustifiable encroachments on the rights of these States.

That there was never any doubt about the true status of these States will be clear from the fact that even before the grant of the new Sanads in 1867, and even in spite of imposition of restrictions in the criminal powers at times between 1829 to 1863, the Deputy Commissioner of Sambalpur reported that the Patna State continued to possess the following powers in 1863 :

"Exemption from payment of land tax beyond a fixed sum by way of tribute or jumah," right "to enjoy or levy other taxes which elsewhere are collected by the State," "the Chiefs have always enjoyed the privileges of levying customary taxes," "full right to all above and below ground on his estate, whether w forest or minerals," "entire jurisdiction, Civil, Cri and Revenue," and "full Police powers."

Before concluding the history of the S balpur Group it is necessary to say a few w about Kalahandi.

"Kalahandi or Karond was formerly an indepe State, paying no tribute to any power; but it eve came under the dominion of the Marhattas." It "w tributary Chieftainship owing allegiance to the re Marhatta family of Nagpur. When in 1853, the Pr of Nagpur lapsed to the Crown, Karond came under jurisdiction of the British Government and was cre a Feudatory State in 1867." (*Vide* Aitchison's *Tre Engagements and Sanads.*)

(2) *The Cuttack Group.*—The follow States belong to this Group : Athagarh, Bara ba, Daspalla, Dhenkanal, Hindol, Khandp Narsinghpur, Nayagarh, Nilgiri, Ranpur, T cher, Tigiria; (Athmallik, Baudh); Keonj and Pal-Lahara, and Mayurbhanj. Enga ments were executed between the first tw of these States and the British Governmen November, 1803, as a result of negotiations a the fall of Balasore. Baudh, which at that t included Athmallik as a tributary, executed engagement in March, 1804. Separate enga ment with Athmallik was made in 1819 Athmallik was treated as a separate State s then. Baudh and Athmallik continued to be cluded in the Sambalpur group till 1837, w they were transferred to Cuttack. Keonj which then included Pal-Lahara as a tribut executed engagement in December 1804. S sequently Pal-Lahara was treated as a sepa State though the paramountcy of Keonjhar recognized and the tribute paid by Pal-La used to be credited towards part of the tri due from Keonjhar. No engagement was en ed into with Mayurbhanj till 1811 as a R was on the *Gadi* and the succession was puted. The Rani's successor executed *ikra mas* in 1812 and 1815 and engagement was executed in 1829.

It may be mentioned here that besides th States there were also the States of Angul Banki and eight others which were formerly cluded in the Cuttack Group. But these Sta were reduced to the status of Zamindaries various reasons at different times before Mutiny.

The general history of these States is formerly many were independent States, some were dependents of some other S Keonjhar was paying only revenue for co villages that it held on rent from Marhattas in the Mogalbundi area.

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"The independent Raja of Koonjur is a renter of the Moghulbundi territory in Cuttack." (*Vide* dated 19th January, 1804 from Lt.-Col. G. Harcourt, ding in Cuttack). "And the Commissioners hereby state that so far as regards the district of the Rajah was entirely independent of the Gov- of Berar." (*Vide* letter dated 4th March, 1804 Secretary to Government of India to Hon'ble Major Wellesley, para 22.)

Leaving apart the status of the different before the British connection, which before does not have any practical on the present status of the States, it that the States of the Cuttack Group entered into bilateral engagements with British Government and were recognized as omous States.

The subsequent history of this group also the same sad tendency for local Govern- Officers to encroach upon the rights of States beyond the terms and conditions of original relationship, as we have already in the case of the Sambalpur Group of As already remarked, however, there variations in the treatment accorded to States according to local circums- and though this group was lucky enough any considerable enhancement of they were subjected to various other of interferences in their internal affairs different times. Efforts were made to the criminal powers and by subsequent to impose various other kinds of res- Being under a different local these States were also not enough to get even partial justice by of some of the unjustifiable encroach- on their rights, as some of the Sambalpur did by the Sanads of 1867.

It would be clear from the history of these also that the encroachments on their due to the tendency on the part of provincial officers to try to absorb the into British India and treat them as of British India were incompatible with original relationship with the British and their original autonomous The subsequent restoration of the by the new Sanads of 1937 and removal restrictions, was therefore an act of and was not the result of any evil policy.

Since the Committee have laid much on the opinion of local provincial regarding the status of these States in attempt to make out a case for absorp- the States into British India, it is necessary to make a few observations on that point.

The tendency on the part of officers of local provincial Governments to subordinate the interests of the States to those of provinces is not surprising. It is only natural and it arises from ordinary human weakness. It would be too much to expect officers interested in a provincial Government to give justice to the States when the interests of the Province clashed with those of the States. If, therefore, the local officers in Orissa or the officers of the Bengal Province were in favour of absorbing the Cuttack Group of States and treat them as parts of British India, or in other words, were trying to subordinate the interests of the States to those of the Province, it was clearly unjustified and opposed to the original status of these States and their original relationship with the British Government. The Government of India, who at least were in possession of all the facts of the case, could not agree with the views of the Bengal Officers and their decision to treat these States not as parts of British India was right and just, and was in accordance with the original position of these States. It would not be out of place to mention here that the unjustifiable and illegal imposition of excise duty by the Bihar and Orissa Government on the opium and Ganja supplied to the States, thereby indirectly taxing State subjects for years and thus taking lacs of rupees which should have gone to the States is an instance of the subordination of State's interests to Provincial interests. This illegal exaction was only remedied when the States were taken directly under the Government of India in 1933. The loss of excise revenue caused to Seraikella State by opening excise shops in Jamshedpur (within neutral zone) and not allowing the State to open similar shops on its own border to counteract the evil, is another instance to the point.

Two wrongs cannot make a right and the wrong opinions of the local officers or the unjustifiable encroachments on the rights of the States in the past, cannot support a case for reduction of their original autonomous status to that of Zamindaries. Nor can the instances of Kanika, Kujang, etc., be of any help, as the treatment accorded to them was clearly wrong and unjust. If Kanika, Banki, Khariar and Borasambar, etc., have been unjustly treated in the past, can it be reasonably urged that the same injustice should be done to the existing States? Because Sambalpur, Nagpur, Oudh and Satara, etc.

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lapsed owing to the policy of Lord Dalhousie, will it be justifiable to apply the same policy at the present time? This sort of precedent may well suffice for the Inquiry Committee, whose avowed object is clear when they say;

> "We accept the unity of India as the fundamental basis for any solution, and we reject her present division into two artificial units. Any attempted solution which ignores the desire of the people of India to be one unit is foredoomed to failure."

But because any solution other than the one recommended by the Committee would in their opinion be "foredoomed to failure," and because the Committee is not in favour of the present division of India into two parts, we cannot say that the conclusions of the Committee are supported by correct findings. Arguments which are not logically sound, but are manufactured to support the conclusions arrived at by wishful thinking may satisfy people of a similar mentality whose desire is to liquidate the States and to expropriate the landlords. But they cannot satisfy the logically minded people. The truth remains that these States entered into relationship with the British as autonomous States and not as Zamindaries. To quote from judgments or opinions which have been over-ruled, in order to strengthen one's argument, is like suggesting the hanging of a man on the strength of the judgment of a subordinate court which has been set aside.

(3) *The Singhbhum Group.*—The States of Seraikella and Kharsawan belong to this group. Originally Kharsawan was a maintenance grant of Seraikella and subordinate to it, but the British Government treated it as a separate State with the concurrence of Seraikella. "The Singhbhum country was never conquered by the Marhattas." (*Vide* Aitchison's *Treaties, Engagements and Sanads*). These States, therefore, did not come into relationship with the British Government as a result of the treaty of Deogaum. Though these two States were recognized as independent of Porahat, no formal engagements were entered into with them. They had, however, accepted the British friendship and co-operated with the latter during the Marhatta Wars and informally accepted the British protection. But in their case also unjustifiable encroachment on their powers took place as in the case of the other groups. These States not having been obtained by conquest or by cession, but having voluntarily accepted the British connection, the unilateral action of the British officers in encroaching upon their inherent rights could hardly be justified. In their case also jus demanded the removal of imposed restricti It would be clear from the above that th States were independent and autonom States at the time they came into relation with the British Government.

General

It would be clear from the history the different groups of States, that they w originally autonomous States and in many c they came into relationship with the Brit Government on the solemn assurances that revenue or tribute beyond 5 gold mohurs w be ever demanded from them and that th will be no interference in the internal man ment of their States. It would also be c that in every case unjustifiable encroachm on the rights of the States were made and solemn assurances overlooked. This state affairs clearly called for a remedy. T Rulers had always rightly protested against encroachments. In 1930 the Chamber Princes passed the following resolution on subject :

> "(1) Resolved that (*a*) this Chamber is of opi that the grant of a Sanad by the Paramount Power c firming to a State a right which inherently belonged it does not entitle the Paramount Power to claim it has created that right in the exercise of its pa mountcy; (*b*) that this Chamber is of opinion that Sanads imposed by the Paramount Power can superse previously existing treaties or engagements between a State."

The Government of India were convin of the justice of the case and appointed L Lothian to inquire into this question. T present Sanad of 1937 was granted as a res of that inquiry.

A review of the history of these Sta leaves no room for doubt that the autonom and sovereign powers were inherent in States and that the *restrictions* on these pow had been *imposed*. The necessity for revis the Sanads in 1937 was felt not for "rais the status of the Rulers," as suggested by Committee. Rather, it was to *restore* *inherent rights of the States*. The new San clearly recognized this by admitting that "restrictions" were to be removed, and stating that *extra powers were being granted*.

The revision of the Sanads was felt necessary due to (1) the realization of Government that the Sanads in the old required considerable revision both in wo and in substance in order to conform to actual nature of the relations subsi between the Government of India and

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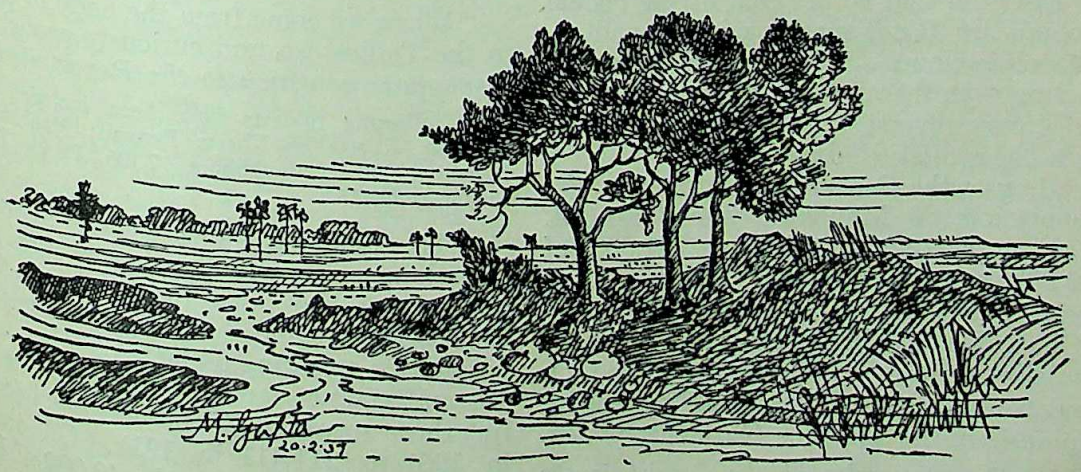
States, (2) for removing the specific restrictions, which were not justified by the original relationship, (3) conforming the wording and conditions of the Sanad to the actual political position of the States, (4) removing the anomalies which some of the clauses of the old Sanads created, and (5) to remedy the discrimination in treatment between States of similar status. Though the new Sanad places the States "in a position which would be at once equitable to them *inter se*" and removes "that doubt as to their status which had formerly existed in the minds of their brother Rulers elsewhere," and though "the new Sanads now recognize the Ruling Chiefs of the Orissa and Chattisgarh States as the autonomous Rulers of their own principalities," as remarked by the A. G. G., Eastern States, while handing over the new Sanads to the Rulers in 1937, it is clear that the new Sanad has not fully restored the original position and full justice has not yet been done to the States. To mention but a few things: The unjustified tributes have not been reduced in accordance with the original assurances. An advice clause has been retained over and above the inherent powers of interference under Paramountcy, which leaves open an alarmingly large field for interference in the internal administration, as distinguished from the admitted right of interference under the inherent powers of Paramountcy in cases of *maladministration and gross injustice or oppression.* The evil of this can be judged from the recent application of this clause to impose an expensive and unwelcome scheme for a Joint Police Reserve for the Agency, where *no question of maladministration or oppression* was involved, and which cannot be justified from any point of view. The Government cannot, therefore, be blamed for "raising the status," as stated by the Committee, but should be blamed for *not restoring the original status fully* even now and for not having remedied the illegal increase of tribute, and for not having done full justice.

A review of the history of these States also shows that the Committee's theory of the "raising of status" is not maintainable and therefore the charge against the Government for having recognized them as sovereign States, "for reasons of Imperial Policy" is not maintainable. Nor can we maintain the charge that the instructions to the political officers (1) not to interfere in the internal affairs, (2) that the Ruler has freedom of action in his State, and (3) that he should not encourage petitions against the Ruler and thus not weaken his authority, in any way means a reversal of policy. On the contrary it is in accordance with the assurances given at the time these States came into relationship with the British Government.

In view of what has been said in these pages it will be clear that the premises on which the Orissa Enquiry Committee have based their report, are wrong and their finding regarding the status of the States are consequently fallacious.

There could be nothing more patently fallacious or unjust than the suggestion that the Sanads of these States could be cancelled, "without doing any violence to the rights of these Chiefs." It is really a wonder how the Committee could come to this conclusion after examining the "original status" of these Ruler. To wish a thing is different from logically justifying it.



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THE PROBLEM OF THE BENGALI LANGUAGE IN BIHAR

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Of late, the problem of the Bengali language in Bihar has assumed phenomenal proportions. The Bengalee Association, Bihar, at its Annual General Meeting held at Jamshedpur on the 8th April, 1939, passed two resolutions, one requesting the Bihar Government to make adequate provision for imparting education through the medium of Bengali to the Bengali-speaking boys, and the other condemning the move to change the medium of instruction in primary schools from Bengali to Hindi. These two resolutions touch the most vital problem concerning the education and culture of the Bengalis in Bihar, specially in the Bengali-speaking areas such as Manbhum, Singhbhum, Santhal Parganas and parts of the District of Purnea, Ranchi and Hazaribagh.

For a long time past, covert attempts have been made to replace Bengali by Hindi, but now an open drive has been launched to achieve that end, as will appear from the instances given below. At a so-called meeting held recently at village Chandankiari in the District of Manbhum, it was resolved that "having in view that Bihari Hindus and Mahomedans represent not less than 90 per cent of the total population of Manbhum District" and "that Hindi being their mother tongue," Government be moved to take steps to introduce primary education in Hindi, to open Hindi classes in all schools, to establish Hindi Primary Schools in all important villages of the district and to conduct mass literacy work through Hindi.

The assertion that 90 per cent of the people in Manbhum are Hindi-speaking is astounding. It is a baseless claim contrary to all facts and contradicting even the officially admitted figures. Indeed the very reverse is the truth, as will be clear from the statistics given below.

According to the Census Report of 1901, the total population of Manbhum was 1,301,364. The total number of Kurmis was 241,006 of which 99,932 were in northern Thanas Tundi Topchanchi and Jharia. and in the western Thanas Chas, Jualda, Baghmundi, and Chandil. The linguistic position in Manbhum based on the above census figures was thus stated by Mr. Coupland in the District Gazetteer :

"The prevailing vernacular of the District is the western dialect of Bengali, known as Rarhi-Boli, which is used by 72 per cent of the inhabitants. Along the western border this merges into the Magahi form of Hindi, variants of which are locally known as Kurmali, Khotta or Khottahi, or even Khotta Bangala. Including these dialects, which are spoken by over 40,000 people, mainly in the north and west of the District, as Hindi, Hindi is the language used by nearly 163,000 or 12¼ per cent of the population." (p. 72)

It is clear that Mr. Coupland recognized that even in the western and northern Thanas only 40 per cent (40,000 out of 99,932) of the Kurmis spoke Hindi. The Census Report of 1911 says :

"Kurmali is a corrupt form of Magahi, which, as the name implies, is the tongue of the aboriginal Kurmis of Chota Nagpur (not the Bihari cultivating caste of the same name).....This patois is also known as Khotta or Khotta Bengali and is written in the Bengali character. Locally it is regarded as a corrupt form of Bengali." (para 730)

Regarding the two other dialects in the further west of Manbhum in the districts of Hazaribagh and Ranchi, the Report says :

"A corrupt form of Magahi is also spoken in Thanas Gola and Kasmar, and in part of Thana Ramgarh in the south-east of Hazaribagh. This patois, which is called Het-gola, contains Bengali words and phrases and locally is considered to be Bengali." (para 730)

The Report quotes the opinion of the Deputy Commissioner of Ranchi, Mr. Thomson, which is as follows :

"Panch Pargania or Tamaria is really a composite language formed of Bengali, Oriya and Bihari words and terminations....There is no valid reason why it should be claimed as a dialect of Bihari rather than of Bengali or Oriya." (para 732)

When we come from the body of the Report to the Tables, we find curiously enough *a statement quite contrary to the Report itself*, that "the following dialects have been included in Hindi: Kurmali, Khotta or Khotta Bengali; Manbhum 211,411, Ranchi 20,875, Singhbhum 7,106, Panch Pargania or Tamaria 38,715."

The amazing effect of the above unwarranted inclusion will appear on even a cursory analysis of the data furnished by the above Census Report and the District Gazetteer. The population speaking dialects of Hindi other than Kurmali did not show any increase at all in 1911, but those speaking Kurmali swelled from 40,000 in 1901 to 211,411 in 1911. On the natural increase, *viz.*, 2 per cent, the 40,000 of 1901 could

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not have gone beyond 48,400 in 1911. The remaining 163,011 constituting 11 per cent of the population, whom Mr. Coupland and others, men on the spot, knew to be Bengali-speaking, were by one stroke of the pen transferred from the Bengali-speaking to the Hindi-speaking group, increasing the percentage of the latter from 11 to 22.

In spite of the above statistical holocaust, the Census of 1911 showed that in Manbhum including Dhanbad nearly a million spoke Bengali as against 3¼ lakhs speaking Hindi. As one of the objects of the annulment of the partition of Bengal was to bring under one administration the predominantly Bengali-speaking tracts, it was decided at the time of re-partition in 1911 that the position of such tracts in Assam and Bihar would be reconsidered later. These tracts being very rich in mines and minerals, Bihar was against their re-transfer to Bengal. At the 1921 Census, the enumerators were rightly directed to "enter the language which each person ordinarily speaks in his own home" with the result that a large number of people speaking the local Khotta dialect was entered as Bengali-speaking. But in view of the redistribution to come and the desire to claim those tracts as Hindi-speaking, these Khotta-speaking people were subsequently transferred to the Hindi-speaking group. As a justification of this extraordinary procedure, the Report said :

"It is impossible to say that Khotta is either Hindi or Bengali, but as it was treated as Hindi in 1911, it was thought better on the whole to treat it as such on the present occasion" (p. 209). This anxiety to enter Hindi a language which admittedly is impossible to regard as such is in sharp contrast with the attitude towards the dialect of Bengali in eastern Purnea, of which the number of speakers recorded in the Census of 1911 was over 6 lakhs. At the 1921 Census, they were all recorded as Hindi-speaking, because the sub-divisional officer thought that a speaker of pure Hindi would be more at home in the area than one of pure Bengali. The standard was shifted from the language spoken by the people in their own home to the capacity of a stranger to understand it; and a language declared by the linguistic survey of India as a dialect of Bengali and shown as such in 1911 Census was converted into Hindi by a sub-divisional officer. The alteration was not interfered with by the illuminating reason : "The entry was 'Hindi' could not simply be changed to Bengali." (p. 212)

Says Mr. Tallents :

"The proportion of Hindi or Urdu speakers to the population is much what it was ten years ago in most of the districts of Bihar. In Purnea, it has greatly increased at the expense of Bengali." (Census Report, 1921, p. 212)

The last Census Report showed the total population of Manbhum to be 18,10,896 of which 12,22,689 were Bengalis. Even according to this, Bengalis formed 67 per cent of the population of the district, a calculation obviously incorrect and lower than the actual figure. In the Sadar Sub-division, 81 per cent were recorded as Bengalis, besides 9 per cent mostly Santhals were recorded as using Bengali as their second language. Thus in the Sadar Sub-division, 90 per cent of the population use the Bengali language. In the mine areas in this district, the majority of Hindi-speaking people belong to the floating population of labourers. The language of a country is not determined by that in use among its floating population and the language of the permanent residents cannot be appraised by what is current amongst the people who have come to work in the mines and collieries. Mr. Lacey, Census Commissioner of Bihar, in his report has remarked :

"In Manbhum, Bengali has no serious rival as a subsidiary language.....Other races (especially the Santhals) when compelled to adopt a foreign-tongue, turn with one accord to Bengali." (Census Report, 1931, p. 240).

In spite of all these facts, the record of rights were prepared forcibly in Hindi when the survey came. The difficulties created by the preparation of the record of rights in Hindi resulted in widespread dissatisfaction. What followed is best given in Mr. Gokhale's report on the Survey and Settlement of Manbhum :

"Four memorials were then submitted protesting against this decision. These were supported by the then Additional Deputy Commissioner, Mr. Hoernle and the Board, but the Government adhered to their original decision which they declined to reconsider. In 1921, the question was again re-examined by the Governor-in-Council and it was then decided that the record of rights should be prepared in Bengali for Revenue Thanas Nirsa and Tundi and in Hindi for the rest of the sub-division.... Almost all the documents and papers produced by the landlords and raiyats in block E were, however, found to be written in Bengali, and there was much difficulty in getting the landlords and raiyats to understand the Hindi record. Rather than write applications and petitions in Hindi, several landlords preferred to do so in English when they were told that they should write their applications either in Hindi or in English, but not in Bengali....Now that the record of rights has been prepared in Hindi, it is desirable that every effort should be made.....so that in a short time, there will be at least one man in each village who can read the record and thus enable the villagers to take full advantage of it." (p. 44)

After the above, can there be a vestige of doubt that there was not even one man in these villages who knew Hindi ?

Even a cursory glance at the linguistic survey of India by Dr. Grierson, who has had no equal in the domain of linguistic research so far, will reveal that the entire district of Manbhum, the whole of Dhalbhum sub-

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division, the State of Saraikella, the Thanas Silli, Bundu, Tamar and Sonahatu in Ranchi District, the Thanas Kasmar, Gola and Ramgarh in Hazaribagh District and the entire Santhal Parganas except Godda sub-division is in the spell of the Bengali language. (*Vide the* map facing page 1 of Vol. V). Bengali is the language, says Dr. Grierson, of the whole district of Manbhum.

"Manbhum is a Bengali-speaking district and the same language is spoken in that part of Singhbhum known as Dhalbhum." (*Linguistic Survey*, Vol. V, p. 139)

It may be confidently asserted that upon a correct calculation based upon these authoritative records, Hindi-speaking people including the floating population, even at a liberal estimate will not represent more than 25 per cent of the total population in the District of Manbhum. Yet the cry is to supersede Bengali by Hindi.

The Kurmi Mahatos of Manbhum are a primitive race residing in the district for centuries. They are quite distinct from Kurmi Mahatos of Bihar with whom they have no affinity or relationship whatsoever except the similarity in name. Their language is Bengali and in *Krittibas Mahaton* v. *Budhan Mahatani* (6 P.L.T. 604) they have been held to be Hinduised aboriginals governed by the Dayabhag School of Hindu Law, the law applicable to Bengalis. This case was decided by the Patna High Court in 1925, by the then Chief Justice Sir Dawson Miller and MacPherson J., who was regarded as an authority on matters of Chota Nagpur. The relevant passage is to be found in the judgment of MacPherson J., at p. 607, which runs as follows:

"Now it does not admit of the faintest doubt that the Kurmi Mahatos of Manbhum District are racially an aboriginal tribe .....They have no concern whatever except in the accident of name with the Dravido-Aryan agricultural and menial caste of Bihar proper. This important and numerous aboriginal tribe of agriculturists has, however, moved substantially towards Hinduism and rather faster than the other great tribes of the districts such as Santhals and Bhumijis."

This judicial pronouncement by the highest tribunal of the province will set at rest all doubt. But if any further authority is needed, reference may be made to the Manbhum Gazetteer which says:

The distinction first drawn by Dr. Grierson between the Bihar and the Chota Nagpur Kurmis, which is now generally accepted, is exemplified in this district by the fact that marked traces of the characteristic Kolarian village system remain, the Mahato or village headman of the Kurmis corresponding exactly with the Manjhi of the Santhals, the Sardar of the Bhumij and the Munda of the Ho races. The Hinduisation of the Kurmis is much more complete than that of either the Bhumij or the Santhal; they abstain from both beef and pork, though they still eat fowls, and in consequence are not reckoned among the caste from whose hands a Brahman may take water. Their characteristic festival, the "Karam" described in an earlier paragraph is, however, essentially animistic, and typical of an aboriginal tribe. Sir H. H. Risley considers that they may perhaps be a Hinduised branch of the Santhals. "The latter," he writes, "who are more particular about what they eat or rather about whom they will eat with than is commonly supposed, will eat cooked rice with the Kurmis, and according to the tradition regard them as elder brothers of their own" (p. 76). Sir H. H. Risley, Director of Ethnography for India has further said that "the totemism of the Kurmis of western Bengal stamps them as of Dravidian decent and clearly distinguishes them from the Kurmis of Bihar and the United Provinces" ('People of India,' p. 96). "The Kurmis of Manbhum," says Dr. Grierson, "are an aboriginal tribe of Dravidian stock and should be distinguished from the Kurmis of Bihar who speli their name differently with a smooth instead of hard R." (Linguistic Survey of India, Vol. V, p. 146).

For ages the Kurmis have regarded Bengali as their mother tongue and have used it in all affairs. In rural areas, they are quite ignorant of Hindi and do not understand a syllable of it. Yet at the instance of a handful of interested persons, an attempt is being made to introduce Hindi among them in the Sadar Subdivision, and it is believed that the Inspector of Schools, Chota Nagpur Division, is in favour of such a course.

Last year, a public meeting was held by the Deputy Commissioner of Manbhum to organize and encourage mass literacy work; at which amongst others, Mr. J. B. Sen, Parliamentary Secretary, the President of the District Congress Committee, the President of the Bar Association, the Chairman of the Municipality, the Vice-Chairman of the District Board, the President of the Primary Teachers' Association and the District Inspector of Schools were present. At this meeting, a demand was naturally made that the literacy work should be carried on in Bengali. The Committee appointed in collaboration with the District Magistrate also recommended the same course. But this did not suit the purpose of the agitators against Bengali and the literacy work in Manbhum Sadar failed.

On a reference to the Ranchi Gazetteer by Mr. Hallett (afterwards His Excellency Sir Maurice Garnier Hallett, Governor of Bihar) it will be found that the Bengali-speaking area in the district, *viz.*, Thanas Silli, Bundu, Tamar and Sonahatu covers about 800 square miles with a population of 2,26,672. This, as has been mentioned above, is also the view of Dr. Grierson. But Dr. Grierson goes further and says:

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"Across the south-east corner of Ranchi, a colony ...es speak the variety of western Bengali known as ...while the other inhabitants of the same tract ...other Nagpuria or Panch-Pargania."

In the District of Hazaribagh, as has ...ly been noticed, the Bengali-speaking ...covers the entire Kasmar and Gola Thanas ...greater portion of Ramgarh Thana. Thus ...is a wide tract in these two districts with ...considerable number of Bengali-speaking ...

According to the Census of 1931, the posi-...in Singhbhum is: Bengali-speaking people ...517 as against 81,407 Hindi-speaking. ...les 19,000 and 65,000 of those speaking ...and tribal languages respectively speak ...gali as a subsidiary language.

The position in Santhal Parganas is even ...curious. Before the formation of this dis-...in 1855, its area formed part of Birbhum ...Murshidabad Districts, and three out of 5 ...divisions namely, Pakur, Jamtara and Raj-...were Bengali-speaking. Rajmahal was ...capital of Bengal for some years preceding ...and it again became the capital of Bengal ...Shah Sujah became the Governor of ...in 1637. Santhals who live in this place, ...having script or literature of their own, ...ed Bengali as a second language from as ...a period as history can take us back. ...ding to Dr. Grierson the whole District ...thal Parganas except Godda sub-division, ...ive-sixth of the district, is within the spell ...Bengali language. (*Vide* map facing pages ...and 95 of the *Linguistic Survey of India*, ...V). "Western Bengali" says Dr. Grier-...son, "has one sub-dialect called the Mal ...ria spoken in the centre of the Santhal ...mas." Up to the year 1915, primary ...tion in this place used to be conducted ...gh the medium of Bengali, when by reason ...rigorous campaign against Bengali by Mr. ...the then Sub-divisional Officer of Dhan-...a reactionay movement spread to the Santhal ...mas, in consequence of which Bengali was ...uted by Hindi in the field of primary ...tion. In 1930, Mr. Fawcus, the then ...tor of Public Instruction, found that for-...adoption of Hindi had led to serious ...oration in primary education in these areas. ...whole position was then reviewed by Mr. ...s in collaboration with Mr. Hoernle, ...y Commissioner of the District, the Ins-...of Schools, (a Santhal gentleman), the ...al Inspector of Schools for Santhal educa-...(another Santhal gentleman), the Inspector ...Schools, Bhagalpur Division (a Bihari Muhammadan), Mr. Dain, Commissioner of the Division and Mr. Sangram Hembrom (the then M.L.C. for the District). The finding arrived at can not better be described than in the words of Mr. Hoernle:

"The policy adopted in Jamtara and Pakur seems to have been based on Dhanbad, where Mr. Luby, who was the Sub-divisional Officer in 1914, instituted a vigorous campaign against Bengali. In Dhanbad, the local patois is Khotta, a sort of mixture of Bengali and Hindi tending more to Hindi in the west and north-west and to Bengali in the east, north-east and south-east (the centre of the sub-division being coalfield is polyglot). The preponderating tendency is towards Bengali, and in the 1921 Census, I could find hardly any enumerators who knew any language other than Bengali. Thus, in my opinion, the policy in Dhanbad was wrong. It follows that a policy based on that policy is also wrong, especially when it is considered that Pakur adjoins Murshidabad and Birbhum, and Jamtara, Burdwan and Birbhum. The settlement records in both sub-divisions and the vast majority of petitions and documents are witten in Bengali and the object of teaching boys to read is largely to enable them to understand the records, receipts and similar documents....Possibly the decision to adopt Hindi in 1914 was based partly on census statistics and I happen to know the inner history of the latter as I was employed on census in this district under Mr. Allenson in 1911. There was a move afoot to memorialise Government to detach the Santhal Parganas from Bhagalpur and join it to some Bengal division. A common local patois corresponding to some extent to the Khotta of Dhanbad is Chika Chiki. There was some controversy whether this should be classified as Bengali or Hindi and in view of the move aforesaid, Mr. Allenson directed that it should be treated as Hindi. Mr. Lambert's remarks that the aboriginal language (Santhali Paharia presumably) are more akin to Hindi than Bengali is unitelligible. Except that the aboriginals have adopted a few words from both languages, their own tongue bears not the slightest resemblance to either."

The result was that in 1931, after 16 years of trial of Hindi, Bengali had to be re-introduced as the medium of instruction in Bengali-speaking areas, in the interests of the educational needs of the country. But the move to oust Bengali has again been revived. At a meeting of the Santhal Parganas District Education Committee, a resolution for re-introducing Hindi as the medium of instruction in primary schools was forcibly and unconstitutionally passed with the result that a memorial together with a protest by the inhabitants of 97 Santhal Villages of Jamtara sub-division has been submitted to H.E. the Governor of Bihar. Harmotto Sabha and the Santhals of Pakur and Rajmahal sub-divisions have also submitted their protest resolutions through the usual channel. Active propaganda, however, in favour of Hindi in the sphere of education is being openly carried on by some exploiters and the Hindi Sahitya Sammilan at its recent meeting

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at Dumka has adopted the aforesaid resolution of the District Committee.

Recently the Prime Minister of Bihar and his Parliamentary Secretary Mr. Krishna Ballav Sahay paid a visit to Jamtara in the District of Santhal Parganas. The local Bengalis waited on them with the request that provision should be made for imparting instruction through the medium of Bengali in the primary schools in and near Jamtara. In reply Mr. Sahay said that if the Bengalis have to live in Bihar and to mix and associate with Biharis, they must learn Hindi. The answer to my mind clearly means that the elementary right of the Bengali children to receive education through the medium of their mother tongue does not find favour with the Bihar Government.

The population in the district of Purnea may be divided into two distinct groups—those in the west are Biharis in their social relations, customs and language, while those in the east are Bengalis in their manners, customs and language. The line of demarcation between the two is the old bed of the Kusi river. (*Vide* Hunter's *Statistical Account of Bengal*, p. 249, and Purnea Census Report 1891, paragraphs 10 to 14). The Majority of the people in the eastern division are Muhammadans who roughly represent 62 per cent :

"The most numerous Shaikhs are those who belong to the Bengali sub-caste and they chiefly inhabit the whole of Kishanganj sub-division, and thanas Balarampur, the eastern parts of Araria, Kasba, Amour and Kadwa." (*Vide* Census Report, para. 117).

The Hindu population representing about 38 per cent is comprised mainly of the following castes and tribes : Sadgope, Kaivarta, or Mahisya, Koch, Polia, Rajbansi, Deshi, Bouri, Hari and Chandal. These castes and tribes are of Bengal origin and can only be found in Bengal and in this division of Purnea but nowhere else in Bihar proper. A reference to the note regarding these castes and tribes in Census Report of 1891 and Buchanan's Report will make it perfectly clear that they are Bengalis :

Sadgope : "Chiefly reside in Kishanganj.....their ancestors, before the Muhammadan conquest, owned the sovereignty of some principality known as Gopbhum, comprised particularly within the present Burdwan District." (Census Report, para 30).

Kaibartas or Mahisyas : "Inhabit chiefly the southern portion....from their very name seem to be people of Bengal origin....They also resemble much in their habits their fellow castes of the neighbouring district of Bengal." (Census Report, para 39).

Koch, Polia, Rajbansi, Deshi : "All belong to the Koch tribe....They all use Bengali language" (Census Report, para 93).

Bouri : "Found in the east and northern parts of the district. They are very numerous in Dinajpur." (Buchanan's Report).

Hari : "The Haris are of Bengal origin and as such speak a Bengali dialect. (Census Report, para 114).

Chandal : "A tribe of Bengali fishermen found chiefly in the eastern part between Mahananda and Nagar rivers." (Buchanan's Report).

There are also people of castes admittedly of Bengal, such as Rarhi Brahman and Kayastha, Gandha Banik, Kumahar, Kamar, Tantubai and Barui. The western division is inhabited by the Hindu castes which are commonly found all over Bihar but scarcely in Bengal, *viz.*, Maithil Brahmin, Rajput, Amabasta and other Kayasthas, Babhan Bania, Lohar, Koiri, Dhanuk, Beldar, Musahar, Dhangar, and Doshad. According to Dr. Grierson the language spoken in the east division "is a sub-dialect of Northern Bengali dialect." Says Dr. Grierson :

"The western limit of Northern Bengali dialect extends into the Purnea district; that language may be taken as occupying the eastern third of the district, that is to say the whole of Kishanganj and the eastern half of the Sadar sub-division."

I have already mentioned how at the 1921 Census the Hindi-speaking population was inflated at the cost of Bengali.

Most of the primary schools in the eastern division are on Bengali basis. But efforts are being made to replace some by Hindi schools.

The Congress Working Committee has considered the question of the language to be adopted for medium of instruction and has resolved :

"In Bihar in the areas where Bengali is the spoken language, the medium of instruction in primary schools should be Bengali, but in such areas provision should also be made for instruction in Hindustani in the primary schools for those whose mother tongue is Hindustani if there is a reasonable number of students speaking Hindustani. Similarly in Hindustani-speaking areas, education in primary schools should be given in Hindustani but if there is a reasonable number of Bengali-speaking students, they should be taught in Bengali. In secondary schools, education should be given through the medium of the language of the province but the State should provide for education through the medium of any other language where there is a demand for it on the part of the residents of any district where this other language is spoken."

This resolution was passed by the Working Committee as far back as on the 13th January 1939. We are now in September and yet nothing has been done by the Bihar Government to implement the resolution. In fact the position is worse today as I shall presently show.

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On the 3rd July, 1939 at a meeting held at Haripada Sahitya Mandir, Purulia, Mr. B. Sen, Parliamentary Secretary to the Government of Bihar openly said :

"I openly declare before you that neither Dhanbad Purulia is a Hindustani-speaking area. If there is such assertion in any quarter, it is quite absurd. whole district of Manbhum, in its entirety, is Bengal and Bengali-speaking land. Dr. Grierson's authority final on this issue."

In spite of the Congress resolution and the ration, the drive against Bengali goes on bated. A circular has been issued by the ector of Schools, Chota Nagpur Division, g the mufussil Pandits to report the names hools in which Bengali could be replaced diately or at a future date. Another ular has been issued from the office of the ector of Public Instruction calling upon the ers of primary schools in Manbhum to Hindi or Urdu within two years. The rict Board, I may mention, is in charge of ary education and spends a huge amount it. But these steps are being taken out any reference to it.

The *Searchlight*, a Congress organ of the nce, has been fomenting and fostering the against Bengali. It has asserted in and season that Manbhum is a Hindi-speak- ract. A member of the editorial staff of aper had gone all the way to Manbhum months back with the object of starting gitation against Bengali. He gathered a few interested persons and a brilliant d of propaganda was conceived. They gether at some places and passed resolu- which was announced and broadcast as as possible through the press as having passed at meetings.

In the Purulia Zilla School, a Government tion, where out of 582 pupils not more than e non-Bengalis, Government while sanc- g a separate section for the non-Bengalis, not been able to afford more than one for the Bengalis this year. The Mana- Committee carefully reviewed the tion and recommended that it was necessary en two Bengali sections and one section parting education either through English Hindustani. But the Government have d down the proposal for reasons best known em. The present arrangement has led to t of accommodation for a large number ngali students. Mr. Siddhi Nath Ghosal started an Upper Primary Bengali School village Dhaiya near Dhanbad on a plot d given by the Raja Saheb of Jharia. A ars after the establishment of this school, the District Board of Manbhum took charge of the administration of the school. During the District Board's administration, the Dhanbad Municipality made this school receive grants from the municipality. The inhabitants of Dhaiya are all Bengali-speaking, but at present, out of four teachers in that school 3 are Hindi-speaking, who teach Hindi and there is only one teacher who teaches Bengali. Thus the authorities are deliberately neglecting Bengali and forcing the villagers, who are all Bengali-speaking, to learn Hindi.

There is a move to displace Bengali head masters and inspecting officers as will appear from the following instances. The head master of the Jharia Raj School happens to be a Bengali. The Inspector of Schools, Mr. Kazmi, writes in his inspection report :

"I wanted a Hindi-knowing head master, but as the old Bengali head master has come back, the needs of Hindi-reading boys remain unsatisfied."

It is interesting to note that the head master is a teacher of English. The head master of Dhanwar M. E. School in Giridih sub-division who was born in Godda sub-division in the District of Santhal Parganas, was brought up and educated there. He passed his M. E. examination with Hindi from Godda M. E. School as far back as 1902. He joined the Dhanwar School, which was not then a recognised school, and has been teaching in Hindi in top classes. He passed his Dapartmental Examination in English and Hindi in 1937. In passing the examination, he had to impart model lessons in English and Hindi and was successful in both. Inspector after Inspector have testified to the high quality of teaching imparted by him. In January 1939, the District Inspector paid a visit to the school and wrote in his inspection note that the head master although departmentally qualified, is a failure in vernacular and should be replaced by a Hindi-knowing graduate or I.A., C.T. It is noteworthy that the same District Inspector wrote the following inspection note in 1936 :

"Classes IV, V, VI & VII boys acquitted nicely the various questions I put them and I felt interested."

Reference may also be made to the inspection report of the Deputy Inspector, Giridih, dated May, 1936 :

"I was pleased with the teaching of the head master . . . . The school has shown distinct improvement since my last visit."

And to that of the Inspecting Officer for Muhammadan education, Chota Nagpur dated July 1937 :

"The staff may be said to be efficient and sufficient."

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Thus not a word against the head master is to be found anywhere in any of the previous inspection notes. All of a sudden, Mr. K. Prasad comes and finds him incompetent and recommends that he should not be retained. The present District Insptctor of Schools, Santhal Parganas, who speaks Bengali, Hindi and Santhali equally well, is going to be replaced by a Bihari who knows neither Bengali nor Santhali. The new Deputy Inspector of Schools, Deoghur and Jamtara sub-divisions, is a Bihari who is quite innocent of Bengali and Santhali. He is going about inspecting the primary schools especially in Jamtara sub-division and writing his inspection remarks in Hindi, which nobody miles around can decipher or understand. It is a wonder how he is managing to test the class work of the teachers or to give model lessons for the benefit of the teachers and pupils alike, both of which are essential parts of his duties.

Thus the Bengali language is faced with serious consequences in Bihar. The idea of having a common language for India is commendable and there is some purpose in learning the common language along with the mother tongue. The Bihar move, however, is not to foster a national language along with the mother tongue but to replace the mother tongue by Hindi. Such an attempt is highly reprehensible. The Patna University and the Government have introduced the mother tongue for the medium of instruction. The effect of the present move will be that non-Hindi speaking students will be taught through Hindi, which is no more mother tongue to them than English. Hence they will not have the advantage of studying through their mother tongue and will have the disadvantage of learning another language in additon to those they have to learn today.

The rule adopted by the Educa Department that a Bengali wishing to employment in the Education Department a teacher in a recognised school must h passed the matriculation vernacular examina in Hindi having secured at least 45 per c marks is iniquitous. Theoretically, the r does not apply to the old teachers who are service. But it is well known that there is security of tenure in private schools. If some mischance, an unfortunate teacher who grown grey in teaching loses his job, he can get another job, as he has not passed the exa nation nor can he then qualify himself, as University does not permit those who are out employment to sit for the examination. Besi it is cruel to ask elderly men of 45 years over to sit for examination at their age and secure no less than 45 per cent of the ma Any one who has passed the matricula examination (with only 36 per cent as p marks) is qualified to teach Hindi up to Matriculation standard. But the Beng teacher who has not to teach Hindi, is requi to secure 45 per cent. This is unfair. T again, there seems to be no conceivable gro for having special roll numbers to mark these examinees, a course by which they c easily be spotted and examiners may be led become more strict with them as they are the teaching line.

To add to all these, the Circular lett dated 25th April, 1939, from the President the Board of Secondary Education, restric employment of teachers possessing extra-p vincial qualification will make it practic impossible for a teacher in a private sc with extra-provincial qualification to se another job should he lose his present though he may have served the cause of edu tion with merit for years.

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Top: Maidens in costumes of Western Hungary
Below: Open-air prayer in Hungarian village

Top: Peasant girl in the costumes of Szeged
Below: Society leaders

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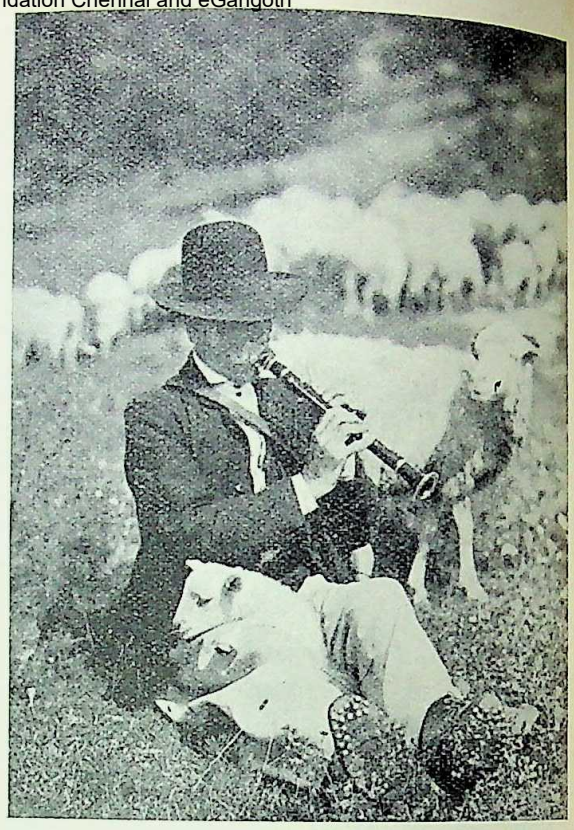

Top : Vine Harvest in Hungary
Below : Children of Ersekconad

Top: The flute in the Puszta
Below: Two generations

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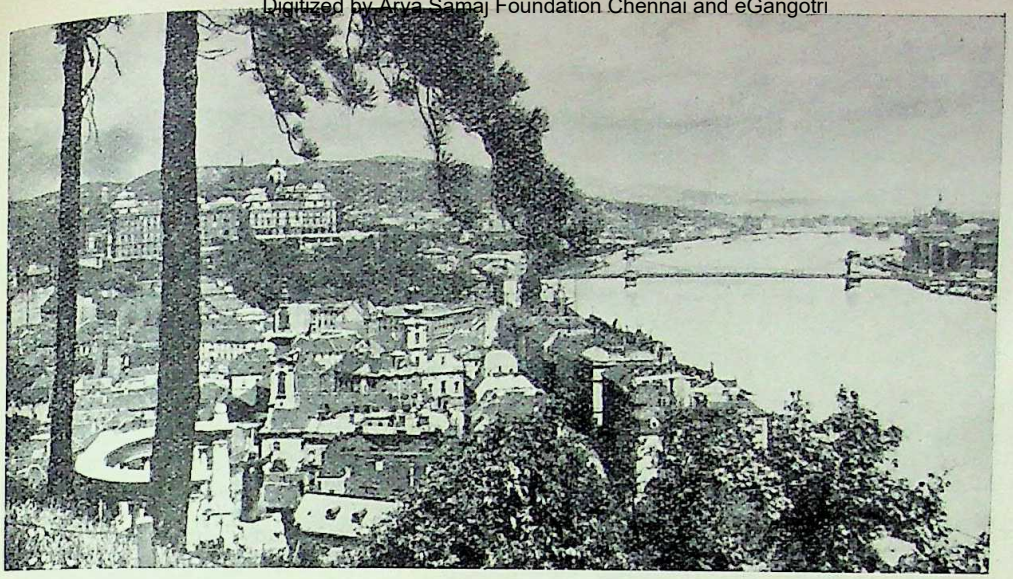

Top : A view of Budapest and Danube *Middle :* Bridge over the Danube at Budapest
Below : **Budapest at night**

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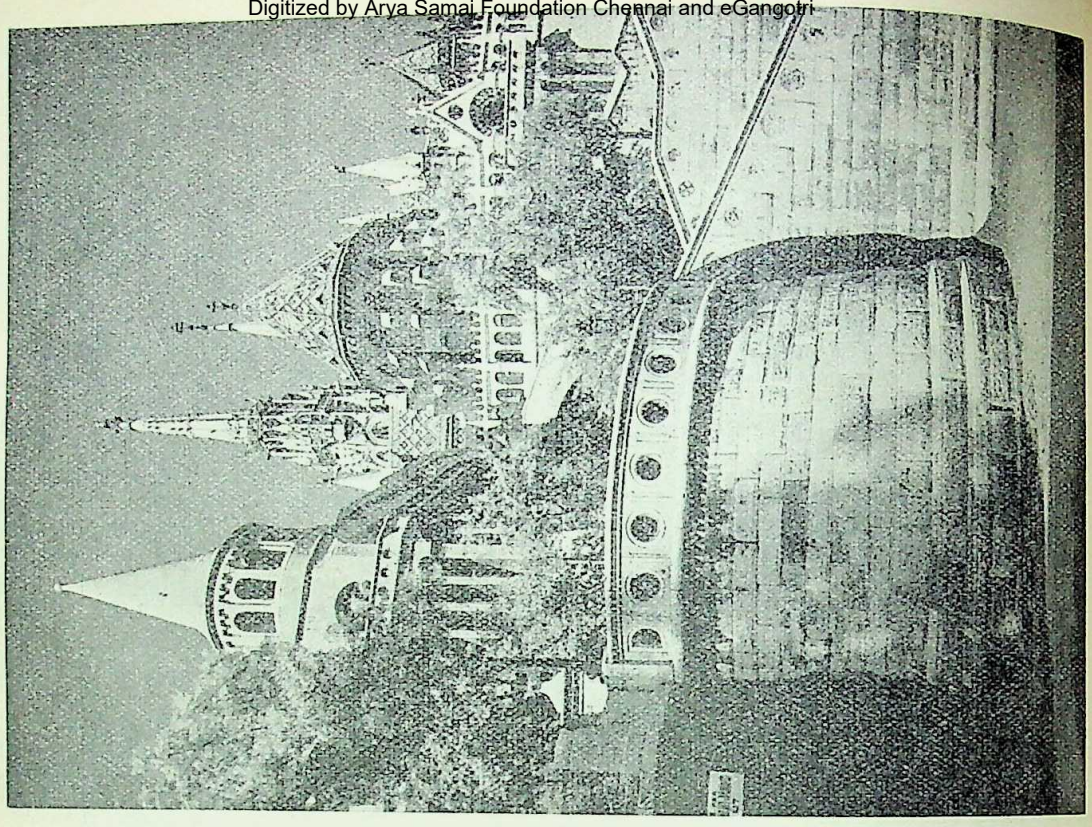
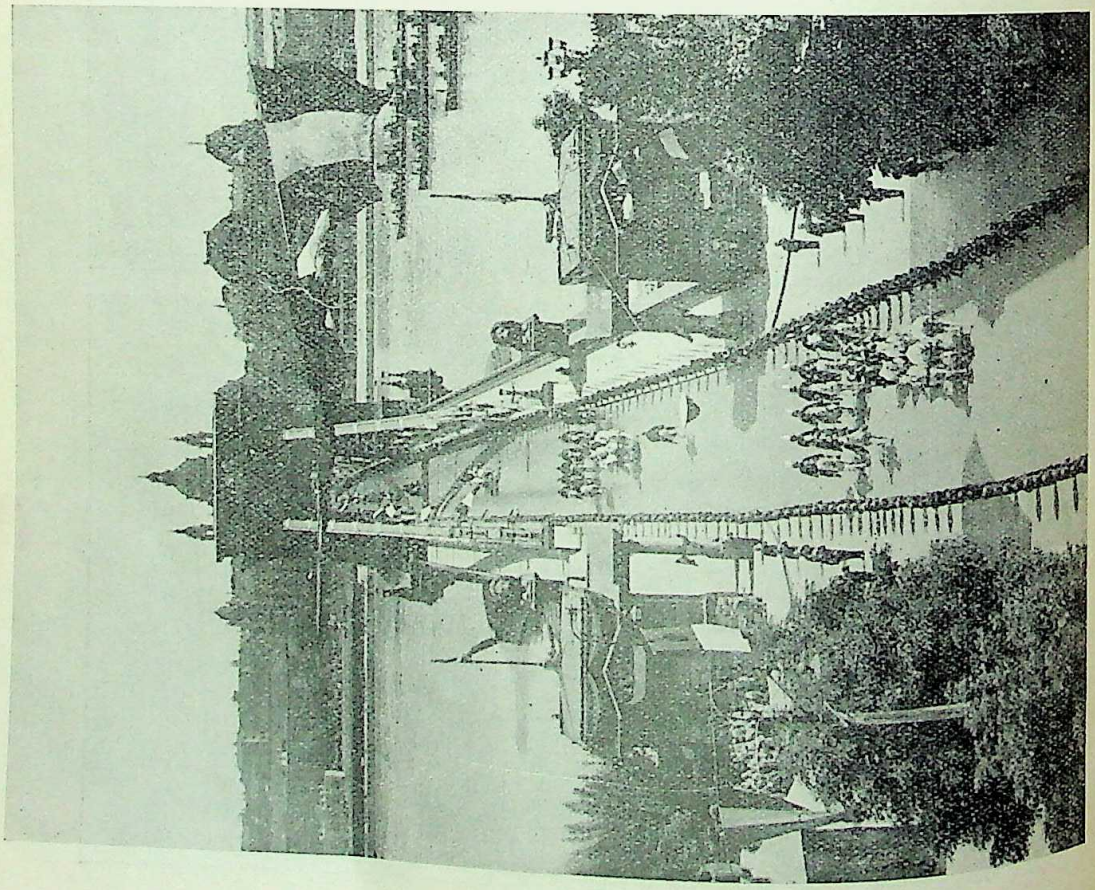


The Coronation church



Elizabeth Bridge

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SHADOWS OVER THE DANUBE

By Dr. MONINDRAMOHAN MOULIK, D.Sc. POL. (Rome)

ce again three of the biggest imperialist wers are involved in a life and death struggle. ly twenty years have passed since the great astrophe of 1914-18. We have in our midst many individuals of that generation who ght in the Great War. The horrors of that od are too vivid in their memory. The pic- e of devastation and destitution is too fresh their minds. We have now entered into ther struggle the consequences of which are timable and the trials of which are incalcu- le at the present moment. Either Versailles ld be vindicated or the eternal tragedies of man history would be repeated once more. the meantime, however, not only the ndaries of States will be subjected to far- ching changes, but also their internal social ctures may undergo radical transforma- s. It is indeed through these transforma- s that a new world order is believed to rge from the present struggle and chaos.

Apart from the big Powers of whom the ude of Soviet Russia and Italy is still un- led at the time of writing (15th September, 9), the smaller European States will be d upon to play not an indecisive part in battle when it will thicken and when its rs will come to be felt more intensely by principal combatants. Of these States, the ude of the Members of the Balkan Entente oslavia, Rumania, Greece and Turkey) rds the combatants may, with some sure of accuracy, be anticipated. But one e most anomalous diplomatic positions in of this war is that of Hungary, rendered difficult to guess by the indecision of Italy by the German-Soviet Pact which must completely upset the calculations of the ential pro-German elements in that country. geographical position of Hungary has not a great strategic importance for the deci- of a war in Central or Southern Europe, the part that may be played by a strong war-like racial block forming a wall een the Teutons and the Slavs has great ficance for the problem of lasting peace Central Europe. Hungary dominates the ube, a river that has seen history made and de on its banks and that is one of the arteries of traffic in Central Europe. The be also gives Hungary and Rumania their harvests. Since the *anschluss*, the shadow of Hitler has fallen upon the Danube on its entire course, and specially on Budapest. Hungarian statesmen who have been cultivating friendship with the Axis Powers in the interest of their revisionist aspirations were

A Koloc maiden in her native costume

not certainly happy to find all on a sudden their frontiers mingling with those of the Reich after the *anschluss*. Their suspicions were soon verified as the contagion of Nazi propaganda spread in Hungary. An anti-Jewish drive was set in motion by the Government which culminated in the resignation of Dr. Imredy, the Prime Minister, in February last, whose great-grand-father was a Jew. Strangely enough Dr. Imredy was also accused of being strongly pro-Fascist and pro-Nazi; he started the Hungarian Life Movement with its mystical emblem of the white stag of Magyar folk-lore. Dr. Imredy's embryonic fascism was successfully dissolved by Count Teleky,

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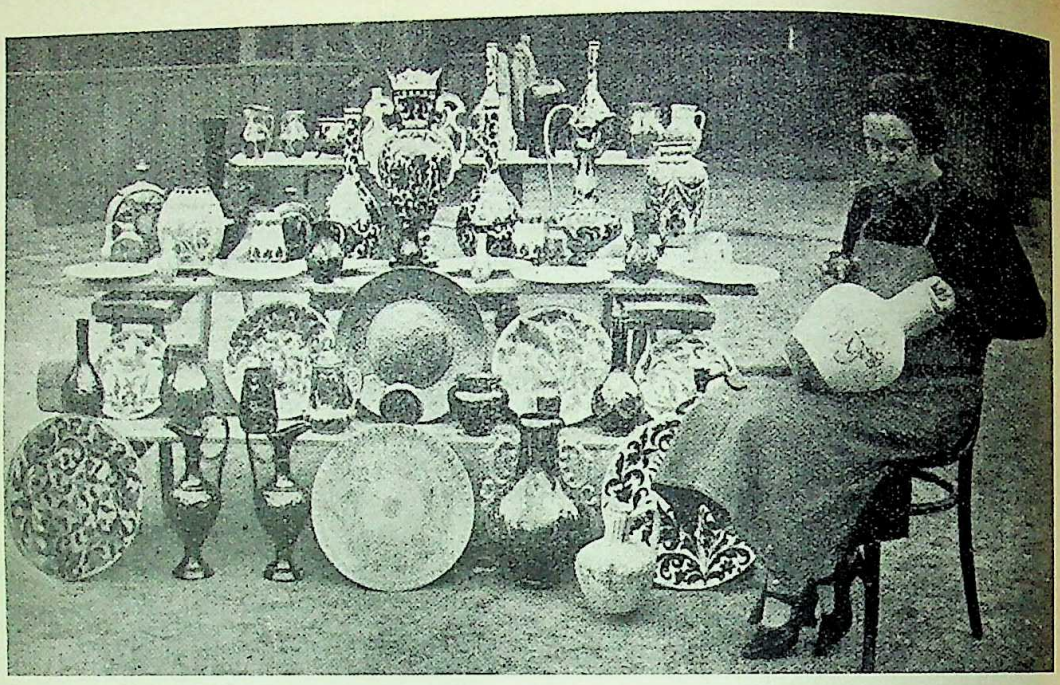

A collection of Hungarian handicrafts—Earthenware and metal works

his successor as the Premier of Hungary. It is held in Budapest that the anti-semitic measure adopted against Dr. Imredy was merely a pretext for crushing his Fascist party, called the "Hungarian Life Party." Hungarians are as much anti-Bolshevik as anti-Nazi, although political consciousness is limited only to the intellectuals and the *petit bourgeois*. The peasants are extremely poor and ignorant.

The Hungarians also took advantage of the dismemberment of the Czecho-Slovak Republic by seizing a part of the Slovak territory which, they claimed, was inhabited by Magyars or Magyar-speaking population, but the enthusiasm for the partial fulfilment of this irredentist claim soon faded away under the increasing pressure of Nazi propaganda and the growing influence of the Nazi party in Hungary. Apparently it would seem that Hungary had tied herself to the apple-cart of Nazi Germany as if in complete resignation and despair, but the trend of Hungarian foreign policy since the *anschluss* has been reacting in a completely different manner to the Balkan politics. Hungary was even approached by the Balkan Entente to join it. But Hungary's biggest quarrel is with Rumania which now possesses the rich fields of Transylvania that once belonged to the Magyar Kingdom and that gave Hungary the economic and military potentiality that made her a great Power during the Dual Monarchy. But for this quarrel and but for the economic plight in which Hungry found herself after the Treaty of Trianon, her foreign policy would have taken a completely different course and would have followed more rational lines consistent with the traditions and sentiments of her people. Hungarian foreign policy has been principally artificial in the post-War years, and perhaps on account of that she may be dragged today unwillingly into an unwanted war. The Magyars are essentially a democratic and liberty-loving people.

Tragic History

Hungarian history is an unbroken record of tragedies. During the Middle Ages the country has served as the theatre of violent clashes between the eastern races and the Western European civilization, between the Turks and the Latin-Teutons, between Slavs and Germans. Hungary is still the theatre of the last mentioned struggle, and today the same struggle threatens the destiny of Europe. The civilization represented in the violent and uncompromising antagonism between the Slavs and the Teutonic races, notwithstanding the recent Soviet-German Pact. Thus when Hungary wanted to intercept a piece of territory on the west in order to abolish a common Polish-Rumanian frontier, Hitler's Germany did not lend any support to this proposal although the separation of Poland and Rumania would have secured Germany a strategic advantage. Germany does not want to

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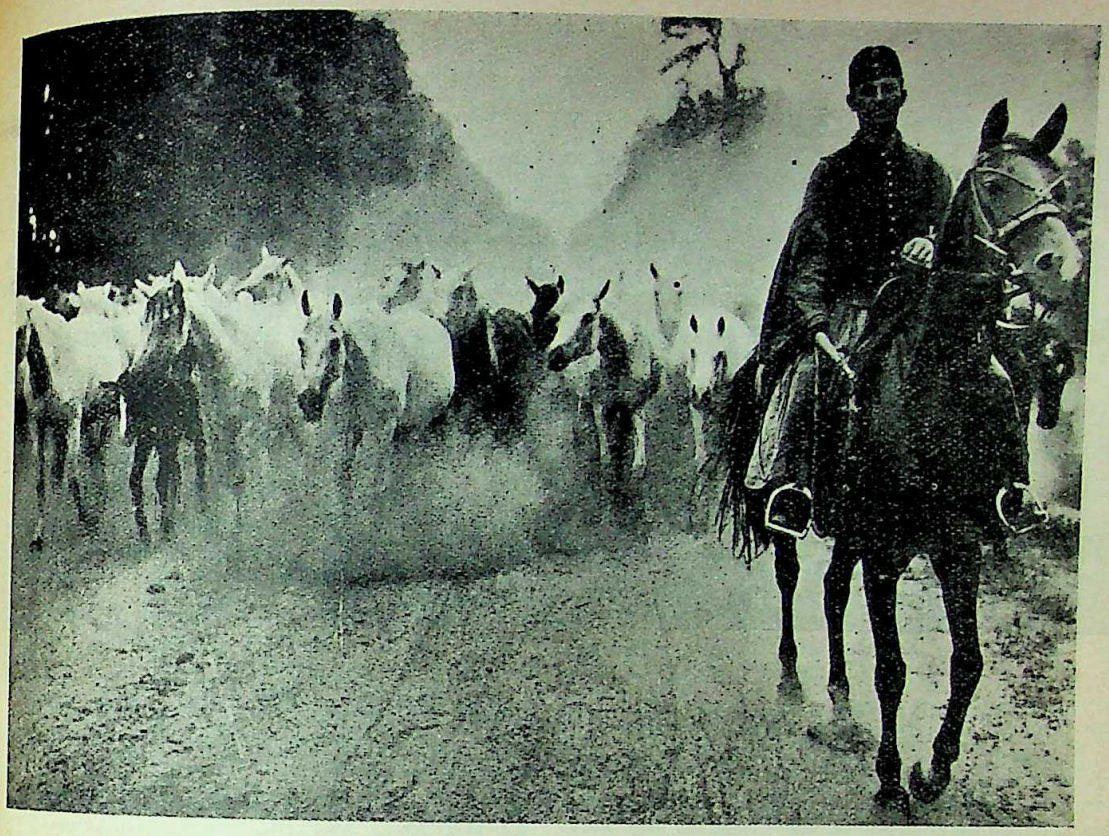

A rural scene from the Puszta

gary should have a common frontier with oviets. Hungary today, as she was in the is the wedge between two giants, and not know how to play her legitimate part Central Europe, in the conflict between anism and Slavism, or between a semi-ic culture and the pure Western product.

Hungarian Nationalism

Hungary paid the penalty of mutilation as sult of her defeat in the Great War and more than 71 per cent of her former terri- by the Treaty of Trianon. Hungarian sionism has naturally, therefore, figured in -War years as the central problem of bian politics. Hungary's political ex- ence has been extremely varied, and the tion of monarchy left by St. Stephen is very strong in this country. The asso- on of Hungarian Monarchy with the sburg dynasty, as is well-known, is the predominant factor that has decided the se of the contemporary history of Hungary. eries of revolutions against the Austrian tism inspired by what is known as garian nationalism, the appearance of ois Deak and Louis Kossuth on the politi- ge of Hungary during the middle of the last century, the restoration of the Hungarian constitution under the Austro-Hungarian dual monarchy (1865-67) after the Austro-French-Italian-Prussian wars (1859), have some outstanding lessons even for the student of today. They all demonstrate that the Hungarians are a liberty-loving people with a long democratic tradition reconciled to constitutional monarchy. The Hungarian constitution places the source of all power and right in the nation itself. Thus the royal power also originates in the Hungarian nation, and until 1867, when the nation granted the hereditary right to the throne of the male issue of the Habsburg dynasty, the nation elected its king by ballot, and on his death, the right of election again became free. The Regency of Admiral Nicholas Horthy today is as significant as that of Louis Kossuth during those fateful years of Hungarian history, 1848-49.

Hungarian nationalism has always fought for liberty and democracy. Nowhere is this historical fact more pronounced than in the *Tragedy of Man* of Imre Madach, a human drama which has been compared with the *Faust*, and which is the epic of Hungarian nationalism. In his preface to the English translation of this work, Sandor Hevesi, Director of the Royal Hungarian Opera, says :

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Budapest at night

"*The Tragedy of Man* is a peculiarly Hungarian piece of literature. Yet, as the historical dream scenes refer only once to Hungary, it may be asked wherein the Hungarian origin of the poem is evident? The answer is simple. The political problem, the kernel of the work, is the same national anguish which one finds at the bottom of so many Magyar poetic works, in Madach's early national struggle and the agony of the 50's. As a young man he wrote two tragedies dealing with the way in which the harmony of the people and its leader could be attained, in which way a People may become a Nation, and how a nation can exist." (*The Tragedy of Man*, Budapest, 1933, page 17).

The Bolshevik experiment did not survive in Hungary. The reign of terror initiated by Bela Kun in 1919 was very shortlived, and lasted only from March 21st to July 31st. Hungarian political experience is definitely anti-Bolshevik. Hungary is the first line of defence against a Communist drive from Russia into Central Europe.

The Magyar Tradition

During my travels in Hungary where I have had the most delightful of vacations while in Europe, I have found that the centuries-old Magyar tradition still dominates Hungarian life. Magyars are brave but peaceful, strongly conscious of their proud heritage but not intolerant of other races or cultures. At the dawn of European history the land of the Magyars stood at the cross-roads of the East and the West, of Asia and Europe, and it was not until the 11th century that a definitely western outlook penetrated Hungarian life and culture. In rural Hungary the East mingles with the West as much as sweet superstitions live side by side with western science. Hungary truly offers the picture of an oriental race that has definitely turned its face toward the West and has cast in its lot with West European culture. The charms of Budapest, the magic city had once won the heart of the world. The memory of its gay life before the War still haunts the imagination of the older generation. But Budapest is not real Hungary. Budapest is as much international as Paris or Vienna and except for its intellectual life which is dominated by the Magyar culture, it is like any other metropolis of continental Europe. But in order to know the real Hungary, to have a glimpse of the characteristic Magyar life one has to know rural Hungary. The rolling plains of the blue Danube, the wind-swept "puszta", the gypsy music, the exquisite *tokaji* (Hungarian wine), retain their ever-lasting charm for the foreign traveller, but it is not enough to know them even. When you enter into the spirit of Hungarian folk-art and folk-lore, you begin to find a new world revealing itself before your eyes. Art in Hungary has risen from the earth itself. The Magyars love their land not in any abstract sense but in the very material way. Agriculture is the mainstay of the Hungarian people. Apart from these exotic attractions, there is something in the Hungarian temperament and in the Magyar attitude on life that makes the Oriental citizen feel more at home in this country than in any other part of Europe. It may be said that this is due to the fact that the Magyars are supposed to be an Asiatic race. It may be so. But at the same time, the Magyars have developed, through the unending vicissitudes of history, a philosophy of life and a social organization which represent a wonderful synthesis of Western progress and oriental sensitivity. The contact with western culture has not been able to destroy completely the inner consciousness characteristic of this race which manifests itself in its folk-songs, in its legends of the heroic past, in its costumes and above all, in its mystic vision of life. The fisherman of the Balaton, the peasant of Hortobagy, and the maidens of the Danube

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ings have always revealed to me a deep activity and a conception of life which are far removed from those of Western Europe near to those of our own.

The Spirit of Hungarian Art

To say that art in Hungary rose from the ch does not amount to saying that this art e devoid of splendour or dignity. The sant being nearest to the earth was the one to make use of the riches of nature elaborate them into a charmingly naive yet distinctive style. Hungarian decora- arts and crafts were fashioned by the very tive imagination of the peasant-folk who them a charm which is also the distinctive acteristic of the Magyar people. On the ns of dresses, carpets and other household ts I have often noticed the artist's prefer- for a scheme of colour contrasts which is stakably oriental in inspiration. This tal influence, however, was hardly some- g foreign here; it rather effected the gthening of the national decorative style h is akin to the orient, especially the Indo- an art. The Hungarian nobility always to indulge themselves in the magnificent y of oriental splendour. But the people e "Puszta," the great Hungarian plains, are al born artists, and their pottery, their implements made of horn, their leather , the curved and painted furniture, bed with lace and brilliantly woven crimson, or bright blue borders, and the embroidered cap bonnets of the women, are all graceful intimate because they are made by hand have imagination and tradition in their ing. Hungary's greatest poet, Petoefi, was on the great plains. While in Budapest was always desperately homesick for his eld. There he wrote his famous poem :

"What art the Carpathians with their pine-woods to me ?
I admire but love them not.
Down there in the limitless Alfoeld is my world.
When I behold it my soul is like an eagle freed.
Here at twilight come the wild ducks,
Driven by the wind from their swaying reed.
Here was I born. Here I was cradled,
Here do I wish to die and here my tomb be raised."

Petoefi's wish was not fulfilled. In his ty-seventh year, already a famous poet and onal hero, who wrote the great revolu- ary song "Talpra Magyar," he was killed the fight for Hungarian liberty in 1849. He last seen with Bem's army in Transylvania Segesvar, but after the battle his body was found although friends searched for days. They could not fulfil his desire to be buried under the acacia trees of his beloved Alfoeld. Andrew Ady, the poet who inherited Petoefi's fierce love for freedom, died young too, but established himself as the genius of modern Hungarian poetry.

The best interpreters of Hungarian folk-songs and the famous 'Cardas" dances are the gypsies, although the gypsies are not Magyars. A strain of sadness runs through all these folk-songs and ballads, and when the music of the gypsy is not very and quick, it is full of longing and melancholy like the horizon-less Pusztas of Hungary. The proverb "Sirva vigad a magyar" (the Magyar enjoys his weeping) is true to life.

Hungary's Dilemma

Taking all the above historical and cultural facts into consideration, one can hardy resist the conclusion that Hungary's place in European politics should not be with the aggressors, but with the great democracies and on the side of the liberty-loving peoples. As a matter of fact, Hungary's contacts with England and France are long-standing. Shakespeare festivals are a long tradition in Hungary, and Shakespeare's dramas are hardly more popular anywhere else in Central Europe than on the Hungarian stage. But it was a queer miscalculation of France to dismember Hungary at Trianon, perhaps out of that eternal French anxiety for a German reprisal with the aid of Hungary. Placed between French punishment on the one hand and the rising tide of Pan-Slavism released by the organization of the Little Entente on the other, Hungary was forced to give up her traditional sympathies and to be thrown into the open and designing arms of Italy and Germany. Hungary thus sits today at the crossways of European politics, watching the course of events she cannot control and waiting for the hour when the fatal call comes again to her door. Still there is yet one way in which Hungary may be spared the trials of a modern warfare, and that is the attitude of Italy in the present conflict. Hungary will be bound to follow the policy that Italy may adopt, and this latter again depends upon the intentions of Soviet Russia. Hungary thus may be a helpless victim of the relentless game of Power Politics while her heart is craving for peace, and the admirable work of Magyar statesmen to build up a New Hungary may be eternally nipped in the bud. But will history provide another surprise on the banks of the Danube and the fondest hopes of the Magyar heart will be fulfilled without paying a bitter price for it ?

September 15, 1939

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THE SILK INDUSTRY IN INDIA

By Miss WAHIDA AZIZ

As in Hebrew so in Sanskrit, the greatest possible confusion exists as to the early names and synonyms that should be viewed as denoting silk. It is, therefore, probably not far from correct to affirm that all the undoubted references to mulberry silk, in early Hindu literature, speak of it as an important article and further that it is not until comparatively modern times that we have direct indications of a fairly extensive silk production in India.

Many writers have given a most graphic and poetic sketch of the classic reference to silk. Others have followed in their footsteps and given their versions of the same story, each advocating some special aspect of interest or stating the arguments in favour of a particular view. The study of the literature on this

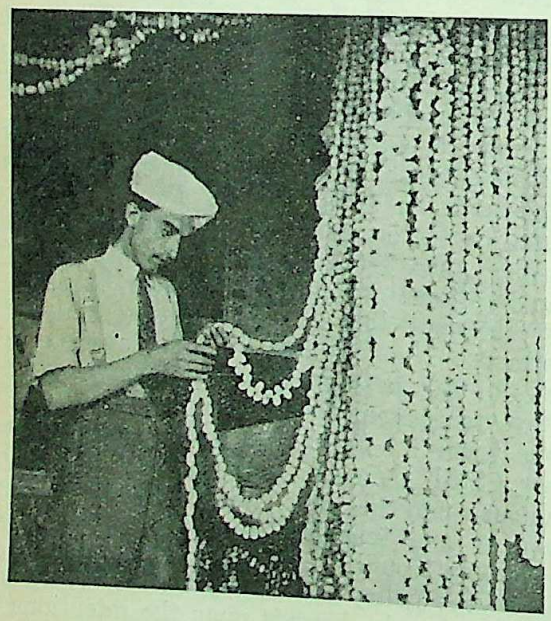

Photo : Wahida Aziz

The sericulturist examining the best quality of cocoons at the Exhibition at Srinagar, Kashmir, where the Government have set up a department

subject leaves one or two facts in one's mind as significant and instructive. For example, so far as the classic literature of Europe is concerned, silk came originally from Serice (China) and carried with it its Korean name *sir* (in some form or other) into the languages of the countries to which the fibre or its textiles were conveyed.

The cultivation of silk in Europe was established by the Emperor Justinian about the year 550 A.D. He introduced two monks to convey the eggs from China to Constantinople. From Greece it spread to Italy and later to France. The manufacture of silk in England, which dates from the time of Henry VI, received its greatest impetus through the Edict of Nantes in 1685, an Edict that drove many of the best workmen of France to take refuge in England where they established the silk industry of Spitalfields.

Introduction in India

Though the East India Company need not be viewed as having introduced mulberry silk cultivation into India, it was through their strenuous efforts that it became an established industry in the plains, and that an export trade was organized both in raw and manufactured silk. Silk was, doubtless, largely imported by land routes from China, long anterior to its production having been attempted. But it is significant that no absolutely certain reference to silk occurs in the Vedas. In the Mahabharata, silk is mentioned among the presents brought by the Chiefs of India to their Paramount Lord. But there is nothing to prove that these offerings were not imported silk or even textile derived from the *tassar* or other wild worms. It is thus by no means certain that such allusions prove the existence in India of an indigenous mulberry silk industry.

It is, however, quite possible and indeed highly probable that several attempts might have been made to introduce the mulberry silk industry into India long anterior to the systematic endeavours of the East India Company. It is believed that Manipur, from its very geographical position, might have had repeated intercharges with China, but the traffic between India and China was never, so far as it is known, conducted through that State. Manipur might easily have had, unknown to the rest of India, a mulberry silk industry many centuries before India proper received that insect. But it is interesting to note that nowhere

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ing the North-Western Frontier are there mulberry trees or the mulberry-feeding silk worm, except at Palampur, where the Punjab Government has now set up a centre for the production of silk in the Province.

Lastly, the comparative silence of historians, as also of monograph writers, on the

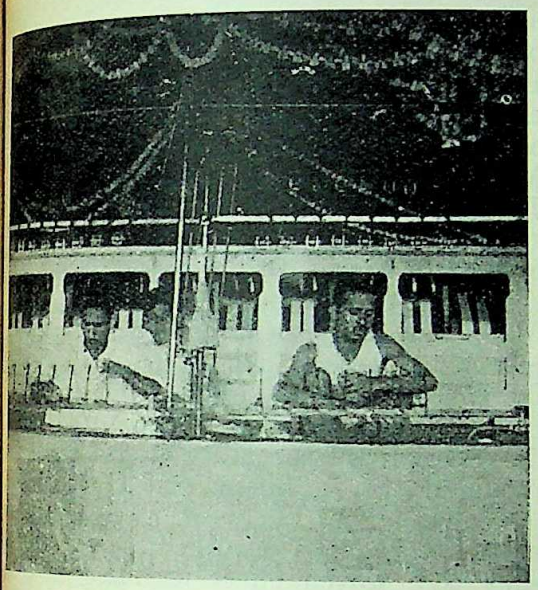

Photo : Wahida Aziz
Interior of the Government Silk Filature at Srinagar

ject of the efforts to introduce or extend the ivation of silk-worm, during the reigns of the ious Mohamedan dynasties in India, is to say least of it, remarkable and goes a very long y towards the conviction that until the ad- t of the East India Company mulberry silk ving was nowhere in India an important ustry.

Developments

Although the Chinese zealously preserved d guarded the secret of reeling silk from ions for a very long time, its spread was ritable. Slowly the art filtered into India re it thrived very rapidly first in the Assam- gal plain and in Kashmir; later on it ears that the plateau of Mysore imported k-worm from South China. Tippu Sultan is pularly believed to have introduced silk into e State of Mysore. But it is also probable t silk flourished on a modest scale before and that he only attempted to improve it. atever the case may be, the rearing of silk Mysore was found profitable and easy owing e favourable climate and soil and Mysore day the centre of some beautiful specimens silk produced in India.

The rearing of mulberry silk-worm is now mainly confined to Bangalore and the Kolar districts. The progress in Mysore Plateau has been so uniformly rapid that it is ranked to be the largest silk producing unit in the whole of India, producing about 50 per cent of the total production of raw silk, which is about 20 lakhs of pounds in normal times. Since this commodity played such an important role in the economic life of the people of the State, the Government always alert to industrial expansion, devoted considerable energy and time to the development of the silk industry. Research work in silk-worms and mulberry cultivation is being carried out almost incessantly to evolve new races and improved varieties of mulberry, and the Government granary supplies seeds free from disease to farmers and sericulturists at a nominal price. Several other methods have also been adopted for the production of silk of the best quality.

Similar attempts are now being made in Bengal, once the proud home of the silk industry, for improving its race and solving the knotty problems of its life. The Sericultural Section of the Bengal Department of Industries is making serious endeavour to improve it and the results obtained so far encourage the future to be viewed with reasonable optimism. The

Photo : Wahida Aziz
Silk twisting and warping

department has made a number of experiments to arrest the processes of decay and introduce more productive races of worms and improve the cultivation of mulberry—the staple food of the worms.

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As a result of research it has been made possible to raise a new multivoltine hybrid race (Italian) by crossing indigenous 'Nistari' with a superior Italian univoltine. It has large silk contents in the cocoon and longer and stronger silk filament. A few defects which have been discovered in this race are being studied and eliminated in order to make it fit for passing on to ordinary rearers.

Silk Fabrics

Silk fabrics, which are produced all over India, are of several kinds, but noted among them are the Tassar, Muga and Eri. The cloth, called 'Arrundee,' which is mistaken for silk, is neither made with cotton nor silk, but is a kind of herba spun by a worm that feeds upon the

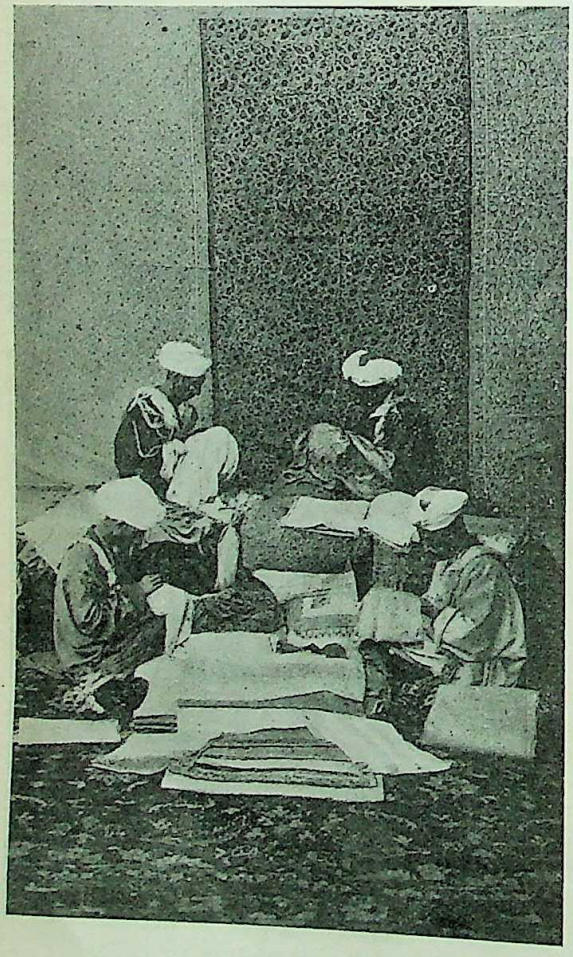

Photo : Wahida Aziz
Shawl embroidery which is a speciality of Kashmir. *Do-shallas* are the most popular

leaves of the tree, called 'Arrundee,' which bears a round prickly berry, of which oil is made.

From the artistic point of view the Muga silk is the most interesting, since it is the silk employed in many kinds of needlework and moreover, can be spun readily; while the Tassar is difficult to spin and Eri so exceedingly difficult that it is nearly always carded and spun.

In the United Provinces, where the silk is mainly used, it has several varieties, such as Kimkhab, Baftas, Amrus and Abrawans.

Amru silks are the speciality of Benares and are manufactured for persons whose purse will not allow them to procure Kimkhab or Bafta garments. In Europe they would be called brocades, but the line of separation between the Himrus of the Deccan and the Amrus of Benares is an extremely narrow one. The warp and weft in Himrus are usually specially prepared cottons or they may be cotton or both in wool with the special flower wefts in silk mainly, but occasionally also in cotton. Many of the Amrus produced in Benares have cotton or Tassar silk warp and the special flower weft is in imported cotton yarn of a fine quality.

Sangi is the speciality of Azamgarh, though produced also in Jalaun and Allahabad and to some extent in Lucknow as well. The wavy pattern (*khanjari*) worked across the Sangi silks is a woven effect produced in order to imitate Mashru of warp tie-dyed fabrics. They are either woven of pure silk or Tassar and cotton mixed, the warp being as a rule coarse and the weft fine.

Gulbadans are largely used by Hindus, and also, when mixed silk and cotton, by Mohammedans. They are made at Aligarh and have mostly red ground with wavy lines in white and green. The Ilachia silk is made at Agra, and differs from the Doriyas of Azamgarh and Bulandshahr in quality only, the Ilachia being closer and finely woven.

In the Punjab,—Multan, Bahawalpur and Derajats are famous for their *shiya-khow* which remind to some extent the *jamewars* of Kashmir and the Deccan.

Kashmir promises of a future greatness in the silk production. Its chief manufactures in fabrics are the famous *do-shallas* and squares shawls. One conception runs through them all, namely, the Persian 'cone' or 'flame' pattern which is often spoken of as Kashmir shawl pattern. Some of these shawls are manufactured in silk with floral designs (butees) and round the corners, or sometimes in the middle. They are of two varieties, *shah-pasand* or *khaka*, the latter being cheap and for ordinary use. The more costly ones have graceful sprays of poppies with flowers shown in side view, full face view, and also in bud; the crumpling

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the petals being indicated by a mottling of blue and red colourings.

Silk is also manufactured in most towns the Bombay Presidency, but with the exception of Bombay, Ahmedabad, Surat, Poona, Nasik, and Thana, the goods turned out meet a purely local demand. More recently and taking advantage of the cheap return freights from China, power loom mills have been established that turn out a large amount of the spun silk goods that are sent to Burma. These mills also meet, to some extent, the special demands of the Presidency and have doubtless undersold the handloom goods of the cheaper kind.

THE FUNCTIONS OF THE INSPECTORATE IN ENGLAND

By SAMARENDRA NATH DAS, B.A., T.D. (Cantab), M.R.S.T.

"The general sufficiency and efficiency of the inspectorate of vital importance to the well-being of education."

In India inspectors are bugbears. Even at the present time the inspector's visit strikes terror in the schools. Teachers think that the function of the inspector is to find fault with everything in general and to send a long report of adverse nature to the Education Department. The same attitude also prevailed in England not fifty years ago. But since then the scope and character of the inspection have greatly changed with the wider conception of the office of education.

The State inspection of schools in England dates from 1839. In June 1839, the newly appointed Committee of Council on Education announced that all future building grants would carry the right of inspection. The inspector, whose he was to see that public money was properly spent, would abstain from any interference with the instruction, management and discipline of the school. Dr. Kay's (afterwards Sir James Kay-Shuttleworth) theory of the inspector's task was that he should help the teachers and managers to achieve better things. He would be an adviser, and helpful rather than critical. The theory that inspector's duty is to find fault belongs to a later date. Thus up till 1862, the work of the inspectors was constructive and really educational.

That year a great change came in the educational system. The report of the New-castle Commission (1858-61) under the presidentship of the Duke of New-Castle appeared in 1861. They reported that the increasing public grants should be shared by the local authorities, that elementary subjects were imperfectly taught, and that instruction was generally both too ambitious and too superficial, neglecting the education of the younger children. To remedy these defects the Commissioners recommended that Government grants would be paid on the basis of average attendance, and attainments of scholars in the annual examination to be conducted by the inspectors. Thus the inspectors came to be a body of examiners and the attitude towards the inspectors was thus changed. They became the natural enemies of the teachers.

The establishment of the School Boards by the Act of 1870 necessitated the appointment of technical advisers, and the London and other school boards engaged inspectors of their own. The inspectoral function, however, was still dominated by the system of payment by results; so the main work of the school board inspectors still remained to be holding of interim examinations.

In 1890 the Education Department took a bold step in abolishing the system of payment by results and by 1894 the schools had become free from the incubus. Naturally the inspectors, both Government and local, gradually changed their function from holding examination to one of advising and supervising the working of schools.

But even up to the present days there still lingers some of the dread which attached to the inspector's visit fifty years ago. This is due more to the lack of real knowledge of the inspector's function, which every teacher should know.

The inspectors are civil servants. They are called His Majesty's Inspectors (H.M.I.), when they possess the full rank. H.M.I. is responsible for a "district," that is for inspecting all schools that are elementary, if he is assigned to the elementary branch; or secondary or technological, if he belongs to one of these

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other branches; for cookery and laundry centres if a woman inspector appointed for that purpose. There are also nine Divisional Inspectors whose business is to co-ordinate the work of all the branches and to exercise general supervision. There is also a Chief Inspector of each of the principal types of education with a chief woman Inspector. In addition there are staff Inspectors for special subjects and for the training of teachers. The Welsh inspectorate is a separate organization.

The main duty of H. M. I. is to know his schools and his district with its good points and its necessities. This means some adjudication of the teaching as well as the machinery of organization in them, but not now an annual set investigation with an annual report. By his personal experience and training and by the well-established tradition of the service he is anxious to see his schools following good methods of teaching and improving; in this capacity he is an adviser and councillor more than a critic.

Some of the large L.E.A.'s, like London, Birmingham, Manchester and Liverpool, employ a corps of inspectors of their own, and the Board's staff is correspondingly reduced and devotes itself more to general problems. But elsewhere the Board's inspectors work for the L.E.A.'s. Elementary schools are inspected once in three years. There are infrequent (usually every five years) but regular full inspections in Secondary Schools and Schools under Higher Education Committees. The schools are carefully inspected by experts in various subjects as well as by the district inspector, and detailed reports are sent through the Board to the L.E.A.'s or Governing Bodies. The report deals not only with the organization of the school and discusses how far it fulfils its declared object, but also gives an opportunity for the consideration of the curriculum and the best ways of dealing with it. Such full inspections and reports are rare in elementary schools. Of course, sometimes wider enquiries are made on the teaching of some subjects in a number of schools, or on some problems of general importance.

Apart from routine inspections, H.M.I. may report to the Board on some striking instance of neglect in dealing with defects or inadequacy of the staff. But for the most part H.M.I. acts as adviser both to teachers and L.E.A. (Local Education Authority) and as a disseminator of new ideas. He has the duty of advising teachers and helping them to solve any problem of organization or curriculum which might arise. In particular, in remote schools his visits give the teacher a chance of discussing difficulties and experiences. In the matter of school apparatus, suitable text-books and time-table, etc., he is able to contribute the benefit of his own experience. The usual procedure is to have a conference with the head teacher so that together they can discuss to arrive at some practical solution of difficulties. His position is one who watches over the interests of children, to see that they are being taught under decent and healthy conditions and are not neglected.

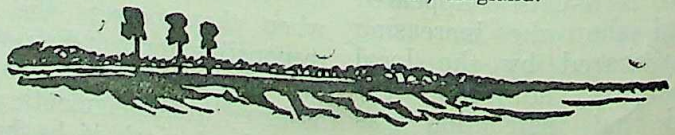
The inspector has also certain minor duties. When a teacher is appointed for the first time the Board do not accept him or her as a recognized teacher, until they are satisfied with the teacher's practical efficiency. Generally the teacher is first appointed on a year's probation. During the year, the district inspector visits the teacher concerned and reports on his or her teaching ability.

Another duty of the inspector is to check school registers as school grants and head teacher's salaries are graded according to average attendance.

The collection and compilation of various types of data is also one of the duties of the inspectors. He collects such things as the number of children ready for transference from the junior to the senior schools, or the time allocated to different types of schools, etc. These types of information are of great importance to the Board itself and the Consultative Committee which discusses various educational problems from time to time.

There is also a sphere of the inspector's activities which is comparatively little known. Towards him flows a perpetual stream of references on all sorts of matters relating to schools, teachers, children, accommodation, incompetence or promotion of teachers, rebuilding, etc., technical questions requiring not only a comprehensive knowledge of education but a very close acquaintance with a district.

Leeds, England.



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BLINDNESS IN INDIA

By Dr. B. G. GHATE, ph.d. (Econ.) (London)

Inspite of the fact that blindness is one of the major infirmities in India and that the blind population of India cannot be less than eight lakhs,* the magnitude of the problem of the blind has not attracted the public attention it deserves.

Although the census reports attempt to estimate the number of persons suffering from some of the main infirmities, the census returns in respect of infirmities are always far from satisfactory. Mistakes or omissions arise due to various causes, such as, intentional suppression, unintentional omissions and imperfect diagnosis; and as the Census Report for 1931 points out,

"Enumerators cannot be expected to add medical diagnosis to their limited capacity to record facts."

This is the case not only in India but in other countries also, so that there is a growing feeling amongst statisticians that enquiries into physical and mental disabilities should not be undertaken with the population census.

The desirability of excluding infirmity returns from the Indian Census was considered in 1921 and again in 1931, but it was decided that,

"In the absence of more reliable data from other sources, the census returns would at least afford some basis for an estimate of the true numbers in the light of the differences between the figures obtained from local surveys and the census returns for the same areas."

The figures relating to some of the main infirmities in India are, therefore, available to us and their importance, however crude and inaccurate they may be, cannot be ignored. The following table shows the number of persons suffering from the four main infirmities in India :

The Number of Persons Affected
(*Figures are in thousands*)

Infirmity	1901	1911	1921	1931
Dumbness ..	66	81	88	121
Blindness ..	153	200	190	231
Lunacy ..	97	109	103	148
Leprosy ..	354	444	480	602

These figures do not by themselves furnish any conclusive proof as to the increase or decrease in the incidence of infirmity in India. The swollen figures for 1931 may represent a real increase in the total number of the infirm, but they are very largely due to better methods of organising the census and also of recording the infirmity returns. But since every infirmity return is an understatement of the true state of affairs, it would be safe to assume that the total number of the blind in 1938 could not be less than 8 lakhs. The figure of eight lakhs may not convey any definite notion of the magnitude of the extent of blindness to a layman; but it is an alarming figure in the sense that, if all the blind men in India were to be brought together, they would form a population of the size of the city of Madras or of two cities of the size of Lahore and Delhi or three cities of the size of Nagpur, Cawnpore, Benares, Lucknow, Poona or Allahabad.

Moreover, a blind man must live and if he has to live, he must be fed and clothed. It is unfortunately true that a large number of the blind in India are beggars. Assuming, therefore, that the minimum average expense of feeding and clothing the blind beggar along with the comparatively well-to-do blind man is about Rs. 5 per month or about Rs. 60 per year, the total expense involved in maintaining the blind population of India cannot be very much less than 480 lakhs or five crores. This sum is almost equivalent to the total revenue of the Government of C. P. & Berar or twice the revenue of the Province of Assam. Viewed as such, the problem of the blind in India is an enormous problem.

The tragedy of blindness is further heightened by the fact that the incidence of blindness increases with an increase in age. Whereas the deaf-mutes are generally so born, it is comparatively rare that a child is born blind. The following table shows how the number of the blind per 10,000 of the blind population increases with age :

The Distribution of 10,000 of the Infirm by Age
Insanity

Age	Number per 10,000 according to age	Percentage variation over the preceding age group
0-5	325	....
5-10	1136	+231
10-15	1522	+ 34
15-20	1945	+ 27
20-25	1942	Nil.
25-30	2137	+ 10
30-35	2350	+ 9
35-40	2310	Nil.
40-45	2076	— 11
45-50	1826	— 10
50-55	1356	— 22
55-60	1071	— 25

* The figure of eight lakhs errs on the side of under estimation, and various estimates put forward range from eight lakhs to 35 lakhs.

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DEAF-MUTISM

Age	Number per 10,000 according to age	Percentage variation over the preceding age group
0-5	1098	....
5-10	2598	+145
10-15	2722	+ 48
15-20	2082	— 23
20-25	2099	— 1
25-30	1806	— 14
30-35	1582	— 12
35-40	1250	— 12
40-45	1086	— 21
45-50	810	— 13
50-55	832	— 25
55-60	572	— 30

BLINDNESS

Age	Number per 10,000 according to age	Percentage variation over the preceding age group
0-5	500	....
5-10	764	+ 53
10-15	846	+ 11
15-20	784	— 9
20-25	856	+ 9
25-30	923	+ 7
30-35	959	+ 4
35-40	1150	+ 17
40-45	1246	+ 8
45-50	1546	+ 24
50-55	1699	+ 10
55-60	2018	+ 15

The figures for the age-group 0 to 5 years cannot be regarded as at all reliable, because parents will not openly mention an infirmity, hoping always that the child may improve when it gets older. Nor can deaf-mutism or insanity be properly compared with blindness, since both of these infirmities are more or less congenital. But the following figures for blindness show clearly that the number of persons born blind is comparatively insignificant and that blindness is essentially an infirmity of the grown-up :

DISTRIBUTION OF BLINDNESS AT BIRTH OR DURING THE FIRST YEAR

Age	Total Blind	Percentage to the Total
0-1	1,547	0.25
1 onwards	599,823	99.75
All-Ages	601,370	100·00

The very fact that the incidence of blindness increases with age shows that if proper care is bestowed on any kind of eye-trouble, much of the blindness can be prevented. The average Indian has many difficulties in obtaining expert medical aid, but it is also true that his ignorance and apathy to eye complaints is also an important cause of much of the blindness. This is borne out by the following figures which show that after the ages of twenty-five onwards, the number of females who are blind increases in a much greater proportion than the males :

THE DISTRIBUTION OF BLINDNESS BY AGE AND SEX

Age	Males	Blind men per 100,000 of the male population in each age group	Females	Blind females per 100,000 of the female population in each age group
0-5	8,443	30	6,419	23
5-10	13,443	56	9,167	41
10-15	14,359	65	9,708	51
15-20	13,375	83	9,875	62
20-25	14,228	89	11,064	65
25-30	14,343	96	13,198	90
30-35	14,236	101	14,435	110
35-40	16,142	133	18,357	184
40-45	17,310	173	20,097	227
45-50	20,830	260	25,655	380
50-55	21,363	356	26,720	534
55-60	25,825	645	35,009	875
60-65	26,168	870	35,470	1,180
65-70	20,038	1,000	25,442	1,270
70 and over.	43,705	2,000	55,323	2,500

That blindness should increase with age and that females should be more prone to this infirmity than males shows that blindness is closely associated with social conditions in India. Lt.-Colonel Wright who read a paper at the recent Ophthalmological Conference in Cairo maintained that

"the prevention of blindness in India and the East is not a medical problem but a social, economic and financial one."

Every evidence at our disposal goes to corroborate this view. The number of the blind in the middle class and in European communities is infinitely smaller than in the poorer communities. Bad nutrition, lack of proper care during the beginning of eye trouble, intense glare of the sun and sandy soil are largely responsible for blindness in India. The incidence of this infirmity is the greatest in those areas where the soil is sandy and barren and in those areas which are subject to frequent dust storms. The following figures show that the province of Ajmer and Merwara tops the list for blindness; similarly Rajputana, Sind, the Punjab and parts of C. P. and Berar have the largest number of the blind per 100,000 of the population, whereas Bengal, Travancore, Mysore and such areas as have more of green pastures and less of sand are comparatively free from blindness.

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TABLE SHOWING THE NUMBER OF THE BLIND PER 100,000 OF THE POPULATION

Area	Number of Blind per 100,000 of population in 1931
...-Merwara	386
...ern India States	395
...ras	329
...ted Provinces	291
...jab	245
...P. and Berar	273
...ma	131
...ore	100
...W. F. P.	102
...ancore	61
...gal	73
...India	172

The chief tragedy of blindness in India is ...t much of it could have been avoided. It ...not yet sufficiently realised that many of the ...d of all ages are curable and that to a very ...t extent blindness is preventible. The ...age Indian often fails to realise that ...ected eye trouble may result in partial or ...l blindness and is unwilling to avail himself ...ven the few medical facilities that are at ...disposal. One of the most important single ...es of blindness is cataract and cataract is ...tially a curable disease. The census ...ts for the Punjab and Bengal show that ...g 1921 to 1931—170 and 26 thousand ...essful operations were performed respec-...y in these provinces and on the basis of ...e figures, it is not unlikely that at least a ...of people are being saved annually from ...ness in India. Yet much remains to be ...; the average man has yet to be taught ...the only cure for cataract lies in a surgical ...ation. This can be achieved through ...aganda and education. Then every pro-...e will have to start separate eye hospitals. ...e general government hospital today is ...dy too much over-worked and a separate ...hospital would be infinitely more effective ...fight against blindness.

The work of spreading the elementary ...ns of visual hygiene will have to be done ...ocal bodies, schools and colleges. In those ...s where primary education has been made ...pulsory, the school teacher could achieve a ...t deal by sending a partially blind pupil to ...nearest hospital. Similarly children could be taught to have an eye bath daily, just as they are taught to clean their teeth. Local bodies could provide medicines for minor eye troubles, warn the public against the dangers of inflammation in the eyes and eye sores. The houses could be properly ventilated and above all, people suffering from serious eye trouble could be advised to see an expert as soon as possible.

Expert medical opinion today holds the view that the prevention of blindness is no longer so much a medical problem as an economic and social one. This aspect of the problem was stressed again and again by successive speakers at the recent international Ophthalmological Conference held in Cairo; and it was generally held that although scientific investigation had not yet solved all the problems associated with eye disease, it was nevertheless possible to carry through a preventive campaign with a considerable measure of success by attempting to eliminate the social and economic causes of blindness.

Moreover, it should be realised that a blind man's life is not only a source of prolonged misery to himself but also to all those who are responsible for his welfare. From an economic point of view also a blind man's existence is likely to be wasted. This is particularly the case in India where there are few facilities for training the blind; the society as a whole is responsible for its blind and every attempt should be made to start more blind schools and infirmaries. As it is, unorganized and traditional charity is doing a great deal to support the eight lakhs of our blind population, but much more useful work could be achieved through an organized association for the relief and training of the blind.

Thus the problem of blindness is a two-fold problem; whereas it is important to prevent further blindness it is equally important to provide for the well-being of those who are already blind. This is essentially a task for the educated public and if only they would take more interest in the prevention of blindness and the training of those who are already blind, we can greatly reduce the immense suffering of those who are doomed to a life of perpetual darkness and despair.

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HERE AND NOW

By CYRIL MODAK

The dualism of the European tradition has its roots in ancient Greece and Rome. Christianity could not escape from this dualistic mode of thought which is responsible for many antics of interpretation. These antics were a direct reaction to the demands of power, either political or economic. Slaves had be converted and yet soothed and kept from rebelling against their brutal masters and the brutal system which blessed slavery. Subject peoples had to be converted and yet mollified and kept from openly revolting against the tyranny of their rulers and the insane system of imperialism. European Christianity achieved the impossible by its antics of interpretation. At every revolutionary point of Christ's teachings an other-worldly construction served to silence the dispossessed, absolve the rich and powerful, and put the seal of divine approval on the *status quo*.

Thus all the inequalities between man and man, the gross inequalities of social status and economic advantages, of opportunities for training and advancement and choice of vocation, cunning inequalities proposed by the selfishness of man, were exalted as the dictates of the will of God. And the dazzling consolation offered was that man's earthly life was a brief probation for eternal life where earthly suffering would be rewarded by shining joy, where earthly poverty would be rewarded by flashing crowns, where earthly frustrations and disappointments would find delectable satisfaction. Riches were sneered at in the presence of the poor. All the privileges and advantages that animate men to strive against odds were treated with scorn in the presence of the unprivileged. This world's goods were theoretically derided. And all the time the rich grabbed at riches and the privileged safeguarded their privileges. The tide of discontentment was stemmed by a wall built by priests, with many texts, the key-stone of which probably was :

> "Get treasure in heaven that never fails, that no thief can get at, no moth destroy. For where your treasure lies, your heart will lie there too," (Luke : XII. 33-34).

But does the "heaven" of this verse refer to the Hereafter, some bright and happy abode beyond the clouds filled with refulgent seraphims and dulcet harps? It is only beyond the grave that moths do not destroy nor thieves break in and steal. It is amazing and a little perplexing that so many sermons can be found on this verse with an other-worldly interpretation. The context of the verse, which is not questioned by the most authoritative scholars, makes a "heavenly" explanation quite exotic and somewhat quixotic! The preceding verse ends by saying, "fear not little flock, it is your Father's good pleasure to give you the Kingdom". Surely, few progressive men and women today seriously doubt that the "Kingdom of God" implies God's divine order here and now, on this planet of ours convulsed with war and hate and misery, for it is here that it is needed. It is here that Jesus came to establish the New Order based on co-operation, love, and mutual sharing. The Hebrew prophetic tradition had never visualised a "Kingdom of God" somewhere beyond the grave but realistically on this earth. Those to whom Jesus addressed his message of "the Kingdom of God" were trained by Hebraic prophecy to understand nothing 'but the New Israel on earth,' God's New Covenant with the Jews here on earth. The Jewish prophetic consciousness hardly ever thought of "immortality," but did envisage the "Kingdom of heaven" here and now, in a thoroughly "this-worldly" sense. As that keen thinker Prof. John Macmurray, says :

> "It is the absence of contrast between this world and another world, between the spiritual and the material, between the ideal and the actual, which is characteristic of the Hebrew religious culture." (*Clue To History*, 31).

Having thus assured his hearers of God's will and desire to bestow His New Order upon men here and now, would Jesus, in the next verse, take a sportive sommersault, for no reason save perverse self-gratification, and tell the same hearers that they should turn their gaze towards the land of shades? Would he not have been like carrying on secret propaganda against God? It would have amounted to this : "God desires that the present world order be replaced by His New Order; but, look here, you must not do anything about

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you must have an other-worldly hope and put your faith in heaven. That is how you can hasten God's designs of bringing His Kingdom on earth." Does this seem reasonable? And yet this is in effect what other-worldly constructions and expositions come to mean. Many eminent Christians, commended for their piety and evangelical fervour, have nevertheless spent their lives ardently promulgating just such a serious interpretation. And it has borne undesirable fruit.

Let us turn to the succeeding verse. Jesus says his hearers:

"Keep your loins girt and your lamps lit and be like men who are waiting for their lord and master to return from a wedding banquet."

Granting for the moment that Jesus was in an escapist mood, and had just previously admonished his audience to lay up treasures in "heaven," because on this wretched earth thieves break in and steal, would it not be totally incoherent, then, for him to urge the same audience to keep themselves in vigilant readiness, to be ever on the *qui vive* for the arrival of their Lord and Master? Or did he mean that they should gird their loins and keep their lamps lit in the dim distant, romantic Hereafter? This is what he would logically have meant if he had used "heaven" to denote the Hereafter. Surely, he was not in an escapist and a playful mood to confuse his eager, unsophisticated hearers many of whom hung on every word of him. He was not playing ducks and drakes with this paramount issue. He was appealing to his audience not to relax the morale of the New Order, here and now. He wanted them to keep themselves in readiness for the divine Commonwealth not in "heaven" but on this same earth which would become as good as heaven, being radically transformed.

The only reasonable view, therefore, which does justice to the sanity and consistency of Jesus, seems to be to take the verse we have been considering not by itself but in its context. It is of a piece with the other verses, deeply steeped in realism. "Heaven" implies "Kingdom of heaven" upon earth; the projection into the future of this world's systems of the divine principles. This world full of evil and suffering and ugliness transformed by the motivating power of the divine Commonwealth into "heaven"—where God's will is done *en* earth.

From this point of view, what did Jesus mean by saying:

"Get yourselves treasure in heaven that never fails, that no thief can get at and no moth destroy, for where your treasure lies, your heart will lie there also"?

This is perhaps the strongest direct appeal that Jesus made to men and women to invest their hopes and aspirations, their energy and time, their possessions and attainments in the divine Commonwealth, for the common good. He tells them not to be afraid or nervous, because God has willed the Commonwealth for mankind by putting the principle of community into the very foundation of life, by making love, justice, and equality, the structural principles of reality. He urges them to recognize their part in this great drama of realizing God's Plan, and to throw themselves heart and soul into playing their part well. And with a fine sense of humour he adds that the common purse does not wear out as purses of private ownership do; and that the dangers that beset the old order, the Kingdom of Mammon, have no power against man's investments in the true Community.

If we hold dear the things that pertain to self, if the most precious things in the world for us are our position, wealth, fame, power, and gratification, we shall quite naturally strain every muscle to achieve our purpose. If our treasure lies in the scientific realm we shall invest our best in that realm and find our greatest happiness in working on scientific problems. If our treasure lies in the field of literature or art, we shall spare ourselves no sacrifice, no effort, no expense to get our object. But if our treasure lies in the divine Commonwealth, we shall spontaneously give our best time and energy, our all to the actualizing of this New Order for humanity. Our interests, our attention, our effort are enlisted by the persuasive force of our emotions. What we desire most we most work for. "Where your treasure lies, your heart will lie there also."

This is simple enough. But there are complications, simple and complex. A simple complication arises from the fact that our treasure lies in two or more conflicting realms. Naturally we are divided. Our interests, our attention, and our effort cannot fuse into a single flame. There are contradictions in our lives. And these contradictions are not antitheses held consciously at a point of tension impelling us to higher and larger syntheses. They are contradictions which sap our energy and make us weak-willed, wavering between the two realms in which our treasure is buried. There are many people, for example, who have

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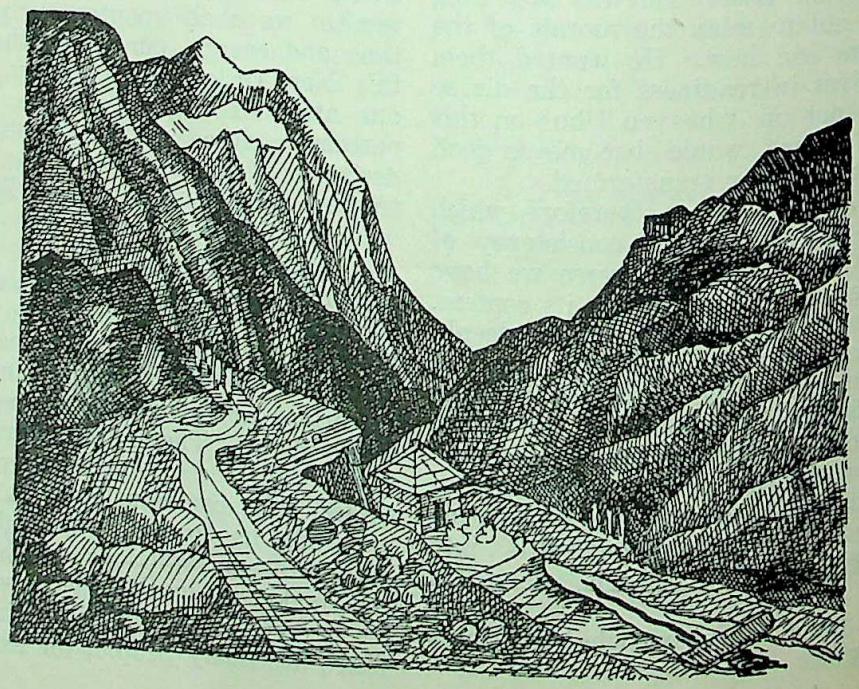
part of their treasure in the realm of brotherhood and part of it in the realm of racialism. And it leads to a very fantastic contradiction. They are deeply interested in brotherhood which implies love; which in turn implies equality; which again implies liberty. They speak about brotherhood, and even work for it. But they are also deeply interested in their race. And the moment this brotherhood demands that they give up some racial convention, myth, or privilege, there is sudden conflict. And often racialism claims their heart. The few who have all their treasure in the realm of brotherhood serve to offer a telling contrast.

On the other hand, a complex complication arises because some of us have part of our treasure in "heaven" and the other part on "earth." We profess to hold dear the spiritual needs of people as well as their physical needs. We claim that we want individuals to have a change of heart and be saved and we also want society to be re-made and redeemed. So far so good. But the vicious dualism that compels us to use conjunctions like "as well as" and "also" leads us astray the moment people claim economic justice, social equality, and political emancipation. The conflict that sets in expresses itself, in many instances, in a facile emphasis on the "spiritual," the "other worldly" to the gradual exclusion of the "material." We escape from this contradiction by turning Jesus' Gospel of the Commonwealth into our Gospel of the Individual. We distract the attention of those w demand social and economic and politi justice by drawing all kinds of red herri across the path of their vision. We succe in postponing the coming of the New Age; a pat ourselves on the back for serving the ca so ably, and incidentally in keeping safe a well-preserved.

Therefore, Jesus made such a str unequivocal appeal to men and women commit themselves unconditionally to revolutionizing of the present order, which often lays a premium on morality, and riding rough-shod over human values destr spiritual values. He wanted us to invest all in the true community of man, the div Commonwealth, in which men and women wo find the brotherhood that is, and can be, logical and moral derivative of the Fatherh of God; in which men and women would f love, the law of life, and therefore right relati with the normal habit, in which war wo become obsolete, and murderous competiti would be outlawed; in which men and wom would discover the indivisible wholeness sanctity of life and know that the integrity communion with God is determined by integration of the community of man. that way lies opposition, persecution, betray and the Cross. That way also goes the Ma still yearning for man's emancipation, carrying the Cross we shirk to bear. Will dare to follow him or choose the seduc bye-paths of compromise?



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INDIA'S KEY INDUSTRIES AND THE WAR

By H. C. MOOKERJEE, M.A., Ph.D.,

Head of the Department of English & Fellow, Calcutta University; Member, Legislative Assembly, Bengal; President, All-India Conference of Indian Christians.

The whole aspect of modern civilization is undergoing a swift change, for everything is yielding place to industry. Hence the close connection between politics and economics. The modern state has not only made itself responsible for internal peace and external defence, but also for such things as universal education, public health, development of natural resources, encouragement of industrial enterprises and protection against foreign competition. If India is ever to become a modern state in this case, she requires nationalization of her government.

History tells us that the British came to India to secure industrial and commercial advantages and that they gradually conquered the country and established their political control over it in order to facilitate and perpetuate the enjoyment of these advantages. When the British first arrived in India, the policy of all Western countries including Britain was to make their colonies and dependencies producers of raw materials at the cheapest possible rates and purchasers of finished products. It cannot be said that this policy has disappeared altogether even now.

The next stage was reached when the administration was taken over by the Crown from the East India Company. During this period, indigenous industrial enterprise did not receive any support from Government. British commercial, industrial and financial interests which had, to all intents and purposes, established a monopoly were also left alone. Then came the Great War when at last the British Government realized that it was to its interest to encourage the development of indigenous industry.

The economic policy followed so far has produced the following effects on the economic life of India. Wadia and Joshi in their *Wealth of India* have said that India has been "drained" of her wealth to the extent of Rs. 60 crores a year without corresponding return in any form. Granting for the sake of argument that the figures are correct and also that a fraction of this amount is re-invested in India, there is no doubt that no country, however rich, can afford to be deprived of even half this amount for more than a century and a half without being overtaken by abject poverty. Another regrettable result has been the decline of indigenous arts and crafts. There is not the slightest doubt that many of these would have found themselves unable to stand foreign competition but a free India would have at least taken steps in time to modernize and improve at least some of them. Their disappearance would have called forth action much sooner from Indians than from non-Indians. Lastly, modern industries have not developed in India with sufficient rapidity. This is because they have to meet the rivalry of British industries which, on account of the influence they wield both in India and in England, have been able to create facilities for importing their finished products. The imposition of the excise duty on cotton manufactures is an instance in point. Its effects are so well-known that it is needless for me to dilate on them here. Then there is the almost monopolistic control of most of the "key" industries by the British which too, has played no small part in retarding the development of indigenous industries. We all know how Indian efforts in the direction of inland and coastal shipping have either totally failed or are still struggling mainly because of the war carried on against them by non-Indian interests. Similarly, railways, tramways, irrigation, gas and electricity works organized and controlled by non-Indians have deprived the people of this country from enjoying opportunities of acquiring knowledge and experience in modern industry and our political backwardness has deprived us of our legitimate chances of producing them in larger numbers.

During the last war, when shortage of war materials in India due to difficulties of transport, made itself felt, the British Government came to realise the mistake it had made by not encouraging key industries in our land. The impetus given by war conditions encouraged industrial enterprise. The organisation of Depart-

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ments of Industry in the different provinces and legislation for giving State aid to industries also helped forward this tendency. The Indian Fiscal Commission of 1921-22 recommended protection for those industries which have a national importance and which without it cannot be expected to be developed to such an extent as to be able to meet world competition. This policy was carried out when the Steel Industry (Protection) Act was passed in 1924. This was followed by legislation on similar lines in other directions.

It must, however, be stated that it does not seem likely that the industrial policy followed up to the present is likely to result in any real improvement in the economic condition of our masses. And the reasons for this opinion are that India has not as yet attained either political or economic autonomy. An All-India policy for developing the economic prosperity of our masses has to be framed, a policy the only aim of which will be to look to our interests from first to last. Up to the present India has, for all practical purposes, been the supplier of raw materials and the buyer of finished products. The adoption of this short-sighted policy has not only been highly detrimental to the economic well-being of India but it has also indirectly made Britain a loser by lowering India's purchasing power. And the longer this process continues, the worse it will be for both India and Britain. It is also probable that the real cause of much of the political unrest is due to the bad economic conditions under which the people are living.

It must not, however, be forgotten that about 80 per cent of the population of England which is urbanised depends directly or indirectly on industry, that in order to save them from starvation, Britain must find out an outlet for her manufactured products and that, with a marked increase in the intensity of competition in the world markets, her best market is India. To keep India as the producer and supplier of raw materials and the purchaser of her manufactured products which was her policy in the past continues more or less, to be her policy today probably because this has been forced on her by the present world circumstances. It is useless to criticise or to blame Britain for she has got to live just as we have got to live. Under these circumstances, the best thing for us in India is to safeguard our interests as much as possible by organising our industries and controlling them for the good of India as a whole. There will naturally be a certain clash of economic interests but I firmly believe in the possibility of an adjustment to our mutual advantage.

India demands freedom to shape her economic destinies in her own way and to her benefit primarily. She cannot but believe that any attempt to control India's fiscal matters and foreign affairs is due to the desire to utilise her for the benefit of Britain. India cannot forget that every soul in Great Britain has four or more non-Europeans to supply his economic needs.

We have further the very well-known broadcast of Winston Churchill in which he informed his countrymen that the high standard of comfort of British labour is the direct consequence of the economic subjection of non-Europeans. That is why India has all along demanded economic freedom with all its implications and this is one reason why economists and publicists who are national in their outlook have condemned the federal part of the Government of India Act, 1935. Rightly or wrongly, they feel that many of its provisions seek to rivet closer India's chain of economic subjection to Britain.

National India feels that to secure complete development of her industries, India must be her own mistress and must be absolutely free to formulate her own industrial policy. Her economic subjection when she was utilised primarily for the benefit of non-Indians, must be a thing of the past. The historical connection between Britain and India which has now subsisted for more than a century and a half and the close financial and commercial relations between these two countries are worth preserving and continuing but the price demanded must not be too high. The future relationship between these two countries must be entered into on the basis of perfect equality and reciprocity.

After this brief and very inadequate resume of the miserably backward condition of our industries, I propose to consider the difficulties with which we are faced today on account of the outbreak of war in Europe and which, in my opinion, are due to our lack of the heavy and key industries in our motherland. In order to save time, I intend to confine my remarks to three items only—the first, concerned with the problem of transport, the second, with the question of the supply of Indian manufactured goods in daily use by the civilian population of India and the third and last, with our industrial contribution to the successful prosecution of the war.

It is not generally known that metre gauge locomotives have been manufactured for some

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in the railway workshops of the Bombay, da and Central India Railway at Ajmere. late, there has been a falling-off in the nd for these metre gauge locomotives of railway system and the authorities viewed dismay the dismissal of a large labour . There are metre gauge railway systems other parts of India but, under the then ing legislation, the B. B. & C. I. Railway not permitted to manufacture and supply motives to these railways which had to hase these from outside India. Reporting he 10th August, 1939, *Associated Press* stated Parliament had recently passed legislation emove this ban and that orders for different s of metre gauge locomotives had been or being placed with the workshops by the m-Bengal Railway, the Bengal and North-ern Railway and the North-Western Rail-. It also added that these orders would the workshops fully employed up to mber, 1941.

This surely vindicates the pertinacity dis-d by the Indian nationalists in pressing e manufacture of locomotives inside India. but natural to infer that if metre gauge otives are being manufactured in India, l be quite possible to manufacture the broad e type provided we have properly equipped hops, trained engineers, etc.

ational India has all along pressed for the facture of locomotives in India. The reply overnment has all along been that this d not be a commercially successful proposi-Sir Zafrullah Khan who was the member ailways stated some time ago in the Cen-Assembly that locomotives could not be factured profitably unless India could use omotives on the average every year. He said that Government was prepared to start ory on an experimental basis to meet a d for 50 to 60 locomotives every year but, not likely that even this number would quired. Members of the Opposition who refully studied this question quoted facts gures to prove that there were factories India which produced not more than 50 locomotives every year and which were ble to earn profits. They also proved that emand in India would probably exceed 60 locomotives every year.

the course of a debate in the Central ature it was suggested by no less a person Sir Henry Gidney that British vested in-stood in the way of the acceptance of olicy by Government. He is reported to d on one occasion :

"I regret to say that even retired members of the Railway Board have become representatives of locomotive manufacturers in England and Europe and have come out to this country to secure orders."

The next stage was reached when the standing Finance Committee for Railways met at Delhi in April last. This was followed by a second meeting held in the following July. The decision finally reached was that the construction of broad gauge locomotives in one of the existing Railway workshops in India suitably extended, modified and equipped with the necessary additional machinery and plant and expert supervision, is not likely to prove unremunerative. They have accordingly proposed to appoint two officers on special duty, a Mechanical Engineer and a Finance Officer, to examine such a scheme in full detail and to prepare the estimates of expenditure involved in the necessary extension and additional machinery in one of the State Railway workshops, to estimate the probable cost of manufacturing locomotives therein and to compare it with the market prices.

May not one enquire what would happen if during the present War, which may drag on for the next three or even four years, we need a large number of locomotives and if an adequate supply is not available either on account of transport difficulties or on account of difficulties in their manufacture due to the diversion of the plant and labour to the work of manufacturing arms and munitions ?

On the 25th August, 1939, Sir J. P. Srivastava, Managing Director of the New Victoria Mills, Cawnpur, and a former Minister for Industries in the U. P., in the course of an interview granted to a representative of that well-known liberal paper *The Leader* of Allahabad is reported to have said that

"if war broke out, there would be a collapse of industries in India for want of essential supplies as they had not prepared for the eventuality of war by getting reserve supplies." "These essential supplies," he continued, "were required to keep the industries going but those supplies were not in the country. Every mill, every factory, every industry, was dependent on foreign countries and no arrangements had been made to keep in reserve the foreign supplies. During the last Great War Japan came to their rescue. This time it would not be possible to get supplies from Japan also.

These reserve supplies to which reference was made by Sir Jwala Prasad must, among other things, include spare parts for the machinery used in mills and factories. It has been stated that there is much of exaggeration in this statement. I am not a businessman but I would feel great hesitation in refusing to attach proper weight to a pronouncement coming from such a responsible quarter.

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Granting for the sake of argument that there is a certain amount of over-emphasis as regards India's unpreparedness, one might well ask what would be the fate of our large scale industries if, as the result of a long drawn out war and consequent dislocation of transport, either machinery or machine parts are not available. For instance, will India go naked because her cotton and woollen mills have under the abovementioned circumstances to be closed down? Will she again import Java sugar and thus deal a death-blow to her rapidly developing sugar industry?

I have referred elsewhere to the almost nominal expenditure on stores manufactured in India and purchased by the Defence Department and incidentally to the absence of stimulus which otherwise would have been available for the development of various types of industry in our motherland. Let us consider the neglect our industries have suffered owing to the absence of a settled and uniform policy of encouraging them by purchasing their manufactures after standardising their quality. Along with this, we have also to think of the many kinds of new industries that could have been called into existence if only those interested in them were assured of a steady market provided their products came up to the standards required by the army rules and regulations.

His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief broadcasting from Simla on the 5th September last in the course of his comments on mechanising the army in India had to admit that if India has to rely "only on her own resources in money and industry" she is not in a position to organise her defences on modern lines. It thus appears that money and industry have to go hand-in-hand in any scheme of modernisation. How can our industries meet any new demand when more than three-fourths of the money available for equipments, arms, etc., has hitherto been spent outside India? It is the industries of those countries which have been encouraged and not ours. And if there is any development in industries, it will be found there and not in India. It may also be stated that if a respectable part of these sums had been spent inside India, there would have been some improvement, however slight, in the national income. Surely, India cannot be held responsible for not following out a policy more favourable to her economic interests.

Continuing His Excellency observed:

"India's weaknesses are a low national income and up to the present a limited industrial development incapable as yet of supplying all the technical equipment of a modern army."

Military Despatch No. 5 says:

"It has been accepted that after the process of modernisation is complete, India should be in all major respects self-sufficient in munitions in time of war. In the present state of industrial development, the first reliance must obviously be placed on the expansion of Government factories, which are already in hand, but the utmost encouragement will be given to indigenous industry and it is up to industry to take advantage of this new development."

These words coming from such a quarter are very encouraging. It seems as though what the wearisome reiterations of the elected representatives of the people of India could not effect after decades of discussion, will at last be effected as the result of the breaking out of the present war when it may so happen that our soldiers may be pitted against well-armed, well-equipped and modernised military units. National India expects that after the war is over, the policy announced in the above terms will be adhered to strictly and, more than that, that better arrangements should be made in order that ordnance, tanks and even aeroplanes may be manufactured in India. There is little wisdom in quarrelling over what had happened in the past. What is necessary now is to arrange matters in such a way that in future India should not be placed in a similar predicament through no fault of hers.

The Indian Social Reformer is a well-known weekly published from Bombay which has behind it a long and well merited record of fearless and yet courteous criticism of objectionable features in our social, economic and political life. It has just completed fifty years of very useful work. So far as its politics is concerned our Leftist friends maintain that it has very close affiliations with the National Liberal Federation, which they regard as holding views of the milk-and-water type. No one who reads this periodical regularly can ever dream of characterising it as holding extreme views or of giving expression to its opinions in any but the most moderate language. And yet in an editorial note which appeared on its pages on the 2nd September, 1939, it said:

"Sir Geoffery Winterbotham who presided when Oliver Stebbing read a paper last April on 'The European in the New India' at a meeting of the East Indian Association, London, let fall a revealing remark in his introductory speech. He said that opposition to British interests did not come so much from politicians as from Indian commercial men." "It would not, I think" he said, "be safe to ignore the covetous eye cast by certain Indian Commercial interests on British interests, nor the specious garb of nationalism with which this covetousness is cloaked."

The editorial comment runs as follows:

"It is philanthropy for the British commercial

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exploit India; it is covetous for the Indian to desire get the profits of industry and trade of his own country. The British commercial class is responsible for the transformation of the character of British rule in this country from a benevolent paternalism into an economic imperialism."

It is with extreme regret that I am compelled to state that this has been the attitude of a certain section of the British businessmen in India. And what is more, the indiscreet language in which these feelings have been given expression to and the regrettable frequency with which they have been reported in the Anglo-Indian press have naturally enough tended to exasperate Indian sentiments. Under these circumstances, is it not surprising that the views of National India should, to a large extent, be coloured by what it sees, hears and feels about the attitude of European businessmen in India ?

We would, however, appeal from this small minority of the selfish and interested British to the Greater Britain in whose sense of fair play and justice we have the fullest confidence. We would point out to our fellow citizens in the West that we too can claim and, we think claim legitimately, a free hand in shaping our economic and political destiny. We cannot regard this as an improper claim seeing that we desire to be the masters in our own home in just the same way that they are masters in their own home. We would further point out that the only logical reason which can be advanced against granting us economic freedom is our backwardness in such matters as education, training in public life and an adequate sense of responsibility. In reply we would state that for more than 150 years we have lived under British administration. Just as we owe the progress we have made so far to it, so the responsibility for our backwardness in certain directions which according to these people are reasons against the granting of economic freedom, lies at the doors of the very same administration. Under these circumstances, we should not, in justice, be penalised for what after all is not our doing.

That education and training in public life, the rousing of the spirit of nationalism which is Britain's most precious gift to India have taught us that greater progress could have been achieved if only more energetic steps had been taken and if the one and only aim set by our rulers before themselves had been disinterested service. When we examine the history of British administration with the help of the records maintained by itself, the reports published by the British Government itself, we cannot persuade ourselves to believe that such was always the case. To pretend to hold different views in the face of the materials available would be an indirect admission of the utter worthlessness of the training we have received at the hands of the British. We hold that they have no right to complain if we are using today and for our benefit the training which they have given us. If it was the intention of our rulers to keep us in a perpetual state of economic and political tutelage, they should have made it a policy to refrain from giving us western education and western training. They cannot expect that with our western training, we should continue to remain contented under an irresponsible or partly responsible system of Government.

We would tell Greater Britain that it is but natural that those who through interested motives are not friendly towards our economic and political aspirations, should be tempted to underestimate the progress we have made so far, that they should exaggerate the difficulties which stand in the way and emphasise our weaknesses in just the same way as National India struggling hard for self-expression in the economic and political spheres is tempted to over-estimate our past progress and present achievements. It is for Greater Britain to take more interest than it has in the past, to acquire first-hand information about our affairs and, above all, to give us what it always demand for itself—a square deal.

We are aware that one reason why our defects and short-comings, and we freely admit that we have many such, come under the notice of the Briton in India is that they lie on the surface. Let no offence be taken when I suggest that foreigners engaged in business whom we regard as a class enjoying privileges which are denied us as well as British officials whom we have come to consider as political Brahmins have their own society to which they strictly confine themselves. They do not care to nor can they mix with the ordinary middle class or poor Indian whose language they do not try to learn except in a very perfunctory way and that in rare cases and whose literature is a sealed book to them. Nor can they have any idea of those good points which we claim we possess. The result is misunderstanding and the too-easy and, under the circumstances, the natural assumption that India is unfit for self-government.

Let all remember, however, that India whether socially, economically or politically is no longer a child. India is now a full-grown adult and refuses to be guided by British leading strings. Conscious of her strength, India demands equality of status in the British Commonwealth of Nations. One way of demonstrat-

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ing that Greater Britain is prepared to give favourable consideration to this demand is not only to allow India a free hand to develop her key industries but also to assist her in doing so even when the adoption of such a policy would imply some injury to her own interests.

The last war brought home both to Britain and to India the necessity of developing the industries and specially the key industries of India. As a consequence, some industries were started but for want of adequate support and protection after the war, they languished. Probably, it was felt that the world had learnt wisdom and there would be no repetition of the holocaust of men and means which had characterised it. We now realise that the desperate wickedness of the human heart has again plunged the world into a fresh war with new horrors added in the shape of improved methods for killing and mangling beyond recognition man made in the image of God. The present war is teaching us the old lesson once again. Let Britain and India unite for the attainment of a common purpose—the abolition of war and the establishment of peace for all times to come. Let India forget the exploitation to which she was undoubtedly subjected in the past remembering that the ethical standards of today are higher than they were yesterday. In her turn, let Britain reconcile herself to the loss of part of her trade inevitable with an expansion of India's industry but let her console herself with the thought that in exchange she will secure the staunch co-operation of a grateful India, which as a member of the Commonwealth of Nations, will be more loyal than pampered South Africa which, as soon as war broke out, made an attempt defeated by the very narrow margin of only 13 votes in a house of 147, to run with the hare and hunt with the hounds by seeking to stand neutral in the present struggle, while continuing to be a member of the British Commonwealth.

COMMENT & CRITICISM

A Letter from the Minister for Public Information, Government of Madras

Fort St. George, 25th Sept., 1939

To The Editor, "The Modern Review," Calcutta

Dear Sir,

I am writing this to express my surprise at your editorial remarks on page 202 of the September issue of *The Modern Review*. It is strange that you think that people are sent to jail in Madras for dissenting from any "linguistic creed of the Government." I should like to ask what you would advise the Government to do when people picket at the gates of schools and shout slogans scaring away the innocent children and their teachers who seek to enter the schools. I may inform you that no legitimate method of expressing dissent from any of the acts of the Government have been interfered with in Madras. There is an element of irresponsible opposition in our Province which was defeated at the polls but which seeks to cover its defeat by mock heroics and the parody of Satyagraha. It has opposed every measure of the Government including prohibition, agriculturists' debt relief and temple entry for Harijans. Surely you will agree that the Government will have to enforce the will of the vast majority of people who returned them to power and not abdicate their function by capitulating to such opposition.

Yours truly,
S. RAMANATHAN

With An English Farmer

MR. Mansinha, in his interesting article 'With an English Farmer,' in the September issue of *The Modern Review*, says: "The Indian farmer has a lot to learn from what I saw in the estate of my host. The folly of the Indian farmer and his handicaps were brought home to me," etc. The article is very instructive as well as thought-provoking. But Mr. Mansinha, I am sure, will be interested to know the views of an expert in agriculture, Mr. John Augustus Voelcker, consulting chemist to the Royal Agricultural Society of England, who had been deputed to India about five decades ago to make a report on the condition of agriculture in India.

In his book, *Improvement of Indian Agriculture*, he says, "I explain that I do not share the opinions, which have been expressed as to Indian agriculture being as a whole primitive and backward. But I believe that in many parts there is little or nothing that can be improved. Whilst where agriculture is manifestly inferior it is more generally the result of absence of facilities which exist in better districts than from inherent bad systems of cultivation. At his best the Indian Raiyat or cultivator is quite as good as, and in some respects the superior of the average British farmer. Whilst at his worst it can only be said that this state is brought about largely by an absence of facilities for improvement, which is probably unequalled, in any country; and that the Raiyat will struggle on patiently and uncomplainingly in the face of difficulties in a way that no one else would. Not need our British farmers be surprised at what I say, for it must be remembered that the natives of India were cultivators of wheat centuries before we in England were. What does however prevent them from growing larger crops is the limited facilities, to which they have access, such as the supply of water and manure. But take the ordinary acts of husbandry. Nowhere else would one find better instances of keeping land scrupulously clean from weeds, of ingenuity in device of water raising appliances, of knowledge of soils, and their capabilities, as well as exact time to sow and reap, as one would in Indian agriculture; and this not at its best alone, but at its ordinary level. Certainly it is that, at least, have not seen a more perfect picture of careful cultivation combined with hard labour, perseverence and fertility of resources, than I have seen at many of the halting places in my tour, *e.g.*, gardens of Mahim and Nadiad."

Bombay V. M. KAIKINI

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SCOPE OF THE CERAMIC AND OTHER SILICATE INDUSTRIES IN INDIA

By Dr. N. V. RAGHUNATH, D.Sc.

The ceramic industry now-a-days occupies a very important position among the other industries. It could be divided into the following broad divisions like refractories, abrasive-ware, porcelain, stoneware, earthenware and tiles.

The essential raw materials required for the manufacture of the above articles are clay, felspar, quartz, kyanite, sillimanite and fuel, which occur in plenty all over India.

At present there are very few factories manufacturing ceramic articles in India and some of them are, (1) The Government Porcelain Factory, at Bangalore, (2) Messrs. Burn & Co., at Raneeganj, (3) The Bengal Potteries at Calcutta, (4) The Gwalior Potteries in Gwalior, and (5) The Mysore Stoneware Pipes at Bangalore.

Let us compare the position of the industry here with some other countries.

	Technical Porcelain including magnesia-ware	Porcelain painting including decoration of China	Stoneware including fire articles	Earthenware including faience, majolica, terracotta & common pottery
Greater Germany including Austria & Czechoslovakia.	362	530	440	651
Great Britain & Ireland	71	Figures not available.	59	234
Switzerland.	2	7	24	59
U. S. A.	92*			

	Tile factories & stoves & Dutch tiles.	Refractory-ware for common fireclay goods & terracotta.	Abrasive for whetstone & grinding disks.	Ceramic Laboratories & schools.
Greater Germany including Austria & Czechoslovakia.	366	431	164	64
Great Britain & Ireland.	Figures not available.			Figures not available.
Switzerland.	23	83	25	2
U. S. A.	244†	5	3	Figures not available.

* Including first two items.
† Including first three items.

From the table it can be seen that the German Ceramic Industry occupies a unique position in Europe. Several of the finest China Clay deposits like the Halle, Kemmnitz and Zettlitz occur there besides a lot of brown coal. Brown coal and gas are used for firing all the articles and the kilns are very efficient. Another direction in which a lot of improvement is being made is that for all kitchen utensils, porcelain is being used more and more and metal is being eliminated. This is very advantageous because porcelain is cleaner and more beautiful.

In England, the Pottery centre is situated at Stoke-on-Trent. The reason being that coal is available nearby. Here are some of the big China Clay deposits like the Cornwall etc. Here has been developed the bone-china which is used to a large extent for making crockery etc.

In Switzerland there are a few Ceramic factories. But most of the raw materials have to be imported from the neighbouring countries and there is no coal. But this being a mountainous country a lot of electricity is obtained at a cheap rate and in the Langenthal Porcelain Factory is the only high temperature electric tunnel kiln. For places where cheap electric power is available this will be the best.

In U. S. A. the Ceramic industry is of recent origin and there are plenty of clay deposits. Natural resources are plentiful including a large amount of fuel like oil, natural gas, coal and electricity. The American Ceramic Factories as compared to the European Factories are quite huge and are very efficient.

The next important factor in this industry is labour and American labour is the costliest of all. So to bring down the cost of the article many labour-saving methods are being used and the efficiency is very high. Continental labour is not so costly as the American one and it occupies a middle position. German labour is noted for its thoroughness. Indian labour is also quite good, provided sufficient care is taken in making proper selection. Of course, Indian labour is not so costly as the European and American ones and there is no

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reason why India should not produce articles at a comparatively cheap-rate, provided their technique is adopted.

The scope for the ceramic industry in India is unlimited and it could be illustrated as follows :

Throughout India, in all villages ordinary clay vessels fired to medium temperature are being used. These clay vessels are not strong and besides they are not so very fire-resisting ones. If instead of these clay vessels, fire-resisting household porcelain is introduced, then it might replace the metal ones, which would be much cleaner, nicer and economical. This crockery industry could be developed as a cottage industry on the lines of Japan. In Japan the body material is made in one central place and it is distributed to various people who shape the articles and then all of them are fired in one central kiln. It could also be made in big factories.

A good deal of electrical development is taking place in India and there is a big demand for insulators. At present, there are two factories, one at Bangalore and the other in Calcutta, manufacturing low and medium voltage insulators and there is a lot of scope for manufacturing high tension insulators. This insulator industry comes under key industries inasmuch as each country in the world tries to have its own factory, because in times of war its supply may be affected.

The tendency now in India is that every city likes to have a drainage system to keep the city clean and improve the health of the people and there is a big field for salt-glazed pipes. These salt-glazed pipes are much better than cement pipes and they withstand acids much better.

Also the tendency now in big cities is to use more and more of sanitary ware, which is not only clean but at the same time attractive.

As regards refractories, only a few factories are manufacturing some of them and there is a wide scope for making super-refractories. Sillimanite which is used to a large extent in refractories occurs in India.

There is also a big field as regards earthenware articles. A lot of cheap novelty articles could be made. In a country like India, where only cheap articles are required, there is big scope for this.

As regards cement, India is fairly well equipped and recently many factories have been started, so that India is self-contained. In Europe and America, millions of tons of cement have been used in making cem roads, which not only facilitates going ab in automobiles but also cuts down t dust nuisance and thus conduces to t health of the people. The roads in U. S. A are the best in the whole world and one can ro along in an automobile from one end of t country to the other. If there are good ro which reaches to every nook and corner of t country, then road transport will be mu cheaper than locomotive transport. For country like India good roads are very essenti

As regards glass, there are only a fe factories in India that manufacture some gla articles. The German glass industry has be developed to a great extent and the reason wh the German cameras and other optical instru ments are valued is due to the fact that the glass lens are the best. The Jena glass Germany is highly prized. For buildings a automobiles a lot of sheet glass is used a there is a big field for that. In U. S. A. some of the big factories like the Corning Gl Works where large quantities of glass artic are made. Here was cast the 200 inc diameter telescope lens.

The enamel industry is also not w devoloped in India. Some factories have be started recently where advertisement signs, et are made. This enamelling also finds a pla in making bath tubs, etc., used for sanita purposes and there is also a big field.

A step in the right direction has be recently taken by the setting up of a Natio Planning Committee for industrialising In One of the members of the above Commit is Sir M. Visvesvarayya who has been alw insisting, that India should industrialise or e her fate is doomed. Recently, Prof. Megh Saha, said in a speech in Calcutta, that ind trialisation is very essential if India is overtake other Western nations. The rea why Japan has become a first class power is to her starting the heavy and other industr Recently Germany under the guidance General Herman Goering has adopted a fe year plan, so that she might be self-suffic in raw materials. Mysore has also been pioneer in many industries, under the a guidance of its Dewan Amin-ul-mulk Mirza M. Ismail. At present there is no p for 'No-changers' and what is wanted is a forward policy. India also should have a mi year or ten-year plan in order that a mi survey of all the resources of the country m be made for industrialisation.

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Book Reviews

Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in The Modern Review. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.—Editor, The Modern Review.

ENGLISH

THE POLITICAL USE OF THE RADIO: *By* [illegible]*as Grandin, Geneva Research Centre, 14, Avenue* [illegible]*rance, Geneva, Switzerland. Pages 116. Price $0.40* [illegible]*55 Swiss Francs.*

Particularly timely is this study published by the [illegible]eva Research Centre dealing with the use of the [illegible] as a political instrument. The general public has [illegible] been cognizant of the fact that certain governments [illegible] free use of the ether waves to influence public [illegible]n, but the manner in which this is accomplished [illegible] the extent of such propagandist activities have re[illegible]d more or less nebulous conceptions.

The author, who is himself actively engaged in radio [illegible] in Europe, first classifies programmes according to [illegible] public for which they are intended, *i.e.*, listeners [illegible] the country that is broadcasting, the continental [illegible] outside the borders of the transmitting nation, [illegible] inter-continental audiences. After an attempt to [illegible] the effect of such political transmissions as news [illegible]dcasts, lectures, etc., the author concludes with an [illegible]ation of efforts made to limit the use of radio as [illegible]itical instrument. Among the statistics included in [illegible] Annexes is a schedule of the hours of principal [illegible]n broadcasts which should prove of interest to [illegible] desiring to "listen in" on such foreign programmes. Annex II gives world statistics of receiving sets in [illegible]. The number of sets per 1,000 inhabitants is [illegible] in the United States of America, namely, 204.33, [illegible] lowest in India and Burma, namely, 0.15 and 0.13 [illegible]tively.

In the opinion of the author, international action to [illegible]pt to suppress the use of the radio for purposes of [illegible]ganda will be far less effective than action taken [illegible] the audiences themselves. "It is the public which [illegible] educate the broadcasters, if the anarchy of the [illegible] is to be limited." The efforts of the general public, [illegible] suggested, should be supplemented by some inde[illegible]nt central agency with a staff of listeners who [illegible] regularly transcribe and monitor programmes and [illegible] that the necessary scholarly research be under[illegible] in order to bring about a balance between science [illegible] politics in the realm of radio.

ANNUAL BIBLIOGRAPHY OF INDIAN [illegible]HAEOLOGY, *Vol. XII, for the year 1937. Published* [illegible]*ed of the Government of Netherlands, India, the* [illegible]*ral Government of India, the Government of H. E. H.* [illegible]*Nizam of Hyderabad, H. H. the Maharaja of Jammu* [illegible]*Kashmir, H. H. the Maharaja Gaekwar of Baroda, H. H. the Maharaja of Mysore, H. H. the Maharaja of Travancore, H. H. the Nawab of Bhopal, H. H. the Maharaja of Cochin, and the Government of Ceylon. Published by Kern Institute, Leyden. Price of this Volume for non-members: 9 guilders (£1).*

The present volume of the Annual Bibliography of Indian Archaeology is as useful as its predecessors. As the contents show, archaeologically India includes Ceylon, Further India, Indonesia, and the adjoining territories of Iran, Turan, Tibet, Afghanistan; China, Japan and Korea.

The Bibliography proper is preceded by interesting and informative papers, written by competent writers, on archaeological work carried on in different parts of India, and in Afghanistan, Ceylon, Further India, and Indonesia. There is a Foreword by Dr. J. Ph. Vogel.

The Bibliography is divided into six sections: General, India, Ceylon, Further India, Indonesia, and Adjoining terriories. The section devoted to India is subdivided into ten sub-sections on Archaeology and Art History, Architecture and Sculpture, Painting, Iconography, Palaeography, Epigraphy, Chronology, Ancient History, and Numismatics.

The list of periodicals contains the names of archæological and other journals drawn upon.

The Index gives in alphabetical order the names of the authors whose articles or books are referred to in the Bibliography.

The illustrations, both in the text and in the plates, are well executed.

THE MEMOIRS OF RAMAKRISHNA: *By Swami Abhedananda. Ramakrishna Vedanta Math, Calcutta. Crown 8vo. Cloth gilt. Pp. 437. Price Rs. 3-8.*

There are eleven illustrations. Particularly noteworthy is the portrait of Sarada Devi, the spiritual consort of Ramakrishna.

The spiritual teachings of the saint contained in this book are elevating. His simple parables are quite characteristic. Some of the talks appear like those of a book-learned man, which the Paramahansa was not. He was a spiritually advanced soul who did not owe much of illumination to books.

We have been struck with one characteristic of the reports of Ramakrishna's conversations as given by his disciples, either in Bengali or in English translations. It is that some of the eminent men whom Bengal has produced and who made their mark in their own fields of work, appear in these conversations as rather insignificant. The reports of the conversations do not generally give the impression that these persons had any remarkable per-

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sonality. They often appear rather as men of a somewhat inferior stamp. Undoubtedly in the opinion of the followers of Ramakrishna he was an incarnation of God and, as such, superior to all men, living or dead. But it is also undoubted that in the opinion of theists of all countries God is incomparably superior to all human beings. Yet our belief in the existence of God does not lead us to undervalue or underestimate the personality of any men created by Him, from the most famous to the most obscure. Because God is infinite in His attributes, it does not follow that all His human creatures are pigmies, or are to be consciously or unconsciously represented as pigmies. Therefore, assuming that Ramakrishna was an incarnation of God, it does not follow that some of Bengal's distinguished sons whom he met, and whose biographies give an idea of their personalities, were less than what their biographers have led us to believe they were. We write this not with reference only to Brahmo leaders like Debendranath Tagore, Keshub Chunder Sen, Pratap Chunder Mozoodmar, etc., but also with reference to such Hindus as Iswar Chandra Vidyasagar, Bankim Chandra Chatterjee, Mahendra Lal Sircar, etc.

CITY OF BIRMINGHAM HANDBOOK, 1939 : *A publication of the City of Birmingham Information Bureau.*

This volume of the City of Birmingham Handbook is as informative, useful and attractive as the volumes published in previous years. It is profusely illustrated and contains the following sections :

History and Civic Administration, The Amenities of Life, The Social Services, Public Works, Sewage Disposal, Public Health, Public Assistance, Mental Hospitals, Mental Deficiency, Education of Various Grades and Kinds, Estates Department, Small Holdings and Allotments, The Police Force, Fire Protection, Salvage, Weights and Measures Department, Public Baths, The Civic Undertakings—Gas, Water, Electricity, Transport, Markets, Municipal Bank, Airport of Birmingham.

D.

POLITICS IN PRE-MUGHAL TIMES : *By Dr. Ishwara Topa. Published by Kitabistan, Allahabad and London. 1938. Pp. 282+xv.*

The aim of the author, to use his own words, is "to estimate the political psychology of the Turkish Kings of Delhi and to depict the influence of political environment and condition on the development of essentials of statecraft." In other words, the author has sought to study the psychological factors working in the minds of Turkish Rulers of India with a view to explaining their policy and action. The book may therefore be regarded as a very useful supplement to the ordinary texts dealing with the history of the first phase of Muslim rule in India. While the latter merely depict the events, the former seeks to interpret them in their true light by supplying an authentic account of the motive forces behind them.

The author must be congratulated on having initiated a new and interesting line of study. Having briefly reviewed in the first two chapters how the early plundering raids led to the establishment of Muslim Government in India he devotes the rest of his book to a study of the individual Muslim rulers such as Balban, Kaiqubad, Jalaluddin Khilji, Alauddin Khilji, Ghiasuddin Tughlak, Muhammad Tughlaq and Firoz Tughlaq. The object of this study is to delineate the political ideologies of these Kings in order to explain their actions and the manner in which they did it.

That such a study is of immense benefit to students of history and is highly important for a true comprehension of the history of the Muslim rule in India admits of no doubt. It is, however, equally obvious that the task is a very difficult one. It has not been an easy task for historians to comprehend fully the mental working of even contemporary political figures. Hundred times more difficult is to do the same thing in respect of Kings who flourished six to seven hundred years ago, and about whom our knowledge is derived solely from a few historical texts, not always contemporary, and not unoften coloured by passions and prejudices of the writers.

In these days of scientific study of history a mere subjective treatment of the theme cannot be regarded as of much value. But that is precisely what the author has done. By a mental process, whose logic or basis of facts is not revealed to the readers, he has construed the mind of each individual ruler and proceeded to explain the workings of that imaginary mind by reference to facts of history. This, however, does not carry immediate conviction with it. What is required is an objective study. The author must put all the known facts before us, and then show by a synthetic process that they can all be explained only by one particular ideology or certain view of the personality of the ruler. The author's view may explain satisfactorily the facts noted by him but what he has failed to take into consideration is whether other views might explain the facts equally well, and what is still more important, whether there are any known facts which cannot be adequately explained by the particular point of view he has chosen to adopt.

The author says in the preface that his "book is thoroughly based on historical sources." But then he adds : "In order to avoid its cumbersome reading I have purposely omitted from the footnotes the copious references of historical works in support of my theses." As a matter of fact such references are very rare and the footnotes, sometimes fairly long, that he has added are not intended to direct the reader to the sources which support his theme.

This lack of reference to sources and the absence of any attempt to discover truth by a critical discussion of all the available materials, sometimes of a conflicting nature, has taken away much of the value of the author's conclusions. His book reads more like a lawyer's pleadings than a well-considered and dispassionate judgement.

It will take too much space to consider individual cases in detail. We shall therefore confine ourselves to a single instance. According to the author "the conception of justice formed the basic idea in the Kingship of Muhammad" (Tughlak) (p. 204). He condemns the historians who "accused him (Muhammad Tughlak) of the thirst of human blood." "They," continues the author, "judged the Sultan by the heaps of corpses. But they did not know that his acts of blood-shedding were motivated by a higher sense of justice and fair play than the 'bloody' instinct in him" (p. 205). But a few lines later the author quotes as authentic a conversation of the Sultan with the historian Ziauddin Barni, recorded by the latter. After the historian had, in reply to the Sultan's query, explained the punishments for certain offences as laid down by the Prophet, the Sultan remarked : "The punishments were suited to the early ages of the world but in these days many wicked and turbulent men are to be found. I visit them with chastisement upon the suspicions or presumption of their rebellious and treacherous designs, and I punish the most trifling acts of contumacy with deaths. This I will do until I die, or until the people act honestly and give up rebellion and

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...y" (pp. 220-21). Few indeed would be disposed ...cept the view of the author that the conception of ...ve formed the basic idea of a King whose ideology ...s described by himself in the words quoted above. The use of expressions like *leitmotif* and *weltans-...ung* show that the author is versed in German. That ...hps explains his heavy style, which lacks lucidity and ...metimes even betrays carelessness about ordinary rules ...English grammar and syntax.

In conclusion it is necessary to point out that ...udhury, R. H. (sic), the author of *Political His-...y of Ancient India* is not, as the author supposes, the ...e person who wrote *Dynastic History of Northern ...a*. The correct name of the former is Dr. H. C. ...chaudhuri and that of the latter Dr. H. C. Ray. Such ...orance about two distinguished modern historians of ...a, on the part of another historian, can hardly be ...ised.

R. C. MAZUMDAR

THE PSYCHOLOGICAL ATTITUDE OF EARLY ...DDHIST PHILOSOPHY AND ITS SYSTEMATIC ...RESENTATION ACCORDING TO ABHIDHAMMA ...DITION (READERSHIP LECTURES OF THE PATNA ...VERSITY, 1936-37) : *By Anagarika B. Govinda. ...blished by the Patna University.*

This book consists of six parts with an Appendix ...d an Index. In a brief introduction the author has ...ly pointed out that just as it is impossible to speak ...Buddhism as a religion without touching upon the ...osophical aspect, so it is impossible to understand ...dhist philosophy without seeing its connection with ...religious side. The first part deals with the origin ...ligion and the early stages of Indian thought. The ...d part deals with psychology and metaphysics in ...ght of the *Abhidhamma*. In this section the author ...shown the importance of the *Abhidhamma Pitaka* ...Pali Canon and has rendered *Bodhi* as illumination ...h is attained with the help of *panna*, but the correct ...ning of the word *Bodhi* is 'enlightenment' or ...ment of supreme knowledge.' The third part deals ...the Four Noble Truths as starting point and logical ...of Buddhist philosophy. The author ought to have ...ed out that the formulation of the Four Noble Truths ...ded on the basis of the doctrine of *Paticcasamu-...ppadacakkapavattana Sutta* represent a definite pro-...ne or scheme of thought. This procedure was not ...ourse peculiar to Buddhism. A similar procedure ...equally followed in other branches of knowledge, *e.g.*, ...nga system of philosophy, the science of medicine ...the science of wealth. In his treatment of the noble ...fold path, the author has failed to point out that ...ssana (right knowledge) and *sammavimutti* (right ...ipation) as mentioned in the *Sangiti Suttanta* of the ...Nikaya should be added to the list of eight as ...ed by me in my book, *Concepts of Buddhism*, ...-36. The Noble Eightfold Path is also known as ...ajjhima patipada (middle path; or the 'golden mean' ...is the middle course between the two extremes). ...golden mean served as the guiding principle of the ...Vinaya discipline according to which the life of ...Buddhist holy order was to be moulded. The Noble ...fold Path was propounded as a well tested method ...ntaining the internal purity of the self. All such ...the author has not touched in his book. The ...part deals with the fundamental principles of cons-...ness. In the *Abhidhammattha Sangaha*, the five jhanas (meditation) are mentioned as equally holding good in the case of the *Lokuttara* state of consciousness. It is not clearly stated anywhere in this authoritative Buddhist Manual why they should not also hold good in the case of the Kamavacara or the Arupavacara sphere. I have discussed this point in my *Concepts of Buddhism*, Chapter VI. Author's rendering of *uddhacca* (p. 146) as 'restlessness' is not very happy. It should mean 'arrogance.' He has failed to clarify the idea of *Vitakka*, *vicara*, *piti sukha* and *ekaggata*. In the first stage of meditation, all these five elements are present. In the second stage, the first two are eliminated. In third, the first three are eliminated leaving *sukha* and *ekaggata*. In the fourth, *sukha* is replaced by *upekkha* and there remain two elments, *viz.*, *upekkha* and *ekaggata*. There is not much difference between these two sets of meditation. In the second stage of the first set of meditation, *vitakka* and *vicara* disappear simultaneously, but in the second stage of meditation, they disappear one after another, thus giving an opportunity for another stage (*Vide* 'Concepts of Buddhism,' p. 38). At page 148 of the book under review, we have failed to understand what the author means by the Digha Nikaya Commentary (*Mahaparibbana sutta*). The name of the Digha Nikaya Commentary is the *Sumangalavilasini* which should have been mentioned clearly by the author. The fifth chapter deals with the factors of consciousness. As regards *cetana* or volition at p. 158, *kamma* came to be defined as *cetana* or volition, a person cannot be held morally or legally responsible or any action of his or her, if it is not intentional, and the explanation of *cetana* in his *Athasalini* (p. 88) by the celebrated commentator, Buddhaghosa, is worthy of consideration. The sixth part deals with the functions of consciousness and the process of perception. In the Appendix we find short notes on systematic representation of *Abhidhamma* psychology, *vedana*, associative, reflective, and intuitive consciousness, six root causes, objects of consciousness, psycho-cosmic system of Buddhism, with tables and diagrams.

The author has only mentioned the names of the seven books included in the *Abhidhamma Pitaka*. He ought to have given more details about these works. As regards the *Abhidhammattha Sangaha*, it covers very largely the same range of subject-matter as the *Visuddhimagga*, though the amplitude of treatment and the order and emphasis of treatment in each are different, but they are to some extent complimentary. As to the meaning of the term, *pannatti* (p. 239), the author ought to have made it clear with the help of the Puggala-Pannatti Commentary. According to the commentator the *pannatti* means explanation, preaching, pointing out, exposition, establishing and showing. There are six pannattis and all these amount to so many designations, indications, affirmations, depositions, and expositions. All these are the meanings of *pannatti*. For further details see my *History of Pali Literature* (p. 329). The work is, on the whole, helpful in understanding some of the problems of Buddhist psychology, but it requires a thorough revision in some places in order to make the subject clearer and more comprehensive.

B. C. LAW

INDIAN ADMINISTRATION : *By M. R. Palande. Published by the Oxford University Press (Indian Branch), Bombay, 1939. Pp. 506. Price Rs. 3.*

This neatly got-up volume is the eighth revised edition of the author's popular work on Indian Administra-

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tion first published in 1926. Though primarily intended for Intermediate Arts students, the book will prove useful to B.A. students and to the general readers as well. While there is little that may be called original in this work, the author's presentation and style leave nothing to be desired. His analysis of the main features of the Indian Constitution and Administration is both critical and lucid. His survey of the present constitution and proposed federal structure is particularly interesting, while the appendix summarising the proposed changes to the Government of India Act of 1935 makes the book as up-to-date as it was possible to do. The book is on the whole an excellent text-book for the undergraduate students of the Indian universities.

NANDALAL CHATTERJI

THE INDIAN MONETARY POLICY: *By B. P. Adarkar, M.A. (Cantab.). Published by Kitabistan, Allahabad. Price Rs. 2-4.*

In spite of all that has been said about the controversy which has surrounded the problem of currency in India during the last two decades or more, Professor Adarkar's book does not seem to be an unnecessary addition to the literature on the subject. With a wealth of data and a penetrating analysis of all factors involved, he has been able to make out a case for the monetary reform in India. His conclusion is that either there should be the delinking of the Rupee from sterling with a view to monetary independence, so as to suit the requirements of the price which are wholly different from those of the sterling countries, or if de-linking is not feasible, there should be immediate devaluation of the Rupee (not necessarily to 18*d*), so as to bring about a rise in the commodity prices in India up to the level at which an equilibrium may be presumably attained. There are viewpoints which may not subscribe to this conclusion, for on currency questions no conclusive and final word may be expected in a world of flux. But this much can be said that professor Adarkar has worked out his conclusion in a convincing manner. At any rate he has made out a case for an expert investigation into the entire question of monetary policy of India about which public feelings are admittedly very keen.

NIHAR RANJAN MUKHERJEE

CAUSATION, FREEDOM AND DETERMINISM: *By Mortimer Taube, Ph.D. Published by George Allen & Unwin Ltd., Museum Street, London. Pp. 262 (with Bibliography and Index). Price 10s net.*

The author is a Research Fellow in Philosophy at the University of California, and, according to an announcement made by the Publishers, is 28 years of age now. He has received his education at several Universities and obtained his Ph.D. from California. Apparently the present book is his thesis for the Ph.D. Degree.

As a piece of resarch work, it has passed the scrutiny of competent judges and, therefore, has to be regarded as a valuable contribution to the knowledge of the subject which it deals with; and the subject-matter of the book is obvious from the title. The author adds a sub-title to explain that the book is "an attempt to solve the causal problem through a study of its origins in seventeenth-century philosophy."

We were recently reading an article on American Universities and were told by the writer that in some of the Universities in America the maxim is "Publish or Perish"! The necessary and indispensable qualification for a University teacher was some sort of publications to his credit. The maxim is not without merit, but it is bound to encourage hasty and therefore immature publication. We do not imply that Dr. Mortimer Taube's book is without value. It does smack of excursions into the domain of scholarship, and opinions have been extensively quoted. But a discussion of the problem independently of ancient views would have been more pleasant reading. Scholarship often has this unpleasant effect that it makes the style rather heavy; and when the writer makes rapid journeys from Newton to Whitehead and from Leibnitz to Eddington, the reader finds it tiring to keep him company. Without denying himself the luxury of his erudition, Dr. Taube could easily make his book more attractive to the general reader if he had not intermingled comments and criticisms with the presentation of historical material. Nevertheless it must be conceded that Dr. Taube has worked hard at his problem.

THE PURPOSE OF THEOSOPHY, I & II: *By Mrs. A. P. Sinnet.*

THE WORK OF THEOSOPHY IN THE WORLD: *By Annie Besant.*

These are pamphlets on Theosophy published by the Theosophical Publishing House, Adyar, Madras.

The writers are leaders of Theosophy and their exposition of the subject is authoritative. The Theosophical Society has brought out nearly 200 pamphlets like these, of which several have already been noticed in these columns. For Theosophists as well as for men of other persuasions, these pamphlets provide excellent reading and are a store-house of information regarding the teachings of Theosophy and the Theosophical movement in general.

U. C. BHATTACHARYYA

RISE AND GROWTH OF INDIAN LIBERALISM: *By Maganlal A. Buch, 1938, Baroda. Pp. 329.*

This is a thesis approved for the Ph.D. degree of the University of London in Political Science. In this work Dr. Buch traces the history of the different phases of the social, religious and political movement in India since the last European war. The materials used in this book are, however, not only not new but commonplace. The arrangement also is not in any way striking. Neither as a fact as a narrative, nor as an analysis, the work has reached a high level. Besides, many mistakes in primary facts have been committed—mistakes which all serious students of Indian politics and administration will avoid. I am noting some of them at random. On page 39, the author observes: "In 1765, Clive gets the Divani of Bengal from the Delhi Emperor—it means the *de facto* control over that very rich province. In 1774, the British Government was rather perturbed at the anomalous nature of the whole situation and proceeded to systematise the whole business; British India was unified; the Governor of Bengal became the Governor-General of India. Power was now centralised in this newly created Government by the Government of India—which now meant the Government by the Governor-General assisted by his Executive Council." It is really strange that so many inaccuracies and misstatements could be committed in two sentences by a serious student of Indian administration. In 1765, Clive did not merely the Dewany of Bengal at the hands of the "Mughal Emperor," he secured the Dewany of the three Provinces

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Bengal, Bihar and Orissa. By virtue of this Dewany, the East India Company did not secure the *de facto* con- "over that very rich province." The *de facto* con- the Company had already secured after the battle of Plassey. What the Dewany conferred upon the Company was a legal and constitutional status in the Provinces. It is again not accurate to say that by the Regulating Act British India was unified," or that "the Governor of Bengal became the Governor-General of India." Nor is it a fact that by the Regulating Act "power was now centralised in this newly created Government of India." Further, the Regulating Act did not confer upon the Governor-General any such independent authority as to justify the statement that the "Government of India" meant the Government by the Governor-General assisted by his Executive Council." Except in regard to a casting vote in the case of a tie, the Governor-General was not given greater authority than the other members of the Council by the Regulating Act. In fact he was absolutely bound by the decisions of the majority of the Council. It should be also borne in mind that this Council was known then as the "Executive Council" as the author has called it.

On page 42, the author observes: "The Indian Civil Service Act of 1861 introduced the principle of open competition for the highest civil appointments." The Act of 1861 did not introduce the principle of open competition. It had already been provided for by the Charter Act of 1833. The Act of 1861 was concerned with the reservation of superior posts for the members of the Covenanted Civil Service.

On page 147, he remarks that the Indian Universities were established in 1854. But actually none of them were established before 1857.

The work is a disappointing one and we cannot congratulate the author on its production.

LIFE OF GURU GOBIND SINGH: *By Kartar Singh. 1933. Pp. 298.*

The author is a Professor of the Khalsa College, Amritsar. He has succeeded in depicting very clearly the character of the Guru, and bringing out into clear relief his character and teachings. The Professor has done a useful work by bringing out this book which will enable the general reader to have a clear appreciation of the life and achivements of the great Sikh leader.

NARESH CHANDRA ROY

BHAWANI DAYAL SANNYASI: *By Prem Narain Agarwal, M.A. Published by the Indian Colonial Association, Etawah (U. P.). Price Re. 1-12.*

Swami Bhawani Dayal Sannyasi, whose life and work have been described in this book, is an Indian, born and brought up in South Africa, of Indian parents who reached there under the Indenture Labour System. Himself a Colonial born, Swamiji got numerous opportunities to see the sad plight of his countrymen in South Africa and devoted most of his time in their services in the overseas countries. Swamiji's services to Greater India are unique as he is one of the foremost among the Colonial born Indians who have worked to build Greater India on a firm foundation. As such Swamiji is entitled to be placed in the rank of National workers and we welcome this biographical sketch of a great national worker of him. This sketch will also serve to create a greater interest in the cause of overseas Indians, which is not receiving due attention from the Indian public at the present moment. While dealing with the various phases of Swamiji's life, the author has also given in a little detail certain facts to show the trend of events in South Africa and other countries so far as the problems of Indians abroad are concerned. A perusal of this book, we are sure, will help the readers in taking a greater interest in the affairs of Indians settled abroad in whose cause Swamiji has been working and which is so dear to him.

The printing and get-up of the book are excellent.

SUKUMAR RANJAN DAS

HIRE-PURCHASE, BEING THE LAW RELATING TO HIRE-PURCHASE AGREEMENTS: *By V. S. Nayyar, M.A., LL.B. and C. L. Varma, B.A., LL.B. with a Foreword by Mr. Justice Jailal. Published by Lawyer Brothers, Chandni Chowk, Delhi. Pp. viii+124+xlii+xxii. Price Rs. 4.*

With the development of commerce in post-war India, various commodities, such as motor-cars, typewriters, sewing machines, radios, etc. are now-a-days purchased on the 'hire-purchase' or 'instalment' system. The law of Hire-purchase is an important branch of the Commercial Law of this country, but owing to its intricacies it is not properly understood by the people generally. Cases of 'Sale on Instalment Basis,' and cases of *bona fide* 'Hire' that may ultimately culminate into 'sale' are easily confoundable, and often confounded, sometimes unconsciously, although the rights and liabilities of the parties in the two cases are so different. At the same time owing to the facilities that the system affords, an increasingly large number of persons are having recourse to Hire-Purchase agreements.

Although one may dispute the claim of the authors to be the first in this branch of the Law, they have brought out a compact, well-printed, lucidly explained and properly indexed volume, which is bound to be of great use to the public, the Bench and the Bar. They have devoted great care and labour in the preparation of the book, the references to case-law are up-to-date, and barring occasional printing mistakes, accurate; and their discussion of the subject is both exhaustive and illuminating.

J. M. DATTA

WITH THE SWAMIS IN AMERICA: *By A Western Disciple. Published by Advaita Ashrama. Price annas twelve only.*

The author is a disciple of Swami Vivekananda; from intimate, personal knowledge he has described in this book the life of the earliest followers of the Vedanta movement in America under the guidance of their Hindu teachers.

As a true account of the beginning of a great spiritual movement, and a faithful record of the strivings of earnest souls after supreme realisation, this book will appeal to all. The style of the book is charming.

ISANCHANDRA RAY

SANSKRIT

PRASASTI-SAMGRAHA: *Editor—Amritalal Maganlal Shah. Publisher—Deshavirati Dharmaradhan Samaj. Jain Vidyashala, Doshivadani Pol., Ahmedabad.*

This is an interesting and valuable publication, which contains *Prasastis*, collected from about 1,500 Jain Manuscripts, belonging to different institutions. Varied interest attaches to these *Prasastis* which record the names of

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copyists and the dates of copying, give accounts of persons at whose instance, and the purposes for which, the work of copying was undertaken, and sometimes refer to the personal history of the author of a particular work. Much useful information regarding the social, cultural and religious life in medieval India, especially of the Jains, is found scattered in these pages. We have here extracts from manuscripts belonging to as early periods as the 9th-12th centuries. We are told how people with a religious bent of mind would get copies of works—generally religious texts—made by professional copyists and make gifts of them to monastaries and religious teachers with a view to earn spiritual blessings. We have reference to a number of amateur copyists—including several ladies—who took upon themselves the task of copying, with the same end in view. It will be a highly useful handbook to scholars interested in the study of manuscripts. Indexes of proper names, which unfortunately leave out the names of copyists, and chronological statements concerning the dates of copying, have added to the value of the work.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI

BENGALI

THE CENTENARY EDITION OF THE WORKS OF BANKIM CHANDRA CHATTERJEE, *published by the Bangiya Sahitya Parishad, 243/1, Upper Circular Road, Calcutta. Edited by Brajendra Nath Bandyopadhyaya and Sajani Kanta Das.*

The latest volumes published are : *Devi Chaudhurani*, a novel; *Loka-rahasya*, a collection of humorous and satirical compositions; *Gadya-Padya ba Kabita-pustak*, a collection of poetical compositions in prose and verse; *Muchiram Gurer Jiban-charit*, a fictitious biographical skit, exposing a section of the Anglo-Indian bureaucracy and their Indian proteges. The prices of these volumes are Re. 1, As. 12, As. 12, and As. 4, respectively.

These volumes are as neatly printed on good paper and as carefully edited as those previously published. Each contains the general foreword by Sri Hirendranath Datta, the President of the Bangiya Sahitya Parishad.

This edition of *Devi Chaudhurani* contains an introduction by Sir Jadunath Sarkar in which he tells the reader in what sense the work is not an historical novel and in what sense it is one. His introduction is also an interpretation of the character of the heroine of the novel.

There is also an informative editorial introduction to the *Devi Chaudhurani* volume and an appendix giving different readings in different editions.

The other volumes also have editorial introductions, and, except the 'biography' of Muchiram, lists of different readings in different editions.

The collection of poetical productions in prose and verse has only a historical interest. For Bankim Chandra Chatterjee's genius was not that of a poet, and therefore his poetical productions as such are very much inferior to his prose writings.

ATHARVA-VEDIYA MANDUKYOPANISHAD : *Text in Bengali characters and commentary and translation in Bengali. By Mathuranath Guha, Wari, Dacca.*

In this booklet the editor says he has followed the commentary of Rammohun Roy. It will help the reader in meditating on Brahma through *pranava* or the mystic syllable *Om*.

D.

MARATHI

UPASMAR KEE NIYOJAN OR HINDI LOKSAMKHYEKA PRASHNA : *By Mrs. Chandrakala Hate, M.A. and Miss Krisnalai Kolhatkar, M.A. Published by Suvichar-Prakashan-Mandal, Limited, Nagpur and Poona. Pp. 191. Price Re. 1-8.*

The series of books on serious subjects named the Nava-Bharat-Granthmala, published by the Suvichar-Prakashan-Mandal, Limited, Nagpur, is doing valuable service to Marathi literature. This latest book 'Starvation or Control,' subtitled 'The Population Problem of India,' is written by two eminent scholars of economics. The problem is a burning one and the book should receive a special interest as it comes from the pens of two ladies. As a sociological study, it shows independence of thinking and profundity. Put in a lucid and popular style, illustrated at places with proper charts and graphs, furnished with up-to-date statistics, neatly printed, having a fine bibliography, and an appreciative introduction by Prof. Beri, these two hundred pages of solid reading-matter, all packed with information, are available at a nominal price of one-eight, an achievement which is very creditable. Books of this type have great educational value. We feel Maharashtra shall receive this book warmly.

P. B. MACHWE

HINDI

RAJASTHAN KE LOK-GEET (PART 1, IN TWO VOLUMES): *Edited by Thakur Ram Singh, M.A., Visharad, Sri Suryakaran Pareek, M.A., Visharad and Sri Narottamdas Swami, M.A., Visharad; each Volume with two Plates, one single colour, the other tricolour; Volume One 35+249+26 pp., Volume Two 397+27 pp., The Rajasthan Research Society, Calcutta. Price Rs. 2-8 each Volume.*

Manifestly, this is the second important publication in Hindi on folk-songs after Sri Ram Naresh Tripathi's book *Kavita Kaumadi, Part 5, Gram-Geet*. The word *Lok-Geet*, already used for folk-song in Gujarat and now recognized by the worthy collaborators on the folk-songs of Rajputana, shows a fairly well-marked departure from the word Gram-Geet (lit. village-song) introduced by Sri Ram Naresh Tripathi. The idea of the "folk" or "masses" is rightly conveyed by the term *Lok* rather than by *Gram*, or village, in spite of the fact that it is in the seven lacs of India's villages that we find the original home of the Indian "folk." The folk-song at large in India, if I mistake not, has not reduced itself to the "village-song"; the Indian town, too, is more or less touched by some of the branches of folk-songs. As for instance, in Rajputana itself most of the marriage-songs, coming from generation to generation, are equally shared by the country-women and their town-sisters; the songs of the old women birth festivities, too, are shared alike by the old women of the village and the town; even in remote places like Calcutta the women-folk of the town-bred Marwaris may be heard singing these songs. Some other songs of Rajputana, connected with various religious and social occasions, too, that are included in the present collection, prove an absolute identity between the songs of the country-women and their town-sisters. Even in the Punjab, United Province, Bihar and Gujarat many of the folk-songs are sung alike by the old women of the town and the village.

Here is the radiant folk-poetry of a people with all its mystery and splendour—a poetry of Rajputana's blood. It celebrates things that lie at the people's

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bors bringing us in contact with their observations and experiences, both outer and inner, their time-old emotions and fancies. Most of these folk-songs belong to woman; the native savour of her life has its own story to tell. With its stimulus of local colour, the woman's genius has a note of vision about her.

This is, of course, not the pioneer collection of the folk-songs of Rajputana. Madanlal's *Marwari Geet-Mala*, Mulchand Varma's *Marwari Geet*, Kheta Ram Mali's *Marwari Geet-Sangrah*, Tarachand Ojha's *Marwari Stri-Geet Sangrah*, Jagdish Singh Gahlot's *Marwar Ke Gram-Geet* and some recently published books of two book-firms of Calcutta, The Hindi Pustak Agency and The Bombay Pustak Agency had already built the plinth. *Marwar Ke Gram-Geet* stood apart from the rest for its introduction and a number of editorial notes in Hindi on the songs. And *Rajasthan ke Lok-Geet*, the present collection, has earned a meritorious distinction; its short but interesting introduction is a mine of information; the songs are translated into Hindi and many of them are furnished with editorial notes; there is an equally important glossary, too, at the end.

The lonely doe symbolizes the lonely bride; song No. 136, that introduces to us a lonely doe wandering in the forest in search of her lover with tears in her eyes, is a remarkable song and we are impressed by its symmetry and beauty and effectiveness. The *Saras*, crane, known as Saraj in Rajputana, flying with her flock, is addressed in song No. 144; she is the woman's god-sister.

The threads of most of the songs, charming and interesting, sew through the good, glad days of festivals and ceremonies; a note of triumph and laughter runs through them. They are like the brilliantly coloured, dresses of the women themselves who sing them in chorus.

The shy, veiled bride sheds tears as she departs for her father-in-law's house; her heart is filled with a thousand memories of childhood and adolescence. The songs, sung at the occasion of saying good-bye to the bride, are known as ओळूं ; five songs, 90-94, belong to this section.

To find a better guide to the heart of the womenfolk of Rajputana than the learned Editors of *Rajasthan ke Lok-Geet* would not be easily possible. There are two hundred and thirty songs in both the volumes. The Hindi offerings should have been more faithful precise and complete.

DEVENDRA SATYARTHI

VANDE MATRAM—*a short story written by Vinayak Shiv Sukhthankar and translated into Hindi by Nagesh Sukla, B.A. With a Foreword in English by Kamalaksha Chattopadhyaya. Published by Harsha Chandra Chand Doshi, Suryakanta Printing Press, 9, Bhangwadi, Bombay 2. Price annas four.*

An ordinary story with patriotic appeal.

JAPAN-DIGDARSHAN : *By Pandit Surendra Nath Tripathi, Sahityavisharad Vidyabhushan, B.A., "Prem." Published by Navalkishore Press, Lucknow. Price annas three.*

This handbook is intended to serve as a guide to intending visitors to Japan. Within a span of 150 pages there is a description of everything Japanese, from the tea-cup down to the Jap weights and measures. The pages teem with statistics. But being prejudiced the author has failed to present a true picture of Japan, as is obvious from the fact that, at the end of every paragraph, he has reverted to just one and only one conclusion, namely, that everything in Japan is so very good.

BALRAJ SAHNI

GUJARATI

PARASIKA : *By Jehangir Manekji Desai, M.A., with a Foreword by Dasturji Saheb Dr. Manekji Nasarvanji Dhalla, M.A., Ph.D. 1938. Price annas twelve only.*

Inspired by a desire to serve the enlightened Parsi community, this volume of 201 pages of verse will stand forth as representative of the religious fervor and poetic quality contained in its scriptures. It begins with a hymn to the "Dadar Aharmajd" by reciting his 101 names, now seeking his grace. Then follows a eulogy of the thirty-three powers of Aharmajd.

The index makes interesting reading because it contains the equivalence of the Gods of Hindu and Parsi Patheon—at best an attempt at fanciful reconstruction of the past; it contains also a glossary of words.

LAGNASUKH : *By Viswanath Maganlal Bhatt. Published by Prasthan Karyyalay, Ahmedabad. Price Re. 1-4.*

This is translated from Tolstoy's *Family Happiness*, a work written when he was in his thirties but a work which reflected the sunny nature of the prophet that was to be. Of special interest is the introduction by the translator which incidentally comments, without entering into any discussion on Tolstoy's art, upon his conception of marriage as an institution and instrument of perfection, denouncing at the same time the over-emphasis on certain aspects of life from the 'psychological' viewpoint, and followed by eugenics and birth-control through a mechanised medium. Three excerpts from Tolstoy on marriage in their English and Gujarati versions preface the book.

The book is one of a series which is being published as the works of Tolstoy.

P. R. SEN

(1) VIRSINHA'S USHA HARAN : *By B. J. Sandesara*, (2) HAR MALA : *By K. K. Shastri. Both published by the Forbes Gujarati Sabha, Bombay. Paper cover. Pp. 82 each.*

These two books represent the research work that is being carried out by scholars in old Gujarati Literature. The Introductions written by both the research scholars are specimens of the good work that is being turned out by them of late and deserve great credit.

A PRACTICAL GUIDE TO THE ART OF ACTING : *By Phirozshah Rustamji Mehta. Printed at the Universal Printing House, Karachi. Paper Cover. (1938). Pp. 270. Price Re. 1-12.*

This book on the Art and Science of Acting (on the stage) is a remarkable work. Though from the pen of a Parsi gentleman, the book is very well written, looking to the technical nature of the subject, as it calls for a wide vocabulary, and intimate knowledge of stage terms and theatrical phrases. Speech, expression, lighting, training, and all the other requirements of an actor are provided for here and therefore it is bound to provide a good guide to, at least, an amateur if not to a professional actor.

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RAKTAPIPASU RAJ KUMARI: *By Jethalal H. Mehta. Published by the Gujarati Printing Press, Bombay. Paper Cover. (1938). Pp. 361. Price Rs. 3-6.*

This long novel is based on history and folklore and is related to the reigning house of Palitana, an Indian State in Kathiawad. The language used is simple and therefore the book will be popular.

INDIAN STATES AND FEDERATION: *By the late Chunilal Shamji Trivedi of Cambay. Printed at the Aditya Printing Press, Ahmedabad. Cloth cover.* (1938). *Pp. 392. Price Rs. 5.*

This highly priced book is, as its name implies, an attempt to explain in Gujarati, the new constitution that is sought to be granted to British India and Indian States. Its English preface is written by Mr. K. K. Thakore who was the Diwan of Cambay for a time and the Introduction by Mr. P. L. Chudgar, an eminent Barrister and politician of Kathiawad. A useful index is given at the end. The author has tried to make this complicated subject as easy as possible.

NAROTTAN BAL GRANTHAVALI: *By Vallabhji Sundarji Kavi of Rajkot, consists of five booklets: (i) Obliging children, (ii) Truthful children, (iii) New Conundrums, (iv) Stories of Sacrifice and (v) Great mothers.*

They are all meant to entertain and teach juveniles, a purpose they fulfil. They are all priced at annas three.

(1) SHRI BALBODH JYOTISH SAR SANGRAH, (2) SHRI GRAHA GOCHAR FALADARSHA: *Both published by Rajguru Pandit Ravishankar Jeshtharam of Bombay. (1938). Price Re. 1-4 and As. 4 each.*

These are books on astrology and the second one contains also the aphorisms of Bhadali about the advance of the monsoon. The lay reader would hardly take to them, while to those who are engaged in the profession of astrologer and soothsayers they are likely to prove of use.

SPEECHES OF SHRI VIDYAVIJAYJI: *Printed at the Prabhat Press. Denjo Hall, Karachi. Cloth Cover. (1938). Pp. 100+92. Price As. 8.*

Muni Maharaj Shri Vidyavijayji is known to Jains as well as non-Jains as one who takes great interest in the welfare of Gujarat and specially of the Jain community. He stresses for reform both by his tongue and his pen. Those who have read his books and heard his speeches are sure to endorse this opinion. At present he is in Surat and doing an amount of humanitarian and social work in that province. The twenty-one speeches which form the subject-matter of this book, though connected with difficult subjects such as *Ishwar Jnan* and the like are models of elucidation.

K. M. J.

BOOKS RECEIVED

THE HUMAN EYE: *By K. S. Malkani, Oph. D. Ophthalmic Surgeon, Hyderabad (Sind). Second Edition. Illustrated. Pp. 62. Price annas eight.*

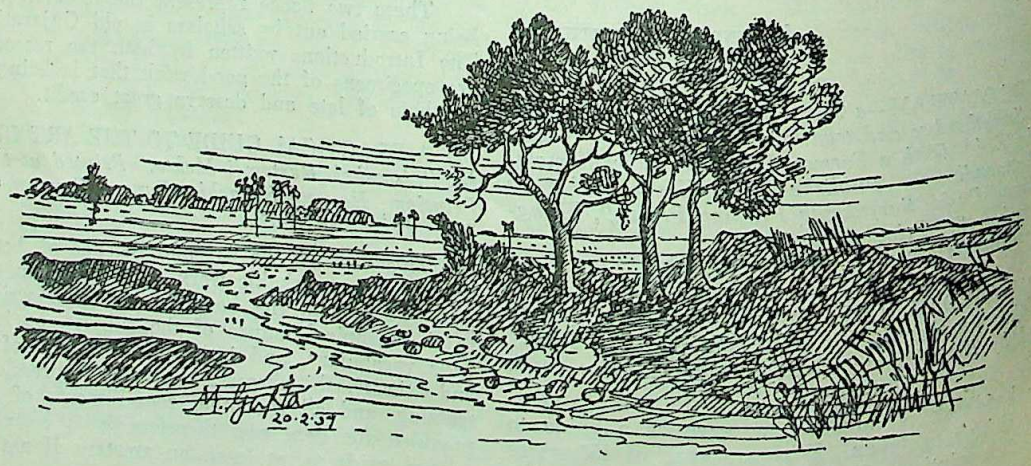
A booklet dealing on the functions of the eye, its structure, diseases and their cure, etc.

WILD FLOWERS (A BOOK OF POEMS): *By Nalini Mohan Acharjya. Published by Rakhal Chandra Sarkar, Brindaban Library, P. O. Khagra, Berhampore (Bengal). Pp. 28. Price annas four.*

THE PROBLEM OF AGRARIAN INDEBTEDNESS IN INDIA (A REVOLUTIONARY EXPOSITION): *By Akshayakumar R. Desai. Pp. 31. Price annas two.*

GANDHI'S TRUTH AND NON-VIOLENCE BETRAYED (AN OPEN LETTER TO MAHATMA GANDHI): *By Akshayakumar R. Desai, Varma House, 14th Road, Khar, Bombay. Pp. 34. Price annas two.*

INDIAN FEUDAL STATES AND NATIONAL LIBERATION STRUGGLE: *By Akshayakumar R. Desai, Varma House, 14th Road, Khar, Bombay. Pp. 64. Price annas four.*



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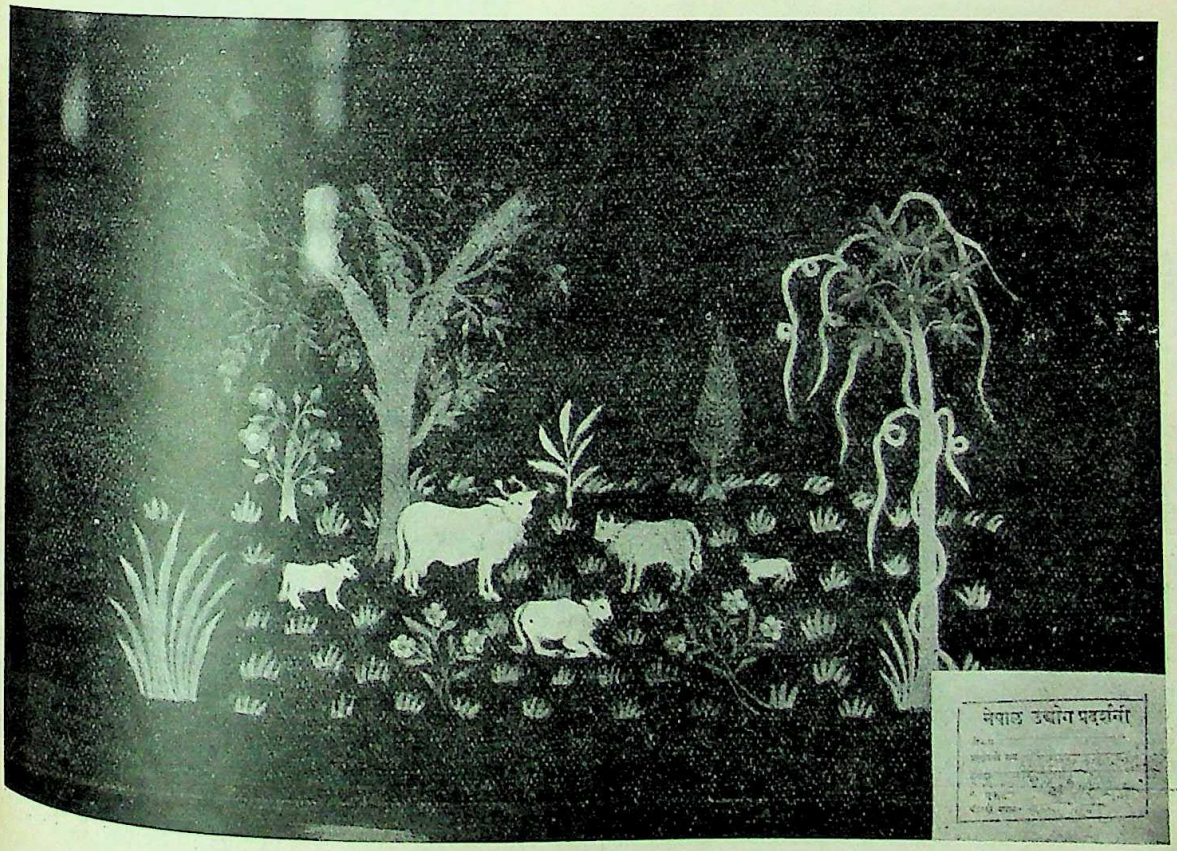
Embroidery by Her Highness Sri 3 Bada Maharani



Another design : Embroidery by Her Highness Sri 3 Bada Maharani

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Internal View of the Exhibition [*Photo* : Samar S. S. J. B. R.

Flag decoration [*Photo* : Samar S. S. J. B. R.

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UDYOGA PRADARSANI

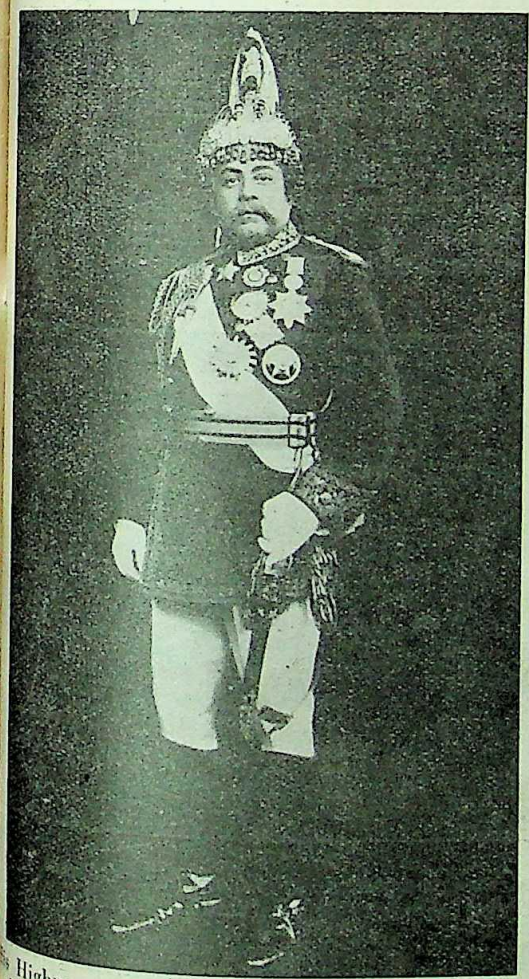
Second Art and Industrial Exhibition at Kathmandu, Nepal

By SIVA NARAYANA SEN

"Show me what you have done and I will tell you who you are." Economic and cultural relations between countries rest upon achievements.

New Nepal welcomes the opportunity of contributing to the review of Nepal achievements held at Kathmandu, of showing what she is able to achieve in the fields of Art and Industry.

The Exhibition bears the title of UDYOGA PRADARSANI and is the second of its kind in the

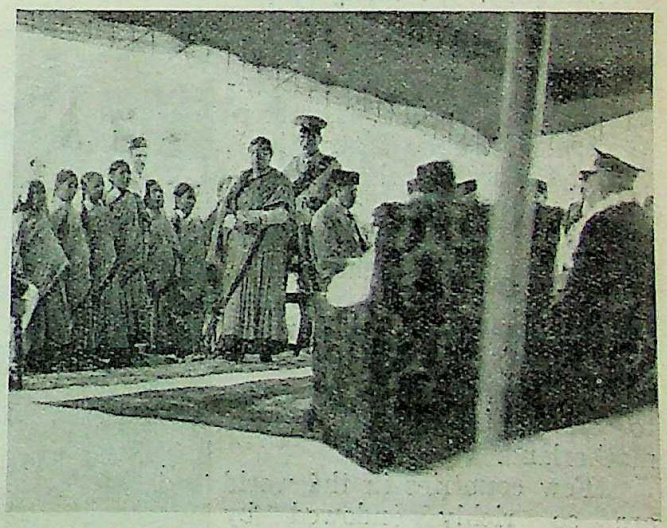


His Highness the Maharaja Joodha Shumshere Jung Bahadur Rana, Prime Minister and Supreme Commander-in-Chief, Nepal

history of Nepal. Its intention is to show the economic resources and products of the land and that beauty and practical usefulness are not necessarily opposed to one another, but that, on the contrary, art and industry are indissolubly united; that practical progress, if it develops under the influence of art, advances the development of intellectual values, the most valued possession of humanity.

Art is a predominant factor in the culture and civilization of Nepal and in the everyday life of the Nepalese.

The idea of the Exhibition in Nepal first originated with His Highness the Maharaja in order to give an impetus to his people by which they may be self-sufficient and can thus check the huge drain of national wealth. His idea is to increase the national dividend by inducing the people to exploit the natural resources of the country. The future economic independence of Nepal would help her tremendously to keep pace with other countries of the world



Girls singing the opening song

[*Photo*: Samar S. S. J. B. R.

in the march of progress. We all hope that the dream of this noble soul may be realized within his life time. His Highness the Maharaja Joodha Shumshere Jung Bahadur Rana wants the happiness of his people, and General Bahadur has been trying his utmost to give shape to the wish of his father through various agencies and through the Development Board

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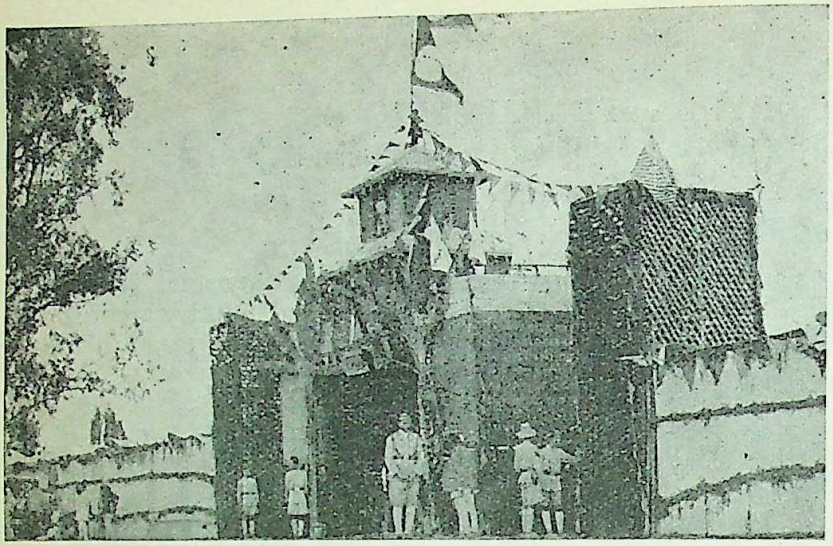

Main Entrance to the Exhibition

[*Photo :* Samar S. S. J. B. R.

of which he is now the President. His Highness' nationalistic outlook has enabled the Government to institute many reforms in the administration of the land. In this constructive programme of his, the younger generation of the ruling class is playing the most important part. Of these, Major-General Sir Krishna Shumshere (Director-General of Agriculture), Major-General Mrigendra Shumshere, M.A. (Director-General of Public Instruction), Major-General Brahma Shumshere, B.A. (In charge of Cottage Industries), Major-General Bejoy Shumshere, M.A. (Vice-President, Development Board) deserve special mention. It is very promising that the youth of the country is aspiring to elevate the status of the motherland.

Few countries in the world are so richly endowed by nature as Nepal. In flower and foliage, in minerals as in cereals, in man-power and in the sturdiness, virility and enterprising spirit of its latest masters, namely, the Gorkhas—who are Rajput by blood and of Indian origin,—Nepal can boast of comparison with any other country. The line of its successive rulers—ever since the administrative power was vested in the Prime Ministers—has added, bit by bit, to the glorious edifice of what we know of Nepal today. But it is His Highness the Maharaja Joodha Shumshere Jung Bahadur Rana who, with the help of his wise and trusted lieutenants, not only laid the foundation of modern Nepal but gave her an international status.

Inspired by the keenness of the enlightened ruler, guided by the experience and wisdom of men like General Sir Padma Shumshere Jung Bahadur Rana, the Commander-in-Chief, General Sir Mohan Shumshere Jung Bahadur Rana, the Senior Commanding General of the Nepalese Army, Eastern Commanding General Sir Baber Shumshere Jung Bahadur Rana, and other departmental heads of different departments, the Government of Nepal has seized upon modern means and methods to stimulate and develop the qualities and aptitudes of its people which are most likely to yield lasting results in future.

His Highness accompanied by Commanding-General Sir Baber entering the Exhibition ground

The Development Board was created a few years back. General Sir Bahadur Shumshere Jung Bahadur Rana is trying his utmost to make it a success. The Board is now carrying on investigations in its own line, and it is

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d that the Economic ning of Nepal will soon a concrete shape. The before the Board is sal. There is not the doubt, however, that Board would be able to up new avenues of mic prosperity before country very soon. dy a jute mill, sugar bank, etc., etc., have organized under its es.

Nepal, on her march rds progress, is now engaged in a pro- me of industrialization, ving a reorientation of system of education, so o give it a vocational and the exploitation of the cuontry's se natural resources.

View of the stalls

Under the present regime the Government edily following an enlightened policy of mic development, and firmly establishing rule of law," which constitutes the best ntee for ordered progress.

Nepal is primarily a country of agricul- output, of small-scale handicrafts and

His Highness with the C.-in-C. and other Generals

scale cultivation, and, to a large extent, ll-scale ownership. The attention of the Government has, therefore, naturally been rivetted on the development and extension of this industry. The State has an extensive programme of improvement of agriculture by maintaining experimental farms, seed depots, research stations for the improvement of crops, encouraging horticulture and assisting the peasant in the marketing of produce.

The essentials for the progress and prosperity of agriculture and industrial concerns are a ready market, availability of raw materials, easy and quick means of communication, cheap and industrious labour, and last, but not the least, a sympathetic government. All the factors are conspicuously abundant here.

The Exhibition is a great boon to the producers. In this Show manufacturers and producers are having a ready market for a certain percentage of their produce along with publicity free of any charge and information about the sources of raw materials. Improved methods of agriculture, home industries (*e.g.*, spinning, weaving, paper-makng, bee-keeping, etc., etc.,) are being demonstrated before the masses.

The aim of the Exhibition has been very well received in the new Nepal, where vigorous

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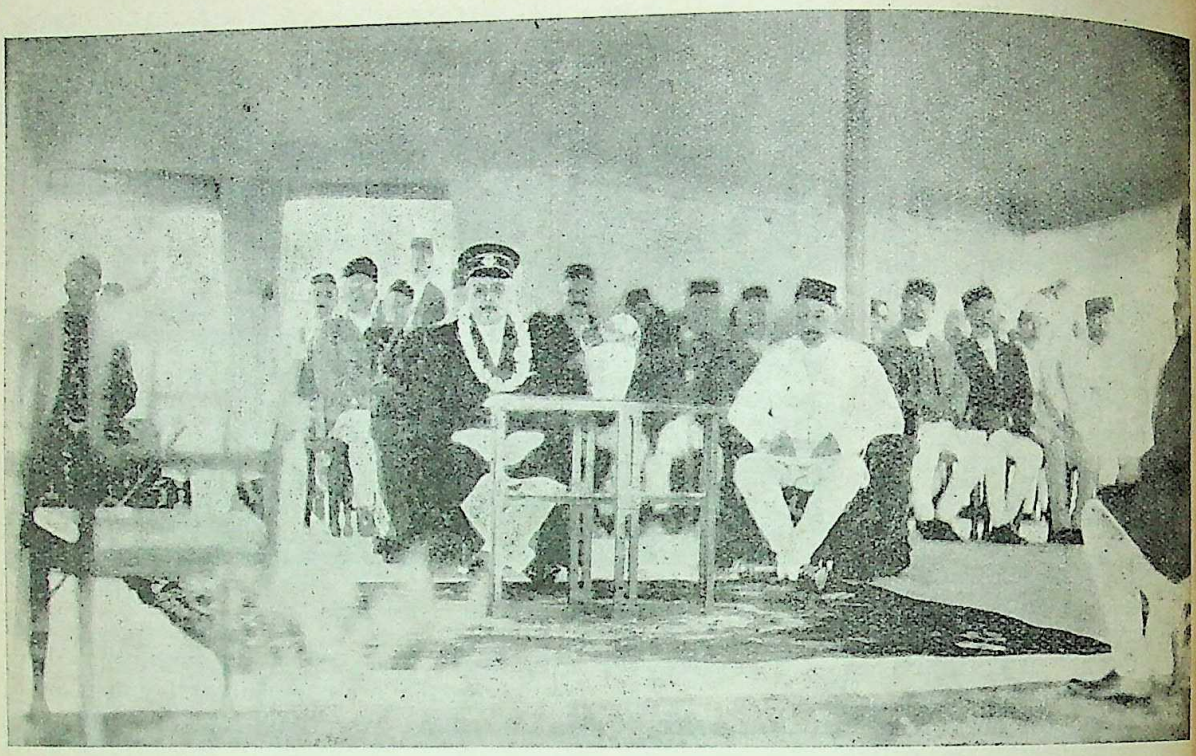
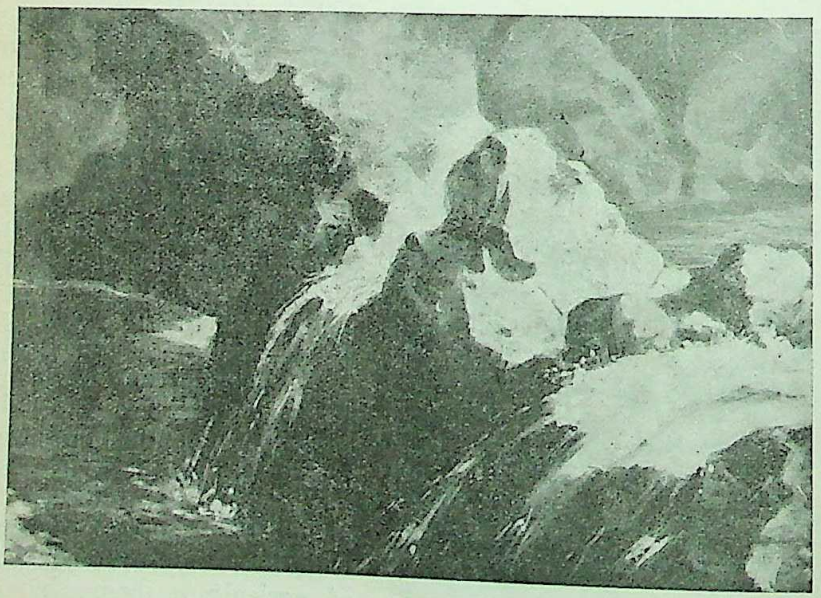


His Highness and Commanding-General Sir Baber with other Generals and members of the Royal family

attempts are being made to recover for aesthetic and spiritual values the consideration they deserve and to give full attention to the



Waterfall, Western Nepal
An oil painting by a local artist having no academic training in painting

systematic popularization of the achievements of culture among the widest circles of the people. Great national movements have been developed with the aim of making life more agreeable and more beautiful even for the simplest and humblest of our fellow-countrymen.

Kathmandu is happ today to associate wit people from the remotes rural areas of Nepal, wh have come to exhibit the home industry methods an products; and the Exhibitio has thus become a grea centre for studying Nep from various angles.

The glories of Nep have long been known peoples of all lands. Ri in romance and beauty, th only Hindu Sovereign Sta in the world, it has becom the goal and avenue for th culture and commerce, the tourists and merchan mostly of the land itself.

Udyoga Pradarsani Nepal's official exposition. will emphasize above all th forward trend of the kingdom

The structure which a nation erects for exhibition has two tasks to fulfil. First, must be in keeping with the character of

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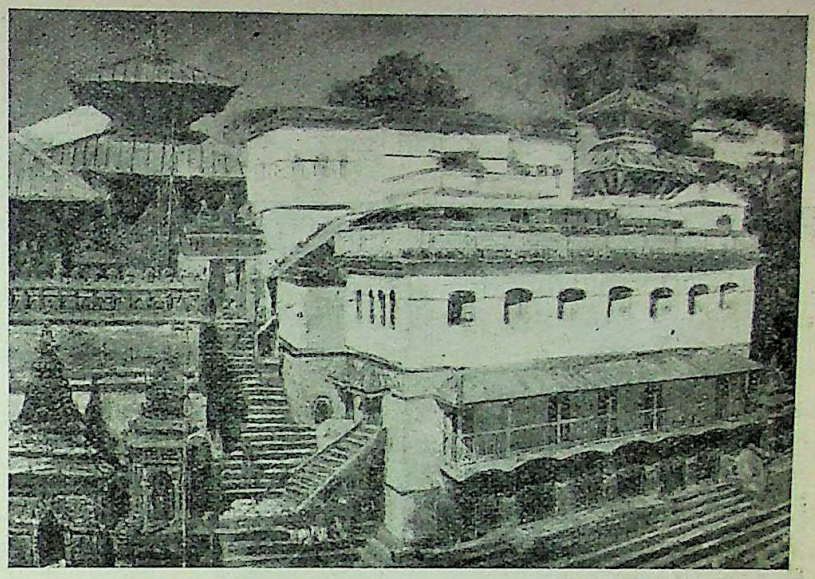


Arya Ghat, Pasupati
Another oil painting by a local artist having no academic training

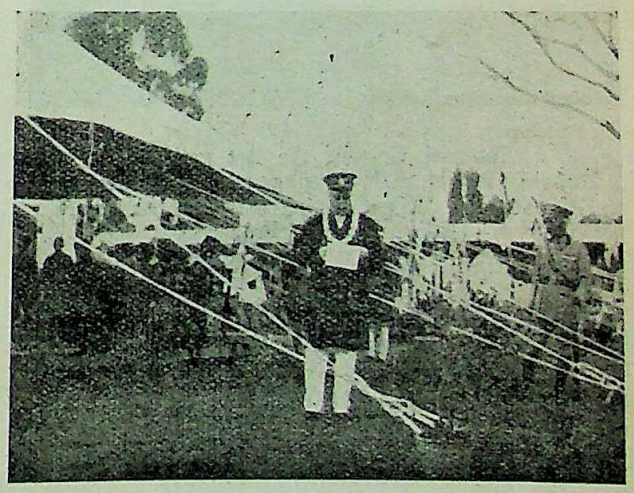
w, fitting itself to the surround- and to the general plan, and ancing the magnificence of an event. Second, it must something of the soul of its ntry—it must be born of the rit and life of its people. Such structure is meant to bear ness to its artistic endeavour, reflect the strength and sonality of the entire nation.

The plot of land on which Exhibition stands has the m of a right-angled triangle. frontage runs along the main facing a garden where the -horticulture and amusement tions have been housed. The cture consists of a brick-built gallery at the top of the ngle, and on two of its es stand the permanent sheds, sing various products of the d in different stalls. On the hypote- e parallel to the main road stands the e at the centre, being connected by porary sheds from both the extremities, sing the cottage industries, the medicinal ts of Nepal, etc.

The architecture of the gate is very simple. represents a temple—a copy of the local ous pagoda-shaped temple architecture. hin the temple an enlarged photograph of Highness the Maharaja has been placed. the top of the temple crest flies the ional Flag of Nepal bearing the sun and n.

Its simple and solemn exterior is the first come which the UDYOGA PRADARSANI ex- ds to the visitor, in the spirit of respectful ting which the consciousness of its own nity demands. A similar attitude governs ry part of the interior design.

In the open space beneath the temple the tor is confronted with an old sculpture of era (the god of wealth). The stalls aint him with the fine work which Nepal hanics, carpenters, and engravers are able of. No effort is made to over- lm the visitor upon his entrance into the losure of the Exhibition ground. The gner gives him time to enjoy and assimilate picture he looks upon from this spot. For first impression is intended to express the that the Nepal of the Joodha regime has ing to do with selfish individual interests, rather that the interests of the community are of paramount consideration. The individual departments are not in competition with one another; every one of them shows one of Nepal's many ways of endeavouring to earn recognition for her performance. They are all housed within the same enclosure, united in the ideal of the community of the Nepalese people—witnesses of the modern Nepal and its



His Highness addressing the merchants and officers

Maharaja. This harmony makes it possible to speak of an artistic atmosphere.

In accordance with the title of the Exhibition, UDYOGA PRADARSANI, Nepal's home industries have contributed a cross-section of the achievements of the Nepalese nation in those fields. Owing to limitation of space and other

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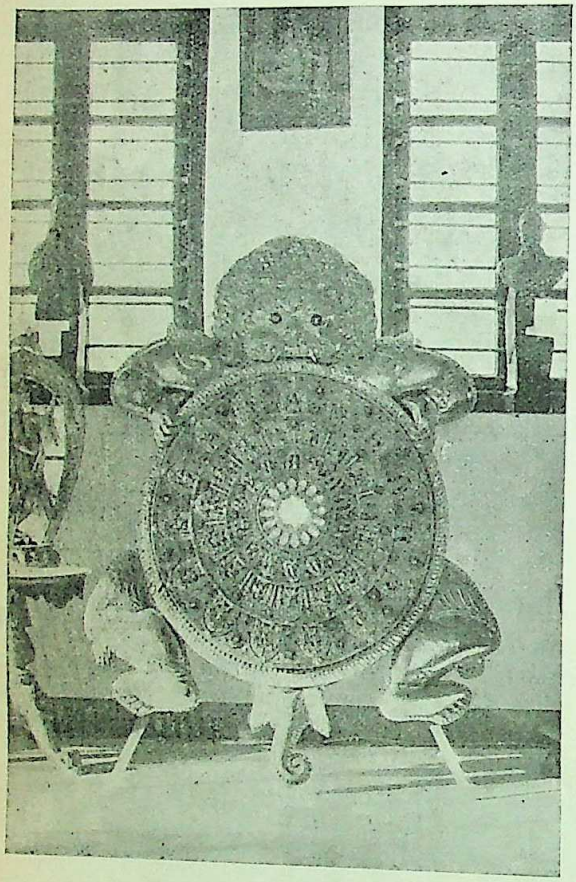
considerations, this presentation naturally cannot claim to be complete.

Nepalese fine arts are backed by a tradition of more than a thousand years. Modern research, penetrating more and more deeply



Internal view of the Art gallery
Buddhist "Yantra," showing all the Bhuvanas.
17th Century. Brass casting studded with stones
(Nepal Museum Property)

into early Nepal history, has brought to light the fact that the natural gifts of the race which to this day form the nucleus of the Nepalese nation were not confined to *Tantra* in its forms of rituals and ceremonies, but that the ability of expression in sculpture and painting was also one of its original talents.

Art and its practical application stands in the centre of this great review.

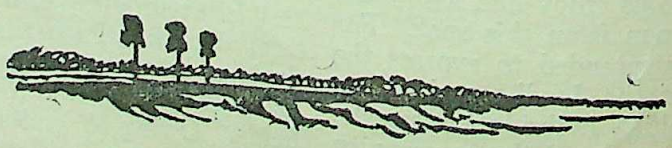
It is the extraordinary good fortune of Nepalese art that His Highness the Maharaja, the Prime Minister and the Supreme Commander-in-Chief of Nepal, is its sympathetic friend and patron.

This Exhibition has been opened formally on the 25th Bhadra, 1996 (Samvat), by His Highness the Maharaja, who in his inaugural speech remarked: "National reconstruction and progress depend on the collective co-operation of the individuals. It is not at all praiseworthy to earn money by dealing in foreign cloths and other foreign goods. The less you can drain national wealth the better. Efforts should be made to manufacture as much as possible within our own country. We should always bear in mind that as a nation we ought to be self-supporting." In his reception speech General Bahadur pointed out that "in the last exhibition goods manufactured by our craftsmen, worth Rs. 75,000, were sold within 21 days. This shows the love of our countrymen for home-made products."

The rules of the Exhibition provide various classes of exhibits; these classes are combined in different groups, which bear the following designations:

(1) Art & Curios,
(2) Cottage industries,
(3) Khadi,
(4) Technical school products,
(5) Agri-Horticulture,
(6) Health and Hygiene,
(7) Toilet requisites,
(8) Cloth,
(9) Shoes,
(10) Tannery,
(11) Furniture,
(12) Publishing,
(13) Herbs & medicinal plants,
(14) Minerals.

In the course of a few decades the development of art and industries in Nepal will have produced that uniformity of endeavour which, in spite of an unending variety in artistic and industrial personalities, will lead, in ages to come, to the work of the present period being looked upon as the NEPALESE RENAISSANCE.



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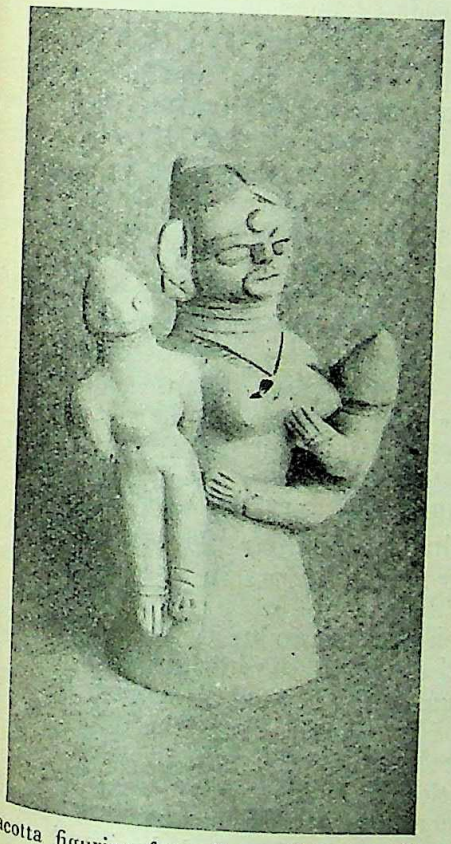
INDUS CIVILISATION FORMS AND MOTIFS IN BENGALI CULTURE

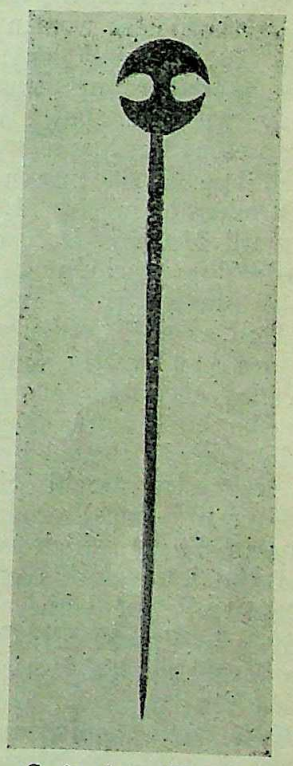
By G. S. DUTT, I. C. S.

ar some features in the folk culture of gal are in direct traditional continuation of civilisation which flourished in the Indus ley in the Chalcolithic Age as revealed by the vations at Harappa and Mohenjo-Daro is a fact which can be said to be based on ly convincing evidence furnished by certain forms and motifs common to both these lisations. Whether the descendants of the ple who lived in the Indus region in the lcolithic Age were pushed eastwards into the gal area by the invaders, or whether the same



Terracotta figurine from Dacca District (Fig. 1)

of civilisation flourished at the same time th the areas is still a moot point.[1] With regard to the art motifs common to Indus Valley culture and rural Bengali e, I drew attention in my article on the "Dolls and Figure Toys of Bengal" in the July 1938 (Vol. I, No. I) number of the *Journal of Arts and Crafts*, Calcutta, to the evidence furnished by the forms and techniques of traditional basic clay and terracotta dolls which are even now made in the villages of Bengal. Since then in my illustrated article on the "Basic Dolls and Toys of Bengal" in the April 1939 (Vol. II, No. II) number of the same journal I published reproductions of a number of such traditional Bengali clay and terracotta dolls and toys which are made now-a-days by potter women as well as ordinary village women and which in many respects have a close similarity to the terracotta figurines and toys in the Indian Museum, Calcutta, which were discovered among the



Gazir Asa (Fig. 3)

Indus Valley finds. Similar terracotta figurines and toy animals have been found among the

1. Vide *Mohenjo-Daro and The Indus Civilisation* John Marshall, Vol. I, pages 95-96.

2. *Vide* "Excavations at Paharpur, Bengal" by Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit. Pl. LXIV b and c, 1 and 2. (Memoir No. 55 of the Archæological Survey of India).

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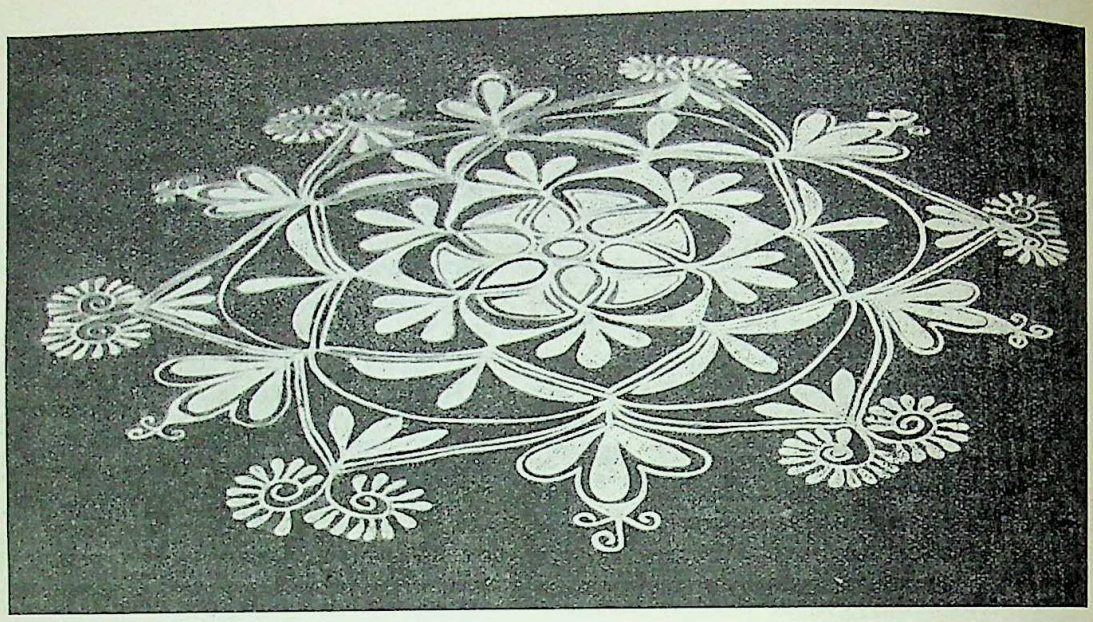

Traditional Bengali *Alpona* design (Fig. 2)

Paharpur excavations.[2] A particularly striking clay mother doll (with her two sons) has been collected by me recently from among the dolls made by the potter women of the Dacca District (*fig. 1*). It will be seen that the technique adopted here of using an elliptical pellet of clay with horizontal incision in the middle to represent the lips is exactly identical with the technique of the lips in the terracotta figurine reproduced in fig 1, pl. XII of Marshall's work *Mohenjo-Daro and The Indus Civilization.*[3] The technique employed in moulding the breasts of the mother figure in the Dacca Doll as well as the pointed form of the breasts are also exactly similar to those in the Indus valley clay figurine mentioned above.

Among the lotus-flower designs which are used by the rural Bengalee women in the centre of their traditional circular *Alpona* paintings (floor paintings) occurs one (see the central lotus in *fig. 2*) which is an exact continuation of the lotus design employed in the Mohenjo-Daro relic of which a reproduction has been given in fig. 50, Pl. CLV of Vol. III of Sir John Marshall's *Mohenjo-Daro and The Indus Civilization.*

The *Chāls, i.e.,* semi-circular or inverted parabola-shaped roof-like designs which are employed on the clay images and sometimes even brass and ivory images of popular Bengalee deities and particularly of Durga and other Mother Goddess images, appear to have their earliest prototypes in the similar *Chāls* found on the Mother Goddess figures reproduced in figures 13, 14 and 19. Pl. XII Vol. I of Marshall's *Mohenjo-Daro and The Indus Civilization.*

Another striking similarity in ideology and form is furnished by the figure of the female deity standing on a pedestal (of lotus?) between two plant forms growing out of the latter which is reproduced in fig. 18 of Pl. XXII, Vol. I of the above work of Sir John Marshall and the figure of the Goddess Lakshmi standing on a lotus pedestal between and holding two similar plant forms arising out of latter which occurs in the wooden panel from the door lintel of a Bengalee village temple which was reproduced in fig. 4 of my article on the "Living Traditions of the Folk Arts of Bengal" in *Indian Art and Letters,* Vol. 4 No. 1 of 1936.[5] From the above facts it seems probable that the female deity in the above mentioned Indus valley seal is not a Yakshi as suggested by Coomaraswamy, but the prototype of the Goddess Lakshmi and that the plant in the seal is intended to represent a lotus plant and not the pipul tree.[6]

But the most striking evidence is present

3. The same technique in the lips also occurs in the pottery figurines in Fig. 8 Pl. LXXII and Fig. 7 Pl. LXXIII in E. J. H. MacKay's "Further Excavations at Mohenjo-Daro."

4. *See* Woodcut of Goddess Durga, in Sahitya-Parishat-Patrika, Vol. 46, No. 2, p. 151.

5. *See also* Woodcut figure of Lakshmi in Sahitya-Parishat-Patrika, Vol. 46, No. 2, p. 150.

6. Elements of Buddhist Iconography by Dr. A. K. Coomaraswamy: Note on Pl. 21.

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the similarity in form of some of the
tlards (fig. 3) of the Unicorn[7] in the
henjo-Daro civilization, on the one hand,
on the other hand, by the Asā-dāndā
4) or standard of Authority of the Gazi
own as *Gāzir Asā*) which is used by the
owers of the Gazi cult in rural Bengal and
design used on the pinnacles of the temples
Siva in conjunction with the *Trishul* (tri-
) design. The Asā-dāndā design was illus-
ed and explained by me in my article on the
igers' God in Bengal Art" in *The Modern*
iew for November 1932. Now, an exactly
ilar design appears on the pinnacles of the
erous temples of Siva which stand along
river bank in front of the famous Kali
ple at Dakshineswar on the river Hooghly,
w miles above Calcutta. This came to my
e on the occasion of a visit which I paid
he temple on the 30th September last. On
pinnacle of the roof of each of these Siva
les occur three upright iron motifs, *viz.*,
Trishul in the middle and two double cres-
shaped standards exactly similar to the
-to-face double crescent motif of the
ir-Asā' (fig. 5).

This similarity will be found to correspond
significant fact common to these three
fs, *viz.*, that they are all used in connec-
with a sacred animal or with a deity which
presented as riding on a sacred animal.
e case of the Mohenjo-Daro standard, the
l animal is the one-horned bull. In the
of the Siva temple, the God Siva is the
who rides on the sacred bull. As Sir John
hall has pointed out, the prototype of the
Siva occurs among the Mohenjo-Daro
and has a Trishul-shaped symbol on his
The sacred bull (unicorn) in the
enjo-Daro seals does not, it is true, occur in
nction with the Siva figure. But it is
us that in later Indian civilisation, the
l bull becomes the mount of the God Siva
has the trident (*trishul*) as his traditional
on. It would seem that this conjunction
en the sacred bull and Siva was accom-
d by a corresponding juxtaposition of the
ul and the double crescent shaped emblem
h was finally evolved as the standard of the
d bull out of the variety of the shapes of
standard which were in use at different

periods and different places in the Chalcolithic civilisation of the Indus valley.

How did the form of the sacred bull's standard become the standard of the Gāzi? Now, Gāzi is often called *Bura Gāzi* (old Gazi) exactly in the same manner as Siva is called *Burā Siva*. It seems extremely likely that the popular Moslem conception of the Gāzi riding on a tiger was derived from the Hindu conception of Siva riding on a sacred bull. The fact that the Gāzi riding on a tiger is represented as having two attendants—one in front of the tiger and the other behind the tiger, just as Siva has two attendants—Nandi and Bhringi—in similar positions, supports this view which I expressed in 1932 in my article on the "Tigers' God in Bengal Art" referred to above.[9]

Design (enlarged 3½ times) of the 'standard' in Fig. 20, Pl. XIII in Marshall's Mohenjo-Daro and the Indus Civilisation (Vol. 1) (Fig. 4)

Another coincidence which strengthens this view is the fact that the figure of Gangā (representing the river Ganges), the spouse of Siva, riding on a crocodile is an almost constant motif in the rural Bengali scroll paintings (Gāzir Pat) representing the Gāzi (*Vide* illustrations in the present writer's article mentioned above in

7. See: for example, Pl. XIII, Figs. 18, 19, 20; Pl. Figs. 78 and 92; Pl. CVII, Fig. 134; Pl. CIX, Figs. 253 in Marshall's *Mohenjo-Daro and The Indus* tion.

8. Vide *Mohenjo-Daro and The Indus Civilisation* John Marshall, Vol. I, Pl. XII, Fig. 17.

9. Compare also the similar design of Siva riding the bull and of his two attendants published with the present writer's article on "A Wood Carving from a Bengal Village" in Vol. V. (1937) of the *Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art*.

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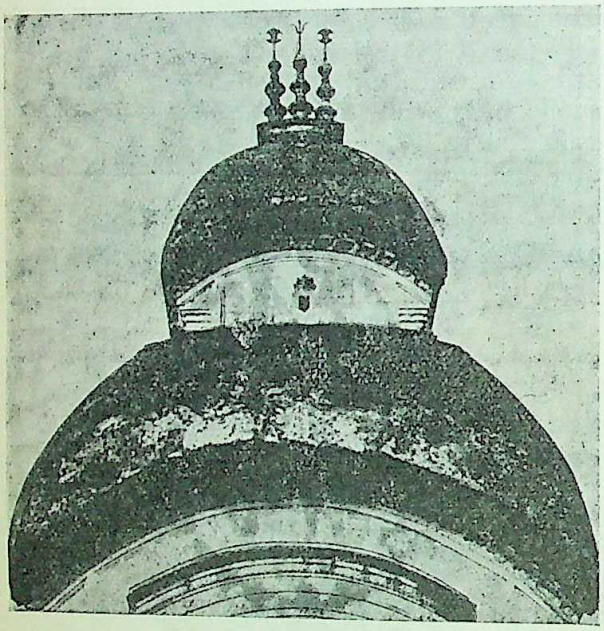
pages 521, 522 and 523 in *The Modern Review* for November, 1932).

Sir John Marshall has expressed his inability to suggest any final opinion as to the origin and significance of the sacred bull's standard in the Indus civilisation seals. He rejects the supposition that the bowl-shaped object which forms the lower part of the standard of the unicorn and the basket-like portion which forms the upper part could have been used as a

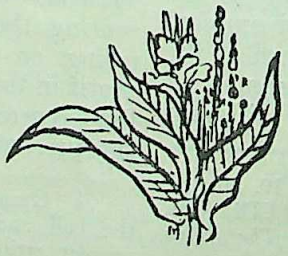


Siva Temple at Dakshineswar (Fig. 5)

manger. He thinks that the basket-like object which forms the upper part of the standard might have been a cage for holding a sacred bird. E. J. H. MacKay, in his "Further Excavations at Mohenjo-Daro" supports the "manger" interpretation.

On a very careful study of the reproductions of the seals in the various plates in Marshall's book *Mohenjo-Daro and The Indus Civilisation* I think that there can be little doubt that the design of the standard in the Indus civilisation seals was derived from that of a manger in two parts, namely a trough either of clay, wood or metal which was used for either drinking water or other cattle food and a separate wicker basket which was used as a manger for holding the straw or grass for feeding the animal. Sometimes the lower object (feeding trough) also presumably rested on a wicker basket work. Marshall has observed that one could not be sure whether the staff which supports the lower object, *viz.*, the bowl, ran right through up to the upper object, *viz.*, the basket; and he has pointed out that in Seal No. 17, the portion of the support between the bowl and the upper object takes a lattice-work form. I think it is obvious on a careful examination of Seals Nos. 3 and 10 that the two objects namely the upper (basket) and the lower (trough) were not always joined together and that sometimes they were represented as resting on separate stands.

This view is also corroborated to a certain extent by Seals Nos. 9, 11 and 18. For the purpose of simplified artistic representation, the stairs supporting the two object were obviously represented as continuous in the majority of the seals. The whole subject, however, obviously requires a more detailed treatment which I propose to undertake in my next article. In that article I propose to show by a fairly exhaustive examination of the various types of the seals reproduced in Marshall's work that there are good grounds for holding that the so-called standard of the unicorn was originally derived from a feeding trough which forms the lower part of the standard and a feeding basket for holding grass or straw which represents the upper object of the standard. I also propose to show that this standard of the sacred bull in Mohenjo-Daro is in all likelihood the prototype from which the Siva temple standard which occurs in conjunction with the Trishul at Dakshineswar and the Gāzir-Asā (standard of authority of the Gazi) were derived.



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INDIAN PERIODICALS

A MESSAGE

No rent is made there in the mist
by the doubtful dawn.
No struggling streak of light comes through
to gild our cage of gloom.
Yet do not wail with us in pity,
bird whose wings are free,
But soar above conspiring clouds
and cry : I see the sun !

RABINDRANATH TAGORE
in the *Visva-Bharati News*

Party Government in India

A party government is neither inherent in cracy nor is it indispensable to representa- government. In effect a party government cedes democracy. The alternative to a government is necessarily a National rnment. A non-party government alone is ly National government. In the course of article in *The Indian World* S. Srinivas gar observes :

The evils of Party will be greatly intensified in n conditions. A healthy two-party system ap- to be almost impossible in this country. Nor here be any use if Party is allowed to divide the as well as the legislature. The existing com- l divisions will tend to become the starting points party system. Parties based upon caste, creed on provincialism or linguistic differentia, will deepen the communal divisions, such as Hindu, medan, Sikh or Christian; and will make them more rigid than they are today. The staggering s of the Congress at the last election, though in due to its popularity in having fought the prior cratic regime, was principally due to the isfaction with the system of parties as it was func- g under the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms. It was ed as a National Party intended to liquidate all differences. In some provinces communalism is e basis of party and in others, though it may be for the moment, its dangerous potentialities t be overlooked.

For a party system, it is necessary to have and honest differences on great questions. The disintegration of parties in England is due to sence of any such differences in these days. In Prohibition, Swadeshi, reduction of land assess- and even temple-entry apart from methods of enting it, are common to all parties and commu- Even on such a controversial question as tion, which acutely divided political parties in d, we have no such firm convictions as would compel us to divide into parties. No genuine divisions of Conservative, Liberal and Radical are possible in India. The Congress and the Muslim League are agreed as to India's final goal. There is no active section or effective party which holds a different view. Nor are economic interests likely to afford a stable basis for the division of parties in India. Neither zamindars and landholders nor merchants and bankers nor the professional classes can form distinct parties which could be both stable and effective. The overwhelmingly large agricultural population in the country makes it impossible for the emergence of any party permanently opposed to it. Nor is there any new serious antagonism between the agricultural community and labour. The issue of socialism will perhaps divide the people in the future; if it does, it will be either ineffective as in England or it will destroy the present structure of society in India and replace it by a new one wehre there will be no party.

The evils of the party system in England have been mitigated by their strong sense of racial identity and an active public opinion.

In India the former is still in the making and the latter exists only when there is no party government. The common tendency to follow the opinion of a majority party and the dearth of minority courage make it difficult to create or maintain a large middle opinion, which would be strong and effective to restrain a majority party from an unfair assertion of its strength, heedless of criticism or opposition. While the spirit of accommodation and compromise is the keynote of English political life, a strong majority party in India can seldom be expected to show accommodation and a minority party instead of fighting will start with a compromise and end by a surrender. These features which are due to India's long subjection to indigenous autocracy and the foreign rule cannot be obliterated without a long spell of a non-party democracy. We should also remember that, thanks to centuries of religious zeal, we are apt to import into public affairs what would be a virtue in the domain of religion; any political party in India will probably tend to assimilate itself to a religious sect and to be intolerant of opposition and criticism.

Conception of Freedom in the Bhagavad-Gita

The conception of human freedom plays a very important part in Western philosophy. We are naturally tempted to enquire what its place is in the Bhagavad-Gita. Prof S. K. Maitra, observes in *Prabuddha Bharata* :

Let us try to examine the conception of freedom as we find it in the Bhagavat-Gita. For the Gita free-

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dom essentially implies rational freedom. That is to say, it looks upon a man as free so far as he is governed by reason. To be free means for the Gita to be determined by the rational self, to be free, that is to say, from the control of the senses and the passions. The characteristics of the *Sthitaprajna* as given in the second chapter or of the *Bhaktiman* given in the twelfth chapter or of the *Trigunatita* as depicted in the fourteenth chapter are all characteristics of the free man. The free man is the man who is not in bondage, and the Gita very clearly points out what constitutes bondage. Expressed in most general terms, bondage is attachment to the object of desire. Freedom, therefore, implies non-attachment to the object of desire, and that is why the main part of the teaching of the Gita is directed towards showing the importance of the principle of non-attachment. This is, in fact, the pivot round which the teaching of the Gita moves, just as the conception of freedom is the pivot round which the ethical philosophy of Kant moves. There are hundreds of verses, the object of which is to show the essential importance of the principle of non-attachment.

One thing we cannot too strongly emphasize here. The Gita, like the Western rationalists, lays more stress upon the freedom of man than upon the freedom of the will. And man is free, says the Gita, if he realizes his rational self, if he becomes *atmavan* or *atmarati*.

The Gita undoubtedly believes that it is open to everybody either to take the path of virtue or the path of vice. If this were not so, the purpose of the Gita would be completely frustrated. For its object undoubtedly was to give instruction to Arjuna about what his duty was in the difficult situation in which he was placed, so as to dissuade him from following the path of his natural impulses leading to inaction. It believes, therefore, in the possibility of a man changing his course of action as a result of receiving moral instruction and adopting the right method of self-improvement. No matter how low and debased a person's moral condition may be, there is still chance for him or her to improve this conditon.

The Santal Village

In an article in *The National Christian Council Review* a writer describes the Santal Village :

You will usually find it far from the beaten track; for the typical Santal is a child of the jungle and avoids the main roads and centres of population. Each house is a picture, the creation of men and women who live close enough to nature to be innately and unconsciously artistic in almost all that they do. First the men go to the jungle to cut the saplings they need for corner-posts and rafters. Then they dig a pit, the women carrying water to mix the earth in it to a soft, pliable mud. With this the walls are gradually built up, without the help of rule and plumb-line. In each corner is buried a stout post, to support the main rafters of the roof, the outlines of which soon rise steeply-angled, from the top of the walls. If the builder be a man of substance, he next calls in the potters to make red tiles with which to cover the rafters; but more often he completes it himself, with a thick layer of thatching-grass. He then builds a plinth round the outside of the wall, high enough to afford a comfortable seat, where he may sun himself in the cold weather or enjoy a crack with his cronies in the cool of a hot-weather evening. The doorway is filled with a rough structure of bamboo or saplings laced together. Windows and chimneys there are none. The smoke of the cooking fire finds its way out through the space between walls and roof. The house complete, a rough and ready byre is added, at right angles to one end of it; and the remaining two sides of a square are shut in by two simple walls, to form a courtyard. Here, shut off from the public gaze and protected from hot winds, the inmates eat and sleep during the hotter months of the year. The women smear the outside with a waterproof coating of earth mixed with cowdung, smoothing off the roughness of the walls, and the homestead is complete. As the sons grow up, bring in wives, and produce their own families, other little houses may be built, to house the growing family, replacing the walls on two sides of the square. The furnishings, too, are home-made—a cooking-place, fashioned of mud, in a corner of the outer room; some string-beds; perhaps a rough stool or two; a hollowed-out tree-trunk to form a mortar and an iron-shod stick to form a pestle with which to pound the daily portion of rice; and a rough rack of logs in a corner of the courtyard to support the water-pots.

An irregular cluster of such houses, each surrounded by a patch of cultivated land, forms the Santal village.

For the greater part of the year, the land surrounding each house lies fallow and unfenced. During the rains each field is surrounded by a picturesque and temporary fence of interlacing branches or thorns, and the Indian-corn is prominent among the crops, shooting up so high in a few months as almost to hide the houses. Somewhere near the centre of the village, usually next to the house of the *manjhi* or village chief, is to be found the *manjhi than*. This is the centre of village life, and the nearest approach to a temple that the animistic beliefs of the Santal can produce. It is a mud platform. A roughly thatched roof is supported by five posts—four at the corners and one in the centre. At the foot of the centre-post are some stones, daubed with red paint. Each of these represents the spirit of one of the departed chiefs, and from their number you can estimate roughly the age of the village. Here, on the occasion of certain annual fastivals, sacrifices are offered to these spirits, to ensure their continued watch over the interests of the village. This, too, is the official meeting-place of the village council—the 'five men.' It consists of the village chief, his assistant, the 'moral guardian,' his assistant, and the messenger. After they have settled any dispute among the villagers, or discussed any matter of general interest, it is from this platform that the chief pronounces judgment, believing that the spirits of his ancestors concur in, and add authority to, his pronouncement. And somewhere on the outskirts is a grove of *sal* trees. This is the haunt, as the people believe, of the host of evil spirits which must constantly be propitiated if they are to be prevented from bringing famine and drought, sickness or death on the villagers.

No marriage or divorce can take place, no family quarrel be settled, without the knowledge and consent of the village as a whole.

It is the chief, after consultation with the village, who decides when the first seeds are to be sown or the first sheaves reaped, and all such events are preceded

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religious ceremonies and sacrifices in which the ers all participate. And the life of such a village extraordinarily self-contained. Some will join to-er in an occasional visit to a neighbouring weekly ket; individuals may pay rare visits to relatives at a distance; once or twice a year the men will forth, armed with blows and arrows, to join with fellows from a wide area in hunting the jungle —killing all they see, and eating all they kill. rt from these occasions, the Santal seldom strays m home.

The life of the women is of the busiest from year's end to other—keeping the house clean and pounding, winnowing, and cooking the rice; look-after the children, numerous as they usually are; to the well morning and evening to draw water and lling there for a while, it may be, to gossip with r neighbours, joining with others on an expedition the jungle every now and then to bring back sup-s of firewood and the leaves from which they make cups and plates for every meal. The women play r part in the various farming activities in their ons, whether it be hoeing the fields in which the n corn is growing, standing calf-deep in water morning to night, transplanting each seedling of by hand in the underlying mud, bending down with e to reap the same crop some months later, or owing the grain threshed by bullocks on the thresh-floor.

John Donne

The influence of John Donne (1572-1631) the post-war English poetry is not so curious henomenon as it first appears to be, for the t-war poets discovered a close affinity with school of Donne, and realised the significance the tradition which has descended from ne to the other Metaphysical poets of the nteenth century. Writes Prof. Itrat Husain eri in *The Visva-Bharati Quarterly* :

It is the earlier Donne of *Songs and Sonets, Elegies Satyres*, rather than the saintly Donne of *Devo-and Sermons*, that has influenced T. S. Eliot and ugh him the other younger poets. There is nothing diæval in the love poetry and satires of Donne; are the very antithesis of mediæval chivalry and idealisation of womanhood; in them we discover exultant dawn of the Renaissance spirit in English ry.

The aim of mediæval philosophers, like St. Thomas mas, was to achieve a vast and unique synthesis unification of all knowledge, a *Summa* was the to be attained. Donne does not attempt to unify vast knowledge or to reduce it to an organic system thought; his method in poetry as well as in theology philosophy was mainly analytical. He was the ous explorer of the human soul, interested in the ology of experience, whether of sensuous love or ical illumination. We find in him the disintegra-of mediæval thought and scholastic method; even his lyric poetry there is no background of an ideal y in poetic or religious experience as we find in the y of Dante or Lucretius.

Donne fashioned a poetic idiom in which intellect, tion and thought were fused into a significant e pattern. He also incorporated erudition in his poetic sensibility, and though he banished mythology from his poetry, scholastic philosophy and the New Learning took its place.

Donne gave a new energy and intellectual suppleness to his poetic language which is both learned and simple.

No English poet of the past has exercised a greater influence on the post-war poets than Donne, for they too have realised the interdependence of the soul and body in a passionate experience; their prosody too has the ease and vigour of conversational speech; and their aim is not only to concentrate on the psychology of their own experience, but also to raise it to a metaphysical significance which transcends and universalises that experience. Thus the influence of Donne has enabled the poets of today to *discover* themselves, and through this discivery to interpret the peculiar consciousness of our age and to create a poetic idiom through which they have expressed the cynicism, the disillusioned and tormented mind of this age as well as its efforts to realise the richness of the religious and mystical life of the individual soul.

Donne deserves to be better known in India today, for he is, as Ben Johnson called him "the first poet in the world for some things." The scepticism of his early thought, the cynicism of his wit, the freshness and originality of his poetic invention and above all the terrifying honesty of his soul whose progress we can watch from "the evaporations of wit" as Donne called "Paradoxes and Problems" to the agony of Purgation in the Holy Sonnets and lastly to the mystical faith of his magnificent Sermons; all these various phases of his thoughts have points of contact with the manifold facts of our own age. The poets of today can also say with Donne that "Contraries meet in me."

It is through Donne, as T. S. Eliot has confessed, that the modern poets have "elicited their own talents," and found that "fulness of satisfaction" which they could not discover in any other English poet of the past.

Whitman To-day

In an article in *The Aryan Path* Hugh I'A. Fausset brings out the contrast and duality evinced by the unconventional American poet and practical altruist, Walt Whitman, who loved his fellow-beings and rejoiced in spending himself in their service :

Thoreau said of Whitman that he *was* democracy. But the remark was evoked by a personal contact with the man which impressed him so favourably that he was no longer disturbed by "any brag or egoism in his book." The distinction between the man Whitman and what he wrote is important.

There is no doubt that a magnetic sun did shine through him and warmed and tranquillised those who received its rays. He was a channel for a spiritual virtue which his severest critics overlook, but which was of more creative value than their intellectual superiority. Yet they are right in saying that he was a divided man, at once simple on one level of his nature and complex on another. He himself was well aware of

> The vehement struggle so fierce for unity in one's-self.

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And the key to what is unsatisfying in his gospel of comradeship and delusive in his celebration of the ego is to be found in his failure ever to resolve this struggle truly in the depths of himself. He hoped to do this by being passively hospitable to everything however contradictory.

Do I contradict myself ?
Very well then I contradict myself,
(I am large. I contain multitudes.)

A capacity for including opposites and reconciling them in the unity of imagination is, indeed, the mark of a true seer as it is of a great artist. But Whitman for the most part included without reconciling.

The virtue which he radiated as a man was a quality of his physical being. It was not merely that he enjoyed perfect physical health. He had the secret of so relaxing his body that he lost all sense of separation, while around him spread "the peace and knowledge that pass all the argument of the earth." In this experience he realized his greatest happiness, and so it is not surprising that his aim should have been "to sing, and sing, to the full, the ecstasy of simple physiological Being." But unity can be experienced on different levels of man's being and can only be complete when it is experienced on all levels at once.

It was this integrity which he was trying to define when he wrote that neither pride nor sympathy "can stretch too far while it stretches in company with the other." As in so many of his statements he had glimpsed here a profound truth, nohing less than the marriage in perfect being of the active and passive principles, and that to affirm the self truly is also to surrender it. Such is the condition of a true integrity in which pride is wholly innocent of arrogance and humility of subservience. He had a measureless physical sympathy with men and things, with life on its elemental and little differentiated level. And in expanding this sympathy he indulged the feminine side of his nature.

There is, too, a lasting value in his unwearied wonder at things, in his capacity for simple happiness and for being at home with simple people. and in his large acceptance, patience and imperturbability. In all these qualities he was a true mystic as he was a true democrat.

D. H. Lawrence

Writing about D. H. Lawrence in *Triveni*, K. S. Pathy makes the following remarks :

The appreciation of Lawrence falls into various grades from the restrained estimation of Murray to the ardent admiration of Huxley. The variety of appeal is plainly the result of the multiplicity of affective interests in Lawrence's life and works. The only interest that can eschew the grinding rigours of criticism incidental to literary, artistic, philosophic or humanistic preconceptions is the personalistic or psychological interest.

The motto of Lawrence as he has in one of his letters declared, is, "Art for my sake." The words reveal not only the meaning of his art, but also the significance of his life. He lived his own life as he evolved his own art. In art as well as life he was a thorough-going individualist. There is not a single line of his writings that is not self-exposure, self-flagellation, self-gratification and self-justification. Huxley states, "Like Blake, like any man possessed of great special talents he was predestined by his gifts . . . . That Lawrence was profoundly affected by his love for his mother and by her excessive love for him is obvious to any one who has read 'Sons and Lovers.' None the less it is to me at any rate equally obvious that even if his mother had died when he was a child, Lawrence would still have been essentially and fundamentally Lawrence. Lawrence's biography does not account for Lawrence's achievement, or rather the gift that made the achievement possible accounts for a great deal of his biography." This is a questionable attitude. No one doubts the special gifts of Lawrence. His emotional susceptibilities, imagination, intuition and original literary talent are all established beyond cavil. Explanations of these innate capabilities by the psychological method would be like attempting an explanation of the Universe by an outworn mythology. These are taken for granted as the very basic beginning. But the way the native capacities work, the setting they receive, the landscape they have to course over are purely extraneous and circumstantial.

Seed Oil for Powerful Lamps

The invention of seed oil lamp by Mr. D. R. Jogalekar, of the Fergusson College, Poona, is one which heralds a happy revolution in the field of fuel oil. In appreciating his invention, the *Mahratta* writes :

It is simply to be imagined what enormous must have been the drain of foreign companies on the poor purse of India. India per year consumes kerosene and petrol of the cost of 3 to 10 crores !

It is indeed a happy augury of the times that the Congress Governments within their means, have in right earnest inaugurated, though on humble scale, a heavy work of national reconstruction. Rural Uplift occupies an important stage in the scheme of national reconstruction. Sincere attempts are being made by Congress Governments to accord every encouragement to the production of indigenous products and offer every possible facility to the attempts in that direction.

Mr. Jogalekar has been fortunte in securing a grant of Rs. 3,000 from the Government of Bombay for further experimental work in connection with the vegetable oil lamp invented by him.

The seed oil is imbued with potentialities. In this connection two points are to be primarily considered; they are the luminosity and the cost. On constant experiments of more than a decade, Mr. Jogalekar has found that the quantities of these oils by weight consumed per hour to emit light of the same fixed candle power, were about half that of kerosene. Thus roughly, it can be assumed that burning seed oils for lamps there is a clear saving of 20 per cent in the cost of consumption. In point of luminosity it has been found by experiments that the seed oils emit light as bright as kerosene giving a candle power ranging from about 10 C.P. to 15 C.P.

Mr. Jogalekar holds out a hope that the seed oil can be useful as a fuel for engines in place of crude oil. It is further possible to prepare industrial petrol

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of the waste seed oils. He has shown that the oil lamp is produced in a dozen different models; are wall and table models for lighting homes; and portable types for lighting thoroughfares and lamps for making tea. To popularise this invention production on large scale shall have to be undertaken.

The New History

The old history books will not do for us. It is so for two important reasons: one is that the historical materials available change from generation to generation; the other is that our outlook even on the same materials as our fathers had is subtly changed by the circumstances of our own time. Writes E. J. Bingle in *The Indian Radio Review*:

Our age is one which has seen such rapid increase in historical material as has not happened at any other period in the post. I can still remember some men whose notion of recorded time was that history began in the year 4004 B.C. That made history seem a more comfortable and reasonable period to grasp—history was easier for the boys of that generation. For us there is no such limit. Almost every year the spade of the archæologist turns up some more ancient civilization than we have had thought conceivable. If we add to the work of the archæologists, the discoveries and excavations of anthropologists, geologists and the rest of the scientific tribe, we begin to think back first in terms of thousands of years and then of millions till we become dizzy. History turns out to be a much longer business than we ever thought of it. It is true that we didn't get much of that in your school books. The schoolmaster still drops up that great expanse of time into little bits which can be managed in an examination paper—Tudor period, British and Muhammadan periods and the like—but that is a falsification of history as it really is, as we have come to know it in our time. In fact it takes a scientist to write history on that scale, and a novelist to imagine it in anything like vivid reality. (That is why many grown up people have learned more history from Mr. H. G. Wells than from the text-book writers of their school days).

From another aspect, the new history has a depth which is lacking in the older histories. The history must take in the whole world; anything less will do for our time.

That leads to some curious results. A few years back, two historians set out to describe the growth of what they called western civilization. In order to do that, they had to go far back in time before anything existed which might be called eastern or western or any other civilization. They had also to spread themselves, as time developed, so far that they had to describe all the other civilizations of the world as well. The growth of western civilization had become "World History," and they adopted a double and contradictory title. "World History" is not only "the growth of western civilization;" on the other hand you cannot now-a-days understand western or any other civilization except against a background of the world as a whole. Now that is a stupendous, almost an impossible task. There are no good histories of the world as a whole. The task is beyond the competence of any single scholar; where scholars have co-operated in composite histories, the results have been for the most part disappointing. Nevertheless, we must have a world-history. We live in a time when each part of the world acts and reacts on all the other parts that we can't think or act except in relation to a total world-situation. If that sounds fantastic, look at your daily newspaper: think of China, Spain and Africa. Our histories must somehow match the world in which we live. With due respect to Mr. H. G. Wells, we still look for and, since our need is so pressing, we anxiously await the coming of the genius, the historian of the world.

Plenty of Drops to Drink

Henry Geisler Philips writes in the *Oriental Watchman and Herald of Health*:

"Use water externally, internally and eternally," is the advice of dietitians, and every one takes that advice on hot days or after strenuous exercise that has produced sweating. But that is not enough; at all times the need for water is great, and if that need is not met life cannot be sustained more than a few days.

Why is it that water is second in importance in the three vital needs of the body—oxygen, water, food? It is because about two-thirds of the adult body is water held within the billions of cells of which the body is composed. Water is the largest constituent of every soft tissue, and even hard bone cells are more than one-third water. Other reasons for the eternal thirst we have in common with animals and plants are these: Every cell in the body must be constantly bathed in fluid to do its work well; moving parts of the body must be lubricated; food taken into the body must be dissolved in the process of digestion; digested food must be carried in a fluid medium to all parts of the body; waste products must be flushed out and the lungs and skin cannot perform their work unless they are moist. All these things take great quantities of water.

Man must frequently renew his own supply of water because his body is constantly utilizing what has been taken in.

There is a continual loss of water through the pores of the skin; for instance, exercise produces moisture from the sweat glands. Then each time we exhale air from the lungs, some water is carried with it; this may be seen as drops of moisture forming from the hot breath as it is blown on cold window panes. And water is eliminated as urine from the kidneys and in the fæces from the alimentary canal. An adult loses from four to five pints of water daily.

Water in circulation through the body is one of the conditions of good health, and this need is supplied in several ways:

(1) Water drunk as a beverage, as water or in other liquids. such as milk. cocoa. soups, or fruit juices; (2) water taken in with solid foods, particularly fruits and vegetables. Even the driest biscuit contains some liquid. The water content of a few common foods is as follows: lettuce, from 86 to 95 per cent water; apples, 76 to 86 per cent; potatoes, 81 per cent; white bread, 26 to 49 per cent

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and cheese, between 36 and 72 per cent. (3) Water may be formed in the body as a result of the digestion and utilization of food.

One important function of water in the body is to keep the temperature of the body always the same.

Since water is so important to man's well-being, he should ensure himself of a plentiful supply. Noted chemists say, "Stated in more practical terms, the average person probably needs from six to eight glasses of water taken as such and in beverages, daily." A good plan therefore is to drink a glass of water every morning on rising, for once that habit is established, the body is assured of a good start for the day. Dietitians do not frown as they once did on drinking water during meals, although they warn against using it for washing down food. Perspiration eliminates salt as well as water, which must be replaced especially when the perspiration is copious. Salt tablets, or table salt, equal to one-quarter teaspoon once or twice a day is sufficient.

Sri Krishna, the Builder of a United India

Sri Krisrna may be said to have united the vast Indian continent peopled by various races of men under one spiritual and cultural banner and to have brought into existence the great immortal Hindu nation, in which the Aryans and the diverse non-Aryan races were socially and spiritually blended together and which also offered sufficient scope for the merging of other races from outside into its fold. Observes Akshaya Kumar Banerjea in *Prabuddha Bharata*:

The task of racial, social, cultural and spiritual unification required a creative and organising genius of far higher order than that of political and economic conquest. Races which had distinctive cultures and civilizations of their own, though politically subdued and economically weakened, could not be culturally conquered and assimilated without the manifestation and operation of a far superior dynamic spiritual force on the part of the conquerors. Without the cultural conquest of the non-Aryans and their social amalgamation with the Aryans, the Hindu or Indian nation could not come into existence. The non-Aryans had to be Aryanised and for that purpose the Aryans had to be liberated from their original exclusivism.

The Vedas as interpreted by the Brahmanas, which formed the basis of the national culture and civilization of the Aryans, determined the nature of their domestic and social organizations, controlled their distinctive moral and spiritual outlook on life and set up high ideals for their realization in this world as well as in the other world, required to be re-interpreted from a deeper spiritual and higher universal standpoint so that their fundamental principles might be acceptable to all men and harmonise all kinds of cultural traditions. Exclusivist creeds and practices, which might be very useful for self-preservation were serious obstacles to self-expansion. The noble achievements of the non-Aryans in the various departments of their life had also to be assimilated to the Aryan life. Social amalgamation through intermarriage also was necessary for the progressive obliteration of their racial differences. One nation, one national culture, one all-absorbing social organization, one universal spiritual ideal, had to be established throughout the length and breadth of India. Refractory elements, refusing to yield to the great plan of unification, had to be put down with a strong hand for the sake of the lofty ideal. It was with this grand mission of life that the Divine Man Sri Krishna, made his appearance on the field of action in one of the most critical periods of India's history.

Sri Krishna may quite appropriately be described as the true builder of *Mahâbhârata*, —one great organised Bhâratavarsha, one united Hindu nation.

In carrying out his great mission Sri Krishna had to meet violent resistance from the most powerful Kshatriya kings of Northern India, who even sought the help of the Yavana kings of the North-Western countries to baffle his attempt. A detailed narration of the invitation of the Yavana king, Kala-Yavana, by Jarasandha, Salwa and other Kshatriya kings and their simultaneous attacks from two sides upon Sri Krishna's forces is given in the *Hari-vamsa*. Sri Krishna had to make a strategic retreat and to remove the centre of his activity from Mathura to Dwaraka, a small island to the west of India for the purpose of reinforcing his organization. He however, soon managed to organize an invincible military force out of neglected materials supplied by the lower grades of the society. Depressed people, suffering from social and political oppression rallied round him and found in him their saviour. Many non-Aryan war-lords also gave him immense trouble.

But the divine power operating within him was superior to all these opposing forces. He made alliance with several royal families of the country,—and generally those who had grievances against the then prevalent state of things. The Brahmanical orthodoxy also put serious obstacles in the way of the realization of his ideal. But he managed to get substantial assistance from some exceptionally gifted Brahman-teachers. Of these Sri Krishna Dvaipayana was the most notable. It may be said that Purushottama Sri Krishna's success in building up the Mahabharata nation greatly depended upon the intellectual and spiritual contributions of Sri Krishna Dvaipayana and his disciples and upon the political and military activities of Arjuna and his brothers and friends.

Ancient Steel Works of India

Pranlal Patel writes in the *Journal of the Indian Merchants' Chamber*:

Indian art of high class steel making dates back to 3000 years B.C. Indian steel known in Europe as Wootz Steel, a Tamil name of *Polad*, was one of the principal articles for export. The well-known Damascus weapons was principally worked out from the imported Indian raw material.

Iron ore is a very common mineral occurrence in India and available almost in every province of the

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ry. The primitive method of ancient iron ing can be classified into two groups. 1st group : Furnace and Shaft Furnace (Rennstahl), 2nd : Crucible steel (Temperstahl or Wootz Steel). Pit Furnace consisted of square pits, dug direct into ground, measuring about 18 inches square and ches deep made from clay. Blast was blown by s of leather or skin bellow operated through a leading to the pit bottom. The reduced lump n was taken out from the front of the furnace breaking it through. The furnace was charged charcoal and small pieces of iron ore together certain pereentage of pulverized ore in successive The blowing operation lasted from 4 to 6 and average capacity of such pit furnaces from 100 to 125 lbs. of steel production per day a furnace efficiency of 28 to 30% with 300 to of charcoal consumption to the iron production. The Shaft Furnace exhibits the same principle characteristic of the Pit Furnace with this differ- that the Shaft Furnace had a height of about 10 ft. and instead of charging in the open pit, ar rings of burnt clay were constructed which allow- e utilisation of waste gases for heating the upper of the charge. The efficiency attained by such furnace was 40% with 250% of charcoal consump- and 150 to 175 lbs. of steel production per day. verage analysis of steel obtained was 0.06% Car- 0.22% Silicon, 0.2% Phosphorus, 36% Elongation, traces of Manganese and tensile strength 24 to 27 lbs. per square inch.

The metallurgical skill in carrying out the reduction process lay in the addition of sufficient percentage of pulverized ore to maintain oxidising slag in order to prevent absorption of carbon into reduced steel so that the ultimate product might in certain cases obtain remarkable purity of iron content reaching upto 99.97% exhibiting extraordinary toughness, strength and ductility. The product from the above furnace was obtained in the form of lumps with slag inter-mixed. These lumps were subjected to hammering in order to squeeze out slag and shape it to the desired form.

The second group of steel called Wootz Steel was principally made in crucibles heated by indirect method. The Iron Ore with powder, charcoal and fluxes were charged in crucibles with covers closed with clay in order to avoid penetration of air into the charge. Such crucibles were put in series in big pits and fire was lighted from all the sides. The reduction period was dependent on the degree of the reducibility of the ore in question (lasting for 4 to 10 hours). After reduction period was over the reduced globules of pure iron were allowed to be cooled in the crucibles during which period certain amount of carbon was being absorbed which contributed to the resultant product the property of acquiring the very best temper for which the Indian Wootz Steel was renowed all the world over.

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FOREIGN PERIODICALS

Dictators' Income

The *Parade* publishes a revealing account of the finances of dictators, Hitler, Mussolini, Stalin and others, from which an extrart is printed below.

The finance of the German dictator is wrapt in mystery, but it is believed that the bulk of the fortune which Herr Hitler undoubtedly possesses has come from the royalties of that astonishing best-seller, *Mein Kampf*, now believed to total over £1,000,000.

No other dictator in history has ever been able to draw his income from such a remarkable source. Where others have used their power to take money as they thought fit, Herr Hitler has combined politics and business in pushing his book. For instance, while it is not illegal to offer second-hand copies of *Mein Kampf* for sale in Germany, its appearance in a second-hand bookshop would put the owner in danger of being thought a Jew.

The decree by which every person on marriage is presented with a copy of *Mein Kampf* is well known. What is not so well known is that the copy is not free, but has to be paid for by the State.

By such ingenious devices profit and propaganda go hand in hand, and while the Chancellor does not cost his subjects a penny directly, indirectly they and people in other parts of the world pay him a sum variously estimated at between £ 150,000 and £ 200,000 a year.

The Fuehrer has the further advantage, of course, that everything he needs or uses in the ordinary way is paid for by the State.

Mussolini's official salary is about £1,500 a year. But like Herr Hitler, he makes many times this sum through the power of the Press. The Duce owns *Popolo d'Italia*, and since it is known to be Mussolini's paper everyone reads it. Like Herr Hitler, he has all his expenses paid by the State, and therefore need spend little of his own.

No one knows for certain what has happened to the sums which Mussolini has earned since he came to power, but many surmise that like monarchs in the past he has shrewdly invested them in different capitals so that if the worst ever happens he will not again have to live on thirty shllings a month.

Poorest paid of all the dictators is Stalin, whose salary is difficult to state exactly because of the vagaries of Russian currency. It has been given at £80 a year, but it is probably nearer £500.

In any case, he has nothing to spend it upon, unless he buys personally the tobacco with which he fills his faithful pipe, for as in the case of the other dictators, his tastes are simple and the State pays for everything. His publications unlike those of Herr Hitler and Senor Mussolini, do not bring him any personal royalties although they have sold by the million.

Another poorly paid ruler is Dr. Salazar, Prime Minister and virtual dictator of Portugal. He is paid only about £500 a year and lives extremely simply. He has only one servant and, until recently was content with one room. Now he has two! Dr. Salazar's speciality is finance, but he has never made a private fortune out of investments.

China pays her dictator better. General Chiang Kai-shek's official salary is about £50 a month, a trifle compared with the vast sums paid to the old Emperors but sufficient for a ruler whose most expensive hobby is flying on business. General Kai-shek probably spends many times this in the service of his country. The "loss" is made up by the vast personal fortune of his wife, a member of the wealthy Soong family. The Soong family's investments must have been affected by the Sino-Japanese war, but it is still probably one of the biggest east of Suez and has been used for the furtherance of the cause for which they have been fighting.

Newspapers of a New Time

The Catholic World quotes a German newsvendor :

"You have not yet learned to read the newspapers here," he said. "You are not cheated when you buy my papers. These are the papers of a new time. You read the news, and then you enjoy the mental exercise of taking each item and transposing it. What is printed is the opposite of what should be there, but there is enough truth mixed in to confuse and give zest to the solution of the puzzle."

War : not a Natural Expression of Man

Harry Hansen observes in the New York *World-Telegram* (quoted in the *Catholic World*).

War is not a natural expression of man. What is natural to man is the desire to use his energy, and historically he has done that in migrations, navigation and settlement and in exploiting the resources of the land. The democracy of the nineteenth century had the vast American continent for its energies. The Russians of today are exploiting their own resources. Even the totalitarian states are armed to the teeth only because they want wider fields for peacetime exploitation. Just because war is a violent expression of energy we can not agree that it is necessary to avoid stagnation. To ing surplus population out of full employment is a problem, but we can't solve it by shooting the surplus. Finally, why not stagnate? What is to be gained by cutthroat competition, piling up wealth that gives nobody any fun? Why not stagnate like the Swedes, Danes, Dutch, Finns and the rest of the little fellows who are not trying to kill one another off? If stagnation means more time in the garden and on the seashore let's stagnate.

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Nerve-cells—Your Minute Motors

Recent research shows that muscles are ically tireless. It is the nerve-cells that exhausted and have to be revived. *World* reproduces, in a condensed form, an le on the subject from *La Prensa,* from the following extract is made.

How often do we say : "My legs are so tired I can't go a step farther !" The student, after ing late, complains that he "can't keep his eyes any longer." And the pianist, after hours of ing, or the typist, after a full day, is "too tired ove a finger." But these current phrases do not ond with reality. The legs, the eyes, and the are never tired. They could do thirty times as work, for the muscles are practically tireless. Is heart a muscle ? Does it stop work and take ? For three-score years and ten it beats day ight without a single interruption. The moment "I can't go on," its owner dies. The neck holds up the head permanently, and the maxil- uscle supports the lower jaw, relaxing only once death. Muscles, bones, limbs—all are indefatig- It is the nerve-cells, the neurones, that are sub- lassitude. They reside in the brain and in the cord, and direct the muscles, probably by send- electric currents.

t us examine closely a nerve-cell's day. When ke up it is full of pep, completely round and d with yellow, grey, and white pearls—not, per- gems in the usual sense, but from the chemical of view more precious than diamonds of the water. They are composed of the purest fats ils, of the most costly essences. These astonishing ts are the raw material of our consciousness; sel oil of our life-motor; the fuel that keeps heat of our passions, the sequence of our ideas, hims of our imagination. These fats and oils, wax spirals and stars of phosphorus, prepare our me activity during the night. The nerve-cell ave "had its fill" by morning if the body is to a good day. But after fourteen or sixteen hours rves are low, though not exhausted.

us our days pass. In the morning the cells are the evening they are nearly empty. Every day tor does its twelve or sixteen hours of uninter- work without mishap or apparent wear and Isn't this perpetual motion ? At 99, Titian was inting when the plague struck him down. At ethe was writing his poems, and Bismarck his s. At 80, Victor Hugo began his "Legende des

nerve-cells of a sexagenarian show little black s not found on those of a young man. These s, called pigments, are the rust and sludge of rve-motor. The mechanism is slowly wearing our ideas do not follow one another so promptly, ovements are slower, we regret the loss of our agility. In a word, this is age. Scientists do ow what produces this phenomenon, nor how to it, or even if there is a remedy. But the body his wear as something disagreeable and unnatural, consequence it organizes its defences. It sends ng cells, white corpuscles, to the weak point, ing them by the blood. These cells have ten- and can pass through the walls of the arteries. lean the rust off the neurones, and put the motor

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right. The nerve-cell can take up its work once more, and continue to function for several more decades, though not without frequent overhauls.

Nevertheless, the pigmentation increases more or less rapidly, the arteries near the cells thicken, their walls harden, and the corpuscle entrusted with doing the renovations has more and more difficulty in getting through to the neurone. The corpuscle itself becomes less active, and finally it has to give way. For the last time it penetrates to the nerve-cell, swallows the pigments, and dies on the spot without returning to the blood, its very last efforts devoted to keeping old age at bay.

But do we draw the practical conclusions from this knowledge ? At the age of 6, we send our children to school, and force them, during the years of their growth, to get up long before their nerve-cells have filled their reservoirs. We cram them with dead knowledge, and make them sit on benches too narrow for them. We expect their minds to "ripen" when Nature demands only the opening of the flower. We overwork our new material. What a child learns painfully in twelve years a young man could learn in five.

A Man's Money

Harry Emerson Fosdick writes in *The Church Monthly* :

A man's money is an extension of his body, an enlargement of that materials, physical equipment through which his spirit works. Money is another pair of legs and, lo . it can go where otherwise we could never go, walking amid the need of China today or ministering in India and the islands of the sea. Money is another pair of hands and it can carry burdens that our own fingers cannot touch in our community, our nation, and around the world. Money is another pair of vocal chords and it can speak where our voice could not be heard, teaching and preaching where in personal presence we may never go. What a man does with his money he is in a real sense doing with himself.

Japan in China

Christopher Chancellor, General Manager of *Reuters* in Shanghai, observes in the course of an address published in *International Affairs*:

The Japanese army has now overrun a vast part of China; but it does not occupy a defined tract of country with geographical boundaries. As soon as Japan came south of the Great Wall she met this great difficulty : that there were no natural frontiers against which she could establish herself. China is so huge that it is extraordinarily difficult for the Japanese army to insulate the so-called occupied territory from the territory which is still Chinese. For example, I was in Hankow last summer when General Lu Chung-lin left to take up his duties as Chiang Kai-Shek's new Governor in the Province of Hopei, the province where Pekin and Tientsin are situated. I saw General Lu being given a dramatic send-off on setting out to take up his post right inside territory which the Japanese had "conquered" a year before—and he got through. The Japanese-occupied territory, I think, can be best described as the railways, the roads, the principal strategic and commercial centres and most of the coastal and river ports in China's richest and most accessible provinces. After the fall of Hankow there ceased to be a front in the accepted sense.

The general picture of Japan in China is one of an army which has tried to occupy more territory than it is able effectively to control, striving to "cash in" on its adventure, exasperated because the material rewards of conquest seem to elude its grasp and followed by a vast horde of camp followers, out for booty, representing all that is least attractive in Japan. So far the Japanese army has not been able to settle down. It feels insecure and rather unsure of itself. In the night Japanese sentries, scattered up and down China, fire off their rifles in the darkness in order to keep up their spirits.

The writer gives a picture of the Japanese army in China as he has seen it himself :

As regards the campaign in the Yangtse, I can say without any hesitation that it would be almost impossible to exaggerate the cruelty of the Japanese army in its treatment of the Chinese civilian population. I have no time to describe what happened during the weeks following the occupation of Nanking. I have a great friend, a Japanese of the very finest type, who went to Nanking from Shanghai six weeks after the occupation. He told me that he would never forget as long as he lived the awful spectacle of wholesale murder and pillage that he saw there. He described to me the scene when General Matsui, the Japanese Commander-in-Chief, called together his commanders (including a Prince of the Royal House) on the steps of the Sun Yat-sen Monument at the Purple Mountain. For half an hour he harangued them. He told them that what had happened in Nanking would be a permanent stain on the honour of the Japanese army, and that they should all feel everlasting shame. Nevertheless, this process of murder and pillage continued right up the Yangtse Valley.

In North China the Japanese campaign was conducted less ruthlessly.

This may partly be explained by the fact that in the north there was a constructive policy, whereas in the Yangtse the first objective was to destroy. Also treatment of the civilian population has varied very much in accordance with the resistance put up by the Chinese troops. There has been an extraordinarily primitive element about the Japanes campaign. Japanese officers often talk about "punishing" the Chinese, those wicked Chinese so evilly disposed as to resist the Japanese army, yet so remarkably inferior that "one Japanese soldier is worth at least a thousand Chinese." Of course, this punishment, so brutally administered, is for the most part visited upon the utterly defenceless Chinese farmers.

The writer concludes with the following remarks about the general situation in China which he describes as an endurance test.

No one can see how it will end, least of all, I think, the Japanese themselves. I am not going to attempt to answer the question : can Japan succeed ? There are too many imponderables. All that one can say with certainty at the moment is that Japan has not yet succeeded, and that in this endurance test she has gratuitously handicapped herself at the start. It is not a sound policy to destroy, murder and rape on

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large scale in the territory which you intend to con-
quer and exploit. I have said that the atrocities of the
Yangtse campaign were not repeated in the North.
Nevertheless, today you have Japanese garrisons all
over China, ill-treating and terrorising the civilian
population. Any Japanese soldier has complete licence
to murder, loot and rape at will. This unlimited power
of life and death has its effect on discipline and be-
haviour. In addition to its brutality and indiscipline,
the factor handicapping Japan's task of reconstruction is
the greed and corruption of her army in China. In
the Yangtse, after the orgy of destruction was spent,
the Japanese tried to revive economic life by inviting
Chinese owners of factories to co-operate in starting
them going again. But it soon became perfectly clear
that these Chinese would not be allowed any interest
at all in the property taken from them by conquest.
I think it is possible that, had it not been for the
greed and indiscipline of the Japanese army, a certain
measure of co-operation in the work of reconstruction
might have been obtained from the Chinese moneyed
classes. As things are, the Chinese capitalists not un-
usually prefer to hoard their wealth in the foreign
concessions and in Hong Kong.

College life at Kunming

Wu Yu writes in *The China Weekly Review*:

The "Marching University" at last settled down
in Kunming about one and a half years ago. Not long
after its arrival, it was reorganized and there appeared
a university called The National South-western Associat-
ed University, which is composed of three Universities;
namely, Peking, Tsing Hwa and Nankai. Not long
after its appearance, hundreds of students came to the
city either in multitudes, marching over a distance
of 684 miles, or in two or threes from various places.
They were all high-spirited, full of hopes. Then, with
students of the former three institutions, they began
their work and started all together a hard life at the
moment of national crisis. The light of education was
again in this ancient city in the remote province of
Yunnan.

The Associated University, now consisting of about
people, both professors and students, is situated
the western suburbs of Kunming. The buildings,
the library and the dormitories belong to the local
Agricultural Professional School.

The school authorities decided to make the students work harder so as to make up what was lost during removing and travelling.

The students, of course, have little time for extra-curricular activities but in spite of the heavy work they still make use of their spare time in staging patriotic plays, teaching illiterates, and participating in propaganda work in the rural districts. The most enthusiastic student activity was the torchlight procession held on the evening of Youth Day, May 4, in which the students of the Associated University were the leading student body.

The students are willing to endure anything.

They scarcely murmur against the hardships of life, for they see the breaking down of the feudal system and the establishment of a new constructive order.

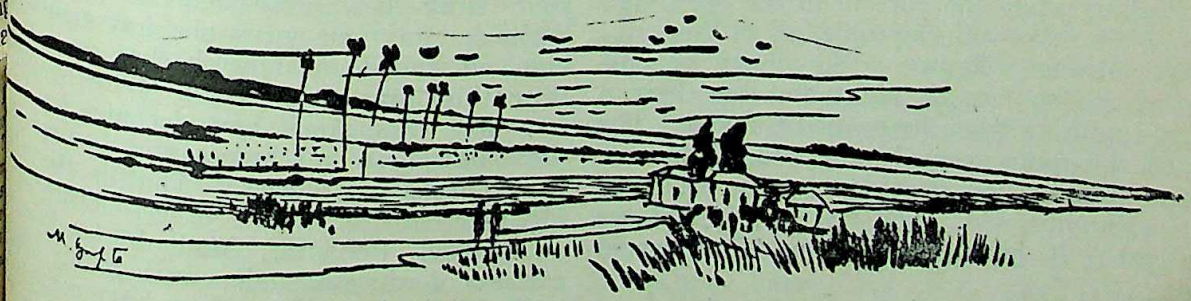
A number of students have been living on refugee funds, each receiving seven dollars a month. But seven dollars is far from enough, as the prices of articles of daily use and of food are incessantly increasing. The fearful poverty is, moreover, accompanied by trachoma, typhoid fever, scarlet fever and malaria (which is a year-round disease in Kunming).

There have been some victims of epidemics due to lack of medical supplies. The students are now living on emergency diet, which doubtless affects their health. There is no electric light or running water.

In such an atmosphere what are their recreations?

Attending meetings, watching matches, and listening to speeches are the usual forms of student recreation.

I must not forget to say that because there is no proper recreation, students' interest is shifted to the work of national salvation and service in the rural districts. These intellectuals are all strenuous workers who proudly impose upon themselves the responsibility of raising the local conditions to a higher level, so that Yunnan, once the remote border province but now the intellectual and communicating centre, will be in truth the birthplace of a New China.



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AUTHOR'S JUSTICE

By MANINDRALAL BOSE

My story may not please you as much as Abani's "Grace and Charm" or Sitangsu's "The Haunted House at Ballygunge" and Satish's "Unquenchable Thirst". What I am going to relate is not so much a story as my firm conviction. This thing happened; at least, it ought to have happened.

You certainly remember the dinner last month at Satish Choudhury's. I can never forget any dinner at his place. That man is a master of the art of dining. Just as the beauty of a picture is brought out by the apt combination of colour and rhythmic line and the success of a recital of music depends upon the harmonious relationship of violin and piano or of sarode and tabla, concord between food and drink creates the delight of dining. Quantity and variety in food are not enough; one wants order in the planning of a dinner and the fine aristocratic taste of a connoisseur in the choice of the wines which accompany each course. At Choudhury's the food and drink are not only varied but so happily blended that every dinner is a treat.

It was after midnight when I returned home. Perhaps it was you, Abani, who brought me back in your car. Why are you smiling? I know you would like to say that someone had to bring me in a car as I was not in a condition to arrive alone. Well, perhaps you are right!

All of you have seen my drawing-room. It takes up nearly the whole of the first floor of the house, off it is the verandah, and then the stairs to the second storey. On the way upstairs I noticed a light burning in the drawing-room. Who could have turned it on so late at night?

Pushing aside the curtain in the open door I found the room full of people, all of them unknown, strange figures. So many people awaiting me so late at night and the durwan had said nothing when he opened the gate! The light in the room seemed very odd. This was not the illumination provided by the Calcutta Electric Supply Co., nor was it sunlight or moonlight. It belonged to some supersensual world.

My entrance into the room caused a commotion.

"Here you are at last!"

"You've dined very well I see."

"And drunk rather too well! We have been sitting here an hour."

With surprise I exclaimed, "Please forgive me, I do not seem to know any of you. Is it something urgent, a police case perhaps?"

A fat fellow who was sitting on the sofa began to laugh oddly like a circus clown. "Oh my! he doesn't recognize us!"

In the opposite direction on the settee sat an elderly woman, much withered, with a drawn face and eyes in which burned an unnatural brightness. A young man with black curly hair and a poet's dreamy eyes was in the easy-chair in the corner. As lovely and pathetic as a white rain-washed oleander blossom, a young woman sat in the rocking-chair beside a vase of tuberoses. On the other side a girl wearing a mauve sari was as sweet and disarming as an aparājitā creeper in August moonlight. And there were many others, men and women of different ages variously dressed. It seemed to me that I had beheld them before in some dream, that I had met but not known them, that I had forgotten everything. The fat fellow grinned sardonically, "There's nothing to fear, sit down. Do you remember writing a story called 'Clown' in 'Bhāratī'?"

"Yes, that will be some years ago now."

"I am that clown. Writing about me made your name. I had no particular desire to come but the others, particularly that one, wouldn't let me off." He danced his reddened eyes and looked in the direction of the withered lady. The 'clown' continued, "You remember the story 'Mother'? She is that mother. In your story her seven-year-old son dies of typhoid. For four years she has mourned for him and waited and now she has come to you. Why this injustice to her? Why should her son die? You could have let him live. And these others are all heroes and heroines from your novels and stories. That is Bishu, the Madman, sulking in the corner. There is your young poet, Rebanta. Mādhabī has wound a garland of white oleanders in her hair and this is the lonely Apārajitā. They have come to you for justice. You have made and broken their

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lives as you pleased. Why should they suffer forever? Could you not have made them happy? Hah, hah, this time you're in real trouble, Mr. Author!" he laughed loudly and insinuatingly, as though life were a great joke.

Slowly I spoke, "I am only a scribe. If human society sorrow, death, and separation did not exist I would not write of them. What wrong have I done?"

In a distressed voice the withered lady said, "Whose fault it is, I don't know nor do I care, I want my boy. Give my treasure back to me."

"I want my husband. Why should he forsake me for a bad woman?"

"I want my sweetheart, my Ajit. He was madly in love with me. He had promised to marry me. Couldn't you have ended your novel with our wedding? Why did you introduce Indrānī? The sight of her made him forget me. Ajit left me. Why did you bring Indrānī in the way of our happiness?"

"And me? Who loved Haimanti like I did? I murdered her with my own hands, Haimanti, as sinless and pure as an autumn Mālī flower and I doubted her. Why did you bring Sarat into our life? He kept stirring up doubts in my mind; I imagined my own wife untrustworthy! As author you got only praise for your portrayal of Sarat's character while I became my wife's murderer!"

"If you will only speak one by one," I protested, "I shall try to answer your questions."

"Give me an answer first," the withered lady spoke up, "Why should my son die? Many children get over typhoid. Could you have written in your story that my boy died well?"

"Do you think, Mother," I said, "That your grief at the death of your son was less than mine? You know that night after night I have watched with fear-haunted eyes at the bedside of your suffering child. You know I prayed as you did for his recovery. Do you remember the night your boy died the doctor had said in the evening that he was much better and you, cheered by his words of hope, thought you might sleep a little. Your fears relieved, you lay down beside him and slept, but I remained watchfully awake. In the dust midnight rain came, putting out all the stars in the sky. At the door I beheld a dark, flying shadow. It was Death. I stood and blocked the door saying, 'No, you cannot take the suffering child from the arms of its sleeping mother. Let me awaken her. Death replied, 'Do not obstruct me! You would violate the reality of Creation!. I am Death, the Eternal Inevitable Law, but I am the mere bearer of messages, it is idle to beseech me. Pray to Him Who is the Lord of Birth and Death if you must, but He Himself is bound in the net of His Laws and your prayer will be in vain.' I was unable to restrain him and in the depth of night Death took your boy away while you were sleeping. Tears rose in a flood to my eyes like the storm of anguish out of the sky of the August night. If it had been otherwise would I have been able to write your story? Your heart's pain has been inscribed in the lines on my forehead and upon my sunken cheeks. Gazing into the black hopelessness of your eyes I too have interrogated the Creator of the Cosmos night after night. No answer was vouchsafed me but I beheld the divine image of a sorrowing mother. You were a lively girl, pleasure-loving and eager for personal happiness. You changed, ceased to think of your own convenience or pleasure and devoted yourself to others' service, taking the motherless children of all the world into your heart. If I had not known your suffering, could I have written your story so?"

The bereaved mother made no reply; her bright eyes were blinded with tears.

Lonesome Aparājitā spoke, "A witch, not death, stole Ajit away from me. You brought her into our lives. Perhaps it made a success of your story but it made my life futile, empty. Write an epilogue to your novel. Let Ajit realize Indrānī is false, let the spell of her transient beauty be broken, let him come back to me. Does it not make a lovely ending?"

I replied, "You don't realize my difficulty. Both of you love Ajit, so to whom am I to give him? Is it not fair that he should have the one he loves? If I had married Ajit to you today, Indrānī would have come to ask me why they should not be together when they love one another. Your marriage might have been broken up."

"Lies! As though Indrānī could love Ajit like I did. She was after his money."

"Possibly, but can you regulate by any rule the greeds, hungers, infatuations, desires or whims of man's heart and mind? I can give Ajit to you, but will you be able to keep him? On life's long and colourful way many new Indrānīs will come knocking at the door of Ajit's heart. He will grow indifferent. You can keep him chained to you, but will you have his love? Do you want him, starved!

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and unhappy, a prisoner in the dungeon of your futile passion ?"

"Why should he not love me ? You can write that he did with all his heart. You can create him like that."

"I wanted Ajit to be your sweetheart, I wanted to write of a husband, devoted throughout life, a genuine lover, I wanted to portray an ideal home life. But the human heart is not my plaything, it is living, it is active, the womb of fire; like a stream that bursts from a mountain cavern it will break its former banks, build new ones, who can guess what course it will take ? When a living character comes into my story I cannot force him to obey my personal likes and dislikes by torturing him with the edicts and chains of society. He breaks through all barriers and takes his own way, I merely record the manner of his passing."

From her rocking-chair Mādhabī gazed up at me with deep and tremulous black eyes. "Mādhabī," I said, "you are sitting there a mute image of suffering, have you nothing to say ? Out of the deepest sorrow of my soul I created you. You alone know the history of my love. Listen all of you, hear my story :

"When I was a young man I loved a young girl. She was the princess of my life's fairy-tale and around her I built the dreams of my youth, my life's web of illusions. But the thoughts of my beloved were elsewhere, for she loved another and would sit beside me absent-mindedly. I determined to conquer her girlish heart. The steadfastness of my devotion moved her and in the fulness of young manhood I won her as my life's companion. Then I went out into the markets of the world to loot the storehouses of the goddess of fortune and lay the treasure at her feet. I became engrossed in the powerful struggle for gain there, the clashing of conflicting commercial interests, the snatching and grabbing, the fighting and the killing for gold. The first love-enchanted days of my youth became a dream. When my beloved sang I no longer had time to play the esraj; when she painted, where was the time for me to mix her paints ?

"Business brought me wealth. Our account swelled in the bank. I adorned my beloved. On her ears hung pearl ear-drops, about her neck was a diamond necklace, sapphire rings were on her fingers, a golden girdle about her waist and jewelled anklets on her feet.

"On the banks of the Ganges I built a beautiful mansion for my beloved. From Italy came the multi-coloured marbles and from Germany the architect came. Chinese craftsmen fashioned the windows and the bathing apartments were built in the Persian style.

"Surrounding the mansion I made a romantic garden. An avenue of Asoka trees led to the eastern gate and rows of palmyra plams to the western. On the northern side was a lotus lake and on the south a bower of karabī and a grove of kadamba.

"But the thoughts of my beloved were elsewhere and absent-mindedly she stood, gazing with longing into the distance.

"That evening the earth was rosy with the colours that were holding festival in the western sky, the river breasted its banks, and the breeze was drunken with the breathing scent of bowers of hena and hasnahana. I returned home from my business. Opening the sandalwood door and mounting the stairs that were carpeted with rugs from Persia, I went to my beloved's room. That evening she wore a sari the pale gold of a mādhabī flower and a necklace of tuberoses hung from her neck. On seeing me she came forward quickly with a smile. The stone of the floor was as fine as glass and shone like a mirror. Her feet blossomed upon it like a pair of pink lotuses, but her thoughts were elsewhere. She slipped and fell unconscious. The pink lotus petals were scattered over the white marble. From that swoon she never awoke. My beloved walked in my house absent-mindedly, lost her footings and death came.

"The festival in the western sky came to an end and it darkened. My innumerable tears filled the heavens. That night I demanded of the Creator : why, when I had won her, I could not win her love, and why He should have thus take her from me. The heavens were mute.

"In a frenzy I tore down the mansion. Day and night I rushed from country to country in a paroxysm of fury. From the churning of this, my life's shoreless ocean of sorrow you came, Mādhabī, and you, my young poet Rebanta. You brought a new insight into human affairs, a new message. With new eyes I gazed into the heart of the world's sorrows and joys and nature's beauty. I saw the greatness and courage of those whose suffering I had not understood before, of those whom I had disregarded as of little account. My soul was reborn. You a murderer, you a fallen woman, you a clown, I came to know all of you.

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ntely and became your fellow-sufferer. stories I have written, the stories of your s, of the conflicts in your souls. What mourning heart of mine has enabled me feel I have written of. I am an artist of s, one who can weep with you but I am philosopher. How can I know the mean- of sorrow in human life? One thing only I understood,—this earth is exceedingly tiful and human life great."

I fell silent. The hush in the room ered like the flame of a lamp low in oil. denly Bishu, the Madman, clapped his s together and shouted, "I can tell you, with me!"

Pushing aside its green curtain Bishu ed the door to my library. We started r feet. He ran towards the image of Siva e Great Cosmic Dancer which you have there, pressed his hands together, bent nees and sat down before it.

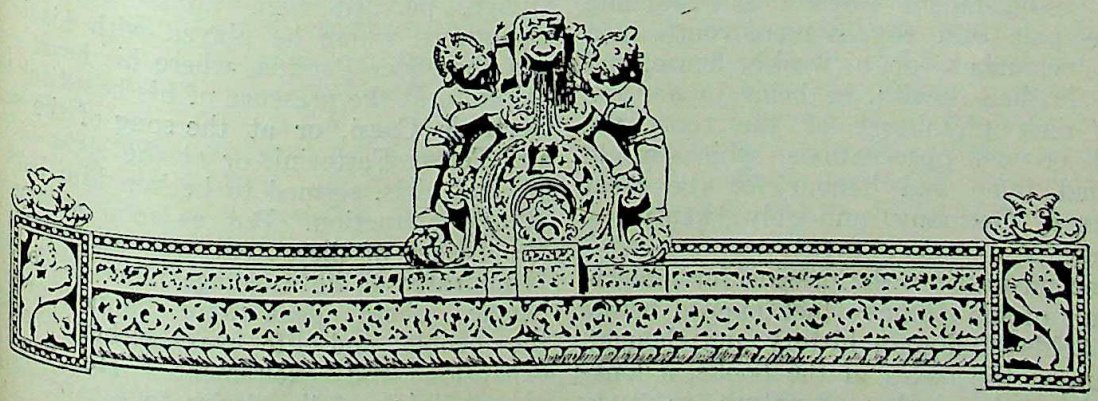
My eyes were bewildered. I appeared to anding before the inner shrine of some n cave temple in the darkness of which mage of the Dancer blazed and not in of my library. Lotuses and conch-shells carved in the stone of the doorway and e right and left stood lovely statues of iver goddesses Ganga and Jumna. The e splendour of their immortal beauty d on hard stone was about to blossom into a bower. In the shade of a tree , effulgent as moonlight, was standing gracefully upon her shark. She held a r of water and a full-blown lotus. The Jumna rode upon her tortoise with a blue in one hand and a cow-tail fan in the

In the inmost shrine with his sixteen arms upraised the incomparable Dancer stood with his right foot upon the flame-encircled lotus and the left suspended restlessly in nothingness, in readiness for the dance. The sun, the moon, an image of Ganga and poisonous dhuturā flowers were in his reddish matted hair. Jewelled armlets and anklets, ear-rings, a necklace of pearls, a necklace of snakes and a garland of bakul blossoms he wore. Over his left shoulder was flung a tiger skin and in his sixteen hands he carried sixteen weapons.

Bishu laughed aloud, hah, hah! Flames began to circle about the lotus. The darkness deepened. The Divine Dancer began to move. To the rhythm of his dance he hurled his weapons about him—thunderbolt, noose, pike, trident, snake, sword, flag, skull, triple-tongued flame, gold mohur and hour-glass drum. With the greatest surprise I beheld the heroes and heroines of my novels and stories like bright dolls replacing them in his hands. He threw his drum towards me as though to say, "Take and play it! I am intent on dancing with your creations!" I discovered all of them, the grieving mother, the lonely sweetheart, the life-frenzied madman, absorbed in the mad fury of the cosmic dance of birth and death, joy and sorrow.

From one end of the sky to the other jagged lightening flashed. The roar of thunder awakened me. I found myself lying in a long cane chair beside the stairs on the verandah with rain pouring upon my face. A laugh echoed down the wind from the dark sky, hah, hah!

[*Translated from "Kalpalata" by Sreemati Lila Roy.*]



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GIACOMO LEOPARDI

By Dr. P. N. ROY, M.A., D.Litt. (Rome)

In the small village of Recanati in the fertile province of the Marche, there is a tiny square with a palace in the eighteenth century style in which, hundred and forty years ago was born Giacomo Leopardi, the great Italian poet of the Romantic revival. Those were stormy days in Italy, days ringing with the clash of swords of the soldiers of Napoleon, who conquered it and held it in domination. The poet's father, Count Monaldo, was an intelligent man and a lover of culture. He possessed a very large library and his house was a meeting-place of learned priests and monks. The father entrusted two such monks with the training of the boy. But his real training was self-acquired. The place where he acquired it was the family library which was rich in classical and modern authors.

From his boyhood Giacomo was swayed by two master passions: a passion for study and a passion for renown. Love of games and frolicsomeness was absent in him; instead, he soon impaired his health by constantly pouring over the worn-out volumes of Greek and Latin authors of his father's library. He was deeply interested in philosophical studies and the study of prehistoric times. It is said that for seven years he studied like a mad man and when he was twenty-one years old, his reputation as a scholar had extended so far beyond the frontiers of his country, that he was offered the chair of Greek philosophy in the University of Berlin, which he declined. Niebuhr, the great German historian, who brought the invitation to him, wrote: Conceive my astonishment when I saw standing before me pale and shy, a mere youth, in a poor little chamber, of a weakly figure, and obviously in bad health, he being by far the greatest Greek philologist of the time, the author of critical observations, which would have gained fame and honour for the great philologists of Germany, and only twenty-one years of age.

His second passion, the passion for renown, was a result of his studies which opened before him vast fields of human history and thought. As he scanned the pages of the books, a longing to fathom the depths of nature, to study her secrets, to rival her in creative manifestations took possession of his mind and made him impatient of the drab life of the tiny village where he was born. He wanted to go out into the world that lay beyond the horizon of the sea and sky which he could gaze upon from the window of his paternal house or from the crest of Mount Tabor during his walks outside the family-grounds. Heroic life of a heroic age, that is what he dreamed of; life as was lived by warriors and poets who loved humanity and their country in a constructive manner and fought for their ideals with all their unequalled physical strength and power of soul.

This sense of imprisonment in the village, accentuated on the one hand by his philosophical meditations and on the other hand by the reactionary ideas of men who surrounded him, brought him to such a pitch that in 1819 he tried to run away from home. But he was baffled in his attempt as his plans were discovered and he was not allowed to leave until 1822, when he went to Rome with the consent of his father. But his spirit, affected by his philosophy, found neither freedom nor happiness in such a large city and he longed to return home. Such is always the lot of those whose imaginative life is developed beyond the normal standard. Things and places appear to them to be tinged in rosy hues when they are far away. The illusion breaks as soon as the distance is annihilated.

So Leopardi returned to Recanati in the April of 1823. From Rome the picture of the village, perched high up between sea and mountains, where he played with his brothers and the sister Paolina, where his heart used to palpitate at the presence of his beautiful cousin Gertrude Cassi, or at the song of the weaver-girl Teresa Fattorini, or at the sight of pretty peasant girls, seemed to beckon him back with infinite attraction. But as soon as there, the old disease of discontent was again upon him. It appeared to be a savage place fit for savage people, where ideas were banned articles for the people and life was without scope for expansion and excitement. He was again almost dying of the desire to escape from this detestable sojourn out into the wide world with

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magnificent and varied unfolding of life. the opportunity did not come till the dle of July 1825, when an offer was made him to work at Milan for the publishing se of Antonio Fortunato Stella. He left paternal home that year and did not return November 1828, except for the winter-ourn at home in 1826-27.

At Milan he edited the works of Petrarch the publisher Stella, and then travelled to logna, Florence and Pisa, increasingly sick mind and body, sighing over his lost youth. Pisa there was a quickening of his life, s heart began to beat as of yore." Already ing the days which he spent inside the ary of his father, his heart began to respond the charms of poetry of the ancients of ece and of his own country and he wrote es to "Italy," "On the Monument to te," "Bruto Minore," etc., and now with reawakened heart he wrote several more derful lyrics.

All this time Leopardi, heir to a count, living on the monthly allowance granted him by the publisher Stella and sometimes by giving private lessons. However, e profitable offers for work soon came to from Florence where he was received by men of letters native to the town or settled e. But here he soon suffered from an rous shock when he discovered that a utiful lady of noble rank, Fanny Targioni etti, with whom he was violently in love, all the time betraying him. This new , added to his already existing physical erings and the pangs of poverty, made him e "Aspasia", an indictment of women in eral and of one woman in particular.

At Florence Leopardi was living with a politan friend Antonio Ranieri. With him went to Naples in October 1833, in the hope getting back a semblance of health. Here reverted to the political and philosophical ies of his youth and in the midst of such ies, the peace of death, so much desired and often prayed for, came to him at last, on e 14, 1837.

The most important works of Leopardi are *Canti*, the *Zibaldone*, and the *Operette rali*. The *Canti* is a collection of 39 poems, *Operette Morali* are philosophical dialogues, the *Zibaldone* a series of notes and memo-published posthumously.

But though the three works are of different e, there is a fundamental unity existing l three. It comes from the peculiar mental ook of the poet, evident in them.

There have been many pessimist writers in the world. The Romantic movement in particular carried as one of its insignia the attitude of world-weariness. And rich was the crop of pessimistic poetry produced by the writers of this movement. But it is doubtful if ever there has existed a poet, more thoroughly, more sincerely and more passionately pessimistic than Leopardi. He is the king of the pessimist poets. Compared to his utterings, those of many other poets seem to be mere babble. The basis of Leopardi's pessimism is partly external, but to a large extent it proceeds from an internal world. His physical condition naturally deprived him of a healthy joyous view of life. For it he was prevented from taking a part in the activities of life, from indulging in sport, from enjoying the delights of love which his heart so ardently desired. In compensation for this lack of participation in the world of reality, he constructed a world of ideas in which also he lived not a very happy life. His extraordinary intellect made him deeply meditative first of his own condition in life and then of the nature and fate of humanity in general, and he came to the conclusion that Nature or God or whatever power there be that controls the affairs of men, is a great cheat, and that life is not worth living.

His thoughts may be briefly summarised as follows: For him, as for the Greek sceptics like Pyrrho of Elis and Sesto Empirico, reason is an uncertain guide in life. At best it can only help us to recognize our errors, but with its help we can never hope to explore nature which pursues its course independently of human desires and illusions. Man always wants to be happy, but nature always maliciously frustrates his hopes. And yet who generates these hopes in the human heart?—Nature, which deludes the frail creature of man with the mirage of happiness. In this contrast between the human hope for happiness and the indifference of nature the absolute reality is that of pain which accompanies man in his journey through life from birth to death. Says Leopardi, "Human happiness is a dream," "pleasure is a name, not a thing". Virtue, glory, justice and everything else which man cherishes as great, noble and beautiful are deceptions of imagination, illusions generated by nature in order to conceal her hideous purpose, which is not care for the individual, but the life of the universe by the propagation of the species.

So, with reason deceiving us, with nature as our enemy, and with the reality of pain

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constantly threatening us, "not to live is better than to live". Yet, man is born and he has to live. How to do so? A similar problem arose in the mind of an Indian prince more than two thousand years ago, and he left the palace of his father and retired to a forest in order to discover a means of escape from this state of things. He declared that happiness is only a condition of painlessness and that the condition of painlessness can be reached by gradually limiting and then completely annihilating desire. When desire is killed, activity ceases; when activity ceases, man escapes the vicious painful cycle of life and death. The remedy suggested by Leopardi is different. Redemption is not in cessation of desire and inactivity, but in a greater acceleration of the rhythm of action. It is only in action and through action that the reality of pain can be overcome. Man must constantly forget himself in action. And in order to maintain an inexhaustible motive-spring of action, an ideal, made up of the very illusions of virtue, justice, glory, love, friendship, patriotism and other noble impulses which the selfish and wicked Nature generates in the human heart, must be constantly kept before him. Man must conquer Nature with the very weapon with which she wants to conquer him. He must feel that illusions are not illusions, but realities. This feeling must come through the realization that all men are brothers in misfortune, requiring to comfort and help one another against the onslaughts of the common cruel enemy. According to Leopardi, if we have no illusions, then we must create them, because they help us to bear the burden of our life. A man will be happy so long as he will be able to retain his illusions and cling to them as truths. So it is not by lifting the veil of eternal *maya* but by believing in it, that man must redeem himself, and the path is the path of action. Leopardi is thus a precursor of the Pragmatism of the American James in indicating "action as the means of obtaining freedom from pain and of revealing the truths which reason seeks in vain to discover."

From what has been said above, it will be seen that though a great pessimist, Leopardi's writings, when deeply and truly understood, lead not to inanity but to an energetic conception of life. Hence perhaps his political importance to the Italians of today. Still, it must be admitted that he is far greater as a pure poet than as a philosophical thinker. His meditative temperament did not deprive him of his high artistic sense which was so great as to draw forth the admiration of even a foreign critic like Matthew Arnold who considered him to be the greatest artist among the romantic poets of all countries.

A study of the evolution of his poetry reveals the gradual emancipation of his genius from the rigours of philosophical speculation to the geniality of poetic inspiration. In his early poems,—the patriotic songs in oratorical verse and the hymns to the patriarchs and to spring,—he seeks to give a garb of poetry to his philosophical thought. Only in some of the idylls written in 1819 and 1820, *e.g.*, "L'Infinito", "La Sera del Di di Festa", "All' Luna," "Il Sogno," "La Vita Solitaria," etc. do we discover a new lyricism not heard in Italian peotry since the days of Petrarch. In them he shows a magic gift of expression that is rivalled only by the great masters of Greek literature. His effort to get rid of the burden of philosophy becomes still more evident in the marvellous lyrics which he wrote at Pisa in 1828: "A Silvia," "Le Ricordanze," "Il Canto notturno di un Pastore errante nell Asia," "La Quiete dopo la Tempesta", "Il Sabato del Villaggio", all of them lyrics instinct with the poet's feeling for the beauty of the world, his delight in the enchantment of nature and his love for the mother earth. The old sad sense of the caducity of things is still there, but we hear in them the sigh of the heart that keenly feels the pang of separation from loved ones, but at the same time we feel the joy of calm that succeeds the storm, the hope that springs eternal in human breast, whatever be his philosophy.

Judged from a literary point of view, he has done two distinct services to Italian letters. He has vitalised the old classical traditions of Italy by infusing a new blood of modernism. He has shown how each century grafts its shoots upon the ancient tree, because, though the contents of his poetry are highly romantic and modern, the form is classical of the best type. His second service consisted in his rejection of the old verse forms like the sonnet and the canzone used by Dante and Petrarch. Instead he created a type of unrhymed form in which he made use of free verse with infinite variation of music. It was this reform in verse which paved the way for the Odi Barbare of Carducci and the *vers libre* of our century.

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CIVILISATION AT THE CROSS-ROADS ?

Hope through Irreconcilable Union

By J. C. VAN SANDEN

so the match has been set to the powder rrel and the conflagration has started !

For it is no less. Hardly has a fortnight apsed and the fire has spread as conflagrans do. The worst is yet to come. It will be long before great and small alike are ught up in the maddening whirlpool of fire, ord and destruction.

"War, war, war—even to the knife !" is a pale, colourless outcry in comparison h the indiscriminate, wholesale slaughter of day. Women and children too; the halt and lame and the blinded; no one is immune.

Civilization is at the cross-roads again. it is not too early to envisage the outcome the carnage and mud and misery that is war. is not lost. It is not the collapse of civiation, but the next, final stage in the throes coming into being. All great changes for better in the plan of the evolution of stateit and metapolitical progress have been ered into existence with violence and with ering; with pain, even as human life on planet is harbingered with pain; with ering and with tears !

Like a woman in the agonies of childbirth manity winces and shudders; is almost rcome in the process of emergence from the ting order. Everything points to the logical summation of Wronski's *Lex Suprema* and iversal Philosophy.

Despite the best laid plans of nations, as nice and men, with the inexorable exactitude mathematics, the Polish savant's "didactical ductions" follow one upon the other each in fullness of time. There is no sounder basis judging of the future than by the past. And wed from this standpoint what does the nd of events portend ?

Everything points to more than a ray of pe. In the maelstrom of conflict politicians ve ceased to be amazed at the incongruity the Russo-German Pact. And yet it is but logical sequence of events according to the bsolute Philosophy" of Jozef Marja Hoenenski (1778-1853) who by taking up his ject where Kant left off gave the only comte term to the end of all striving. The application of the principles of the evolution of statecraft as set down in his *Prodrom* indicates how such a pact had to come for the mutual destruction and effacement of the contracting parties.

According to him it is possible to trace the genesis of political ideology from tribal headmanship and patriarchalism to absolute monarchy and thence to its next logical step, constitutional monarchy as it has developed in Great Britain. In other countries this step took the form of republicanism whereunder the pendulum swung to the other end and the power that was the King's passed over completely to the people and the monarch disappeared entirely from the scene. In this respect the British system is more advanced and under constitutional monarchy provides for a King to maintain the antinomial harmony in the conflict between Government and the Opposition. The British Sovereign does not do this completely yet. But the germ of that royal function manifests in him in the present stage of constitutional evolution by being the link which unites his people and binds his empire in a great, common bond.

The next stage after absolute monarchy, namely, republicanism and constitutional monarchy in turn has to be followed by *eliterism*, or government by the *elite*—that is by high-souled, altruistic patriots who will hold no executive office, or ranks, but who will out of no considerations of power or pelf, but actuated by the spirit of service alone direct the government of a country from behind the scenes. Indeed, such state of affairs is a long time coming, but we do not see it too far away from the trend in which British constitutionalism and monarchy, and Polish ideology is developing.

Bolshevism is not therefore the next logical phase of the evolution of statecraft from republicanism, or constitutional monarchy, but is both in theory and actual practice a retrograde step—a sort of throw-back, and according to the *Absolute Philosophy* is an offshoot, or side-development along wrong lines; a kind of short-circuit of an impermanent character

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which accomplishes nothing. And Nazism as we know is the reaction to Bolshevism, so that it is but the offshoot of an offshoot!

Not being the next logical step in the evolution of statecraft, but only a side issue of an impermanent character, as mentioned earlier both Bolshevism and Nazism can only be of short-lived duration; both have reached the limits of their respective development and ideology. The end of the brief span is in sight. It has already commenced. And how could a consummation so devoutly to be wished for in the interests of human progress be accomplished better than by the mutual destruction of the two ideologies which is bound to follow owing to the absence in both, by themselves and in respect to each other, of the essential antinomial element.

The Russo-German Pact to this extent is but the fore-runner of the conflict that must naturally follow this strange and irreconcilable union. Indeed, adversity hath strange bedfellows, but the destinies of nations have to be fulfilled and the process of evolution must go on even though megalomaniacs have to be pressed into service for its implementation.

WAR OR PEACE?

By GOPAL HALDAR

In the midst of peace the Powers were at war. For twenty years the world wondered whether it was peace or war. Now, when that peace has lost its trappings, in the fifth week of this European war, the people are again uncertain if it is going to be war or peace in Europe now. War is started; the reeking homes and smoking ruins of Poland are an adequate reminder to its reality—a modest proof of the devastations that three or four weeks of modern warfare signify. But still people feel that men and nations, now that they are face to face with the cruel and fateful consequences of their activities, perhaps are losing that blind rage and mad fury. Politicians may now desperately make a move to save peace only because they want to save themselves. For, whoever unleashed the dogs of war, both sides find themselves victims of other unforeseen attacks. Prizes of war elude their grasp; speculations of gain turn false, and victory proves to be defeat. Forces mightier than they could see or realise come into play; objects they had set before them turn out as a result to be of no consequence; and the incalculable turns of events make a grim mockery of the petty and poor calculations of these gamblers of war. That incalculable factor is of course the Soviet Russia, the turns of events are as Moscow decides.

Stalin's Victories

While the war rages, peaceful victories mark the red road of Stalin. Poland was overrun by Hitler only to be shared with the Soviet dictator. The Nazi hordes had to retire leaving the mining areas, the Ruthenian borderland and the vast tracts on the west of Vistula to Russia. Then follow the amazing chapter of Stalin's pacts and negotiations. The door to that Balkan is now barred for Hitler. Rumanian oil or wheat fields will be available to Germany only on the terms that the Soviet would grant. The Danubian Basin is to pass under the economic and political hegemony of the Soviet from that of Germany. The pan-Slav screen is to serve Russia which may be challenged there only by Italy or the Anglo-French entente. Bulgaria is eager for Soviet understanding. Turkish foreign minister M. Sarajoglu, is waiting at Moscow anxiously groping for a formula that will enable him to retain the Anglo-French friendship. Is the key of the Black Sea to pass into Stalin's hands?

Russia on the Baltic

To all this the Germans have to agree. All this they are indeed forced to acclaim. Over the Baltic Sea the German Navy dominated and still dominates. During these years Hitler's might has had the decisive voice even in the Scandinavian world; the smaller powers of Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia and Finland were tied to the Nazi chariot wheel. They had their own indigenous pro-Nazi groups in power to keep watch for Hitler, and these states would not even accept any assurance from the powers of the Peace Front. The

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ce Front failed; the Nazis accepted Soviet rance of non-aggression, and as the wheels , they now have to make room for the et even on the Baltic Sea board. The s had made of Soviet Russia an inland er, allowing to her only the narrow sea- st on the Gulf of Finland. Petrograd was ys menaced; and Russia could never e to have any voice in the region until she some ports on the Baltic and a navy that l be created there. That hour arrives now. nia is the first to be called to make a ent of the two island bases Dago and Oesel he Baltic to the Soviet Navy and Air force. via and Lithuania have the honour to be in- d to Moscow for similar purposes no doubt, Finland has to follow them. They all r into pacts with Moscow, agreeing on ade' relations.

The implications of such trade agreements too clear to be emphasised. The Baltic Sea d has been cleaned of Nazi influence and Baltic powers have been changing their ers or guides or ideological mentors. Not e Nordic Church of Der Führer, but to the et Church of the Proletariat must they eforth bring their offerings.

"Russian Riddle"

The significance of these steps or of the ods pursued by the Soviet are not lost on one. The Soviet, which only a year ago considered unworthy of being consulted for Munich Settlement, becomes the deciding r in European politics now. She is to be eforth regarded as the dominating voice in ern Europe, and all attempts at Asianization e barbarian are ended when she advances e Vistula, controls the Baltic Sea and over- ws the Balkan and the Black Sea. This in se is a defeat for Western diplomacy in al, the diplomacy which saw in the Soviet anti-Christ, the enemy of its social order civilization.

With a mixed feeling, therefore, the Demo- es view "the assertion of the power of ia." Neither the Soviet objects nor the et methods have anything that would com- d the actions to their view. It is 'aggres- and 'unjustified.' But the demands of *politik* make them recognise the fact that r as these Powers are concerned this Soviet tion is not an evil. Mr. Churchill in House of Commons clearly explained how ommunity of interests" exists between the et and Britain and France.

"I cannot forecast to you the action of Russia. It is a riddle wrapped in mystery inside an enigma. But perhaps there is a key. That key is Russian national interest. It cannot be in accordance with the interest or safety of Russia that Nazi Germany should plant itself upon the shores of the Black Sea or that it should overrun the Baltic States and subjugate the Slavonic peoples of south-eastern Europe. That would be contrary to the historic life and interests of Russia.

"But here these interests of Russia fall into the same channel as the interests of Britain and France. None of these three Powers can afford to see Rumania, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria and above all Turkey put under the German heel. Through the fog of confusion and uncertainty we may discern quite plainly the community of interests which exists between England, France and Russia to prevent Nazis carrying the flames of war into the Balkans and Turkey. Thus (at some risk of being proved wrong by events) I will proclaim to-night my conviction that the second great fact of the first month of the war is that Hitler and all that Hitler stands for have been and are being warned off the south and south-east of Europe."

German "Defeats"

This was a double defeat no doubt for Hitler and the Nazis. Japan has repudiated the Anti-Comintern axis, and this means easier day for Britain. The prophetic vision, as placed before the children of Aryan Germany by the *Mein Kampf*, is proved false. *Drang Nach Osten* is substituted by the Bolshevist encroachment from the East. The Soviet eclipses the land of the Nordic purity in the Central European politics as well. The dream of a *Grossdeutschland*, of a Germany spreading from the Baltic Coast to the Black Sea, is vanished—and that within five weeks of the war. War has landed Hitler into ruin, his hopes are now in a "Peace Offensive."

Nothing but a desperate gambler's throw marks the attempts of Hitler as he now prepares to win Soviet friendship *at any cost*. His dreams of German expansionism are gone; his burning hatred of the Jewish cult of Marxism has had to be swallowed; and this humiliation is sought to be covered up for his people by some questionable promises of support from the Soviet for his "Peace Offensive." Herr Von Ribbentrop attends the Kremlin festivities with Jews and returns loudly declaring the new Soviet agreement. What the exact Soviet promises are, it is not known. Trade agreements the Soviet would readly make to expand her Socialist economy and strengthen her industrial basis; but Soviet interests are not in any way furthered by a 'peace' that Hitler desires for saving himself now. And the assurance of Maisky, the Soviet Ambassador in London, regarding Soviet neutrality is not probably altogether diplomatic. There is, it is evident, more pro-

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fit in neutrality—for the Socialist Soviet and for the national interests of the State of Russia.

Britain and the "Peace Offensive"

A "Peace Offensive," has therefore, chance only when it is no longer offensive to France or Britain. For the moment they are in an unassailable position. The world is on their side: Japan of the "Axis" has been forced to break off; Italy remains neutral; the Baltic and the Scandinavian countries are, as they are being liberated from the Nazi grip, likely to be more friendly; and the resources of the two Empires are bound to weigh down any single power in the world, even though that be Germany.

"After all, Great Britain and France together have 85,000,000 people in their homelands alone. They are united in their cause and convinced of their duty. Nazidom, with all its tyrannical power, controls no more. They too have 85,000,000 but there are at least 16,000,000 newly conquered Czechs, Slovaks and Austrians writhing under their cruel yoke and have to be held down by force.

"We have other resources. We have the oceans and the assurance that we can bring the vast latent power of the British and French Empires to bear upon decisive points. We have the freely given, ardent support of 20,000,000 British citizens in the self-governing Dominions of Canada, Australia, New Zealand and South Africa. We have the heart and moral convictions of India on our side. We believe we are entitled to the respect and goodwill of the world and particularly the United States.

Time is on the side of Britain and France as every one knows. So, the slow progress, as some think, on the Western Front or any absence of a major engagement on land or sea or air within five weeks of war, does not indicate their lack of will on the part of the Allies, but only a recognition that "the waiting game is their best tactics,....while the economic blocade takes effect." If that tactics be frustrated by the Soviet agreement, then will come a serious hour for decision: the question of war or peace. As yet the war aim of Britain has been in the Parliament (Oct. 3) clearly stated: it is the end of Hitler and Hitlerism in Germany. That was made abundantly clear by Mr. Chamberlain:

The Prime Minister recalled the reasons for which England entered the war and the immediate cause of war and added, "If Poland was the direct occasion of the war, it was not the fundamental cause. That cause was the overwhelming sense in this country and in France of the intolerable nature of a state of affairs in which the nations of Europe were faced with the alternative of jeopardising their freedom or of mobilising their forces at regular intervals to defend it.....

The Prime Minister proceeded: "The passage in the Russo-German declaration about the liquidation of war is obscure but it seems to combine a suggestion of some proposal for peace with a scarcely veiled threat as to the consequences if that proposal should be refused. I cannot anticipate what the nature of any such proposal might be. But I can say at once that no threat would ever induce this country or France to abandon the purpose for which we have entered upon this struggle.

"No mere assurances from the present German Government could be accepted by us for that Government have too often proved in the past that their undertakings are worthless when it suits them that they should be broken. If, therefore, proposals are made, we shall certainly examine them and we shall test them in the light of what I have just said. Nobody desires the war to continue for an unnecessary day but the overwhelming mass of opinion in this country and I am satisfied also in France, is determined to secure that the rule of violence shall cease and that the word of Governments once pledged must henceforth be kept."

Poland is not the issue; it is only the immediate cause; the issue is really Hitler and all that Hitler has come to mean. Tirelessly has Britain sought to enlighten the German people on this point: not Germany but Hitler is the enemy. If this end be realized,—and Hitler falls,—peace will be welcome to the Allies. They would prefer it early too, before Germany breaks down internally, when Hitlerism may be replaced by Sovietism. The Allies find to their dismay that Hitler has already brought in the Trojan horse.

ERRATUM

In the last October number, page 369, column 1, line 8 from the bottom, omit the word 'not'.

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Prabasi Press, Calcutta

THE FLIGHT INTO EGYPT
By Beato Angelico

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THE MODERN REVIEW

DECEMBER 1939

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NOTES

the English Were to Withdraw of a Sudden—"

The concluding paragraph of Mahatma hi's article on "The Fiction of Majority" *Harijan* for October 21, 1939, has not ved adequate attention in the press or on public platform—perhaps because it states and expresses opinions which numerous eally-minded Indians do not find it ant to face and would fain shut their eyes It runs as follows:—

Consider for one moment what can happen if the h were to withdraw all of a sudden and there was eign usurper to rule. It may be said that the his, be they Muslims, Sikhs or others, will overrun It is highly likely that the Gurkhas will throw lot with the Punjabis. Assume further that non- Muslims will make common cause with the s. Where will the Congressmen composed chiefly dus be? If they are still truly non-violent, they be left unmolested by the warriors. Congressmen want to divide power with the warriors but will to let them exploit their unarmed countrymen. if anybody has cause to keep the British rule for ion from the stronger element, it is the Congress- and those Hindus and others who are represented by ngress. The question, therefore, resolves itself into ho is numerically superior but who is stronger. there is only one answer. Those who raise the cry ority in danger have nothing to fear from the so- majority which is merely a paper majority and in any event is ineffective because it is weak in itary sense. Paradoxical as it may appear, it is true that the so-called minorities' fear has some only so long as the weak majority has the backing British bayonets to enable it to play at democracy. British power will, so long as it chooses, success- ay one against the other calling the parties by whatever names it pleases. And this process need not be dishonest. They may honestly believe that so long as there are rival claims put up, they must remain in India in response to a call from God to hold the balance evenly between them. Only that way lies not Democracy but Fascism, Nazism, Bolshevism and Imperialism, all facets of the doctrine of 'Might is Right.' I would fain hope that this war will change values. It can only do so, if India is recognized as independent and if that India represents unadulterated non-violence on the political field."

Mahatma Gandhi has asked the public to consider a situation which, if it really arose, would be very serious indeed and would require the people of India to be prepared for it beforehand if possible. But it does not seem probable that the English would withdraw from India *all of a sudden,* unless it were found absolutely necessary for all British soldiers and civilians to leave India and go to England for defending it from the attack of some powerful enemy or enemies. That is not a likely contingency.

As for voluntary withdrawal in response to India's desire for freedom, Mahatma Gandhi has himself written in the same article from which we have quoted above:—

"It would be honest to say that the British desire to hold India yet awhile. There will be nothing wrong in such a desire. India is a conquest. Conquests are not surrendered except when the conquered successfully rebel, or under an awakened conscience the conqueror repents of the conquest, or when the conquered territory ceases to be a profitable concern. I had hoped and still hope that the British, having become war-weary and sickened over the mad slaughter involved in the present war, would want to close it at the earliest possible moment by being above board in every respect and therefore in

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respect of India. This can never be, so long as they hold India in bondage."

There has not been any successful rebellion on the part of Indians, nor is any in sight, even of the non-violent variety. The majority of Britishers do not repent of the conquest under an awakened conscience. And India is still so far from being an unprofitable concern that monopolies have been practically given to British shareholders of Imperial Chemical Industries, etc., and every care has been taken in the Government of India Act (*vide* the chapter on Discriminations) to preserve British ascendancy in the Indian economic field. So there is no immediate or near prospect of British withdrawal from India, sudden or gradual.

Whether, if the English withdrew all of a sudden and there was no foreign usurper to rule, there would be any probability of the situation being what Gandhiji has assumed it may be, we are not in a position to assert. But it is not entirely unlikely.

Gandhiji has mentioned three circumstances which may lead to Britishers leaving India. He has not mentioned a fourth possible cause of Britain losing and leaving India, *viz.*, its being wrested from British hands by some powerful foreign nation hostile to Britain. There are three such possible enemies, of whom Russia is the nearest to India and the most powerful. But just now Britain does not appear to be thinking of Russia as a probable invader of India. Germany once had and may still have a covetous eye on this country. But at present she requires all her strength and resources to defend herself and keep what she has already got. As for Japan, China must for some time yet to come occupy all her attention.

Hence at present there is no probability either of Britishers leaving India voluntarily all of a sudden or of some other foreign nation taking their place. But if they did really withdraw voluntarily from India all of a sudden, India's own military strength, apart from that of the British garrison, is not such as to enable her to ward off all attacks of hostile foreign nations.

From some favourable opinions expressed in a few British newspapers relating to the desire of the Indian people for independence and freedom and from similar friendly views expressed by some leading Britishers it might be concluded that if such views came to be held sincerely by a majority of the members of the British Parliament, India might become free and independent without any armed or non-violent rebellion. In such a situation it would not be wrong to conclude that Britain had overcome the desire to lord it over India and exploit her man-power and resources. But even in such circumstances there would not be sufficient grounds to imagine that other powerful countries of the West and the East had become similarly free from the lust of power and pelf. Hence, if after the assumed withdrawal of Britain from India our country could remain free and independent, that could happen only in one of two ways, namely, possession by India of defensive forces and armaments on land and sea and in the air sufficient to repel invasion by the most powerful enemy, or the conversion of all the most powerful foreign nations to a sincere and wholehearted faith in individual and collective *ahimsā* or non-violence. Of these two, the second would be undoubtedly preferable. But at present both are things of the dim and distant future.

But let us now consider what Gandhiji has asked the public to consider.

Political Condition of India Free From British Rule

Mahatma Gandhi has asked people to consider "what can happen if the English were to withdraw all of a sudden and there was no foreign usurper to rule." His own assumption or conjecture is that "it may be said that the Punjabis, be they Muslims, Sikhs or others, will overrun India. It is highly likely that the Gurkhas will throw in their lot with the Punjabis. Assume further that non-Punjabi Muslims will make common cause with the Punjabis."

It cannot be lightly assumed that Mahatma Gandhi has any provincial prejudice or antipathy—particularly against the Punjabis. Why then does he think it probable that the Punjabis (of all religious communities) will overrun * India free from British dominance? The main reason appears to be that in the Indian army the Punjabis outnumber every other single Indian group and are, therefore, more militaristic than other provincials of India. The Punjabis are not naturally dowered with a greater degree of militarism than other provincials of India. If the latter were in the position of the Punjabis, they would develop the same disposition.

* In the context 'overrun' means 'spread over with hostile or destructive intent,' if not also 'ravage, spoil.'

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Gandhiji's assumption implies that the people of all provinces are not democratically inclined and fraternally disposed—not at any rate to the same extent, and that the 'overrunning' of India by some provincials and a particular community is not, therefore, unthinkable.

Gandhiji then asks "Where will the Congressmen composed chiefly of Hindus be?", and answers, "If they are still truly non-violent, they will be left unmolested by the warriors. Congressmen won't want to divide power with the warriors but will refuse to let them exploit their unarmed countrymen."

In order to be able to infer whether the warriors' will really leave 'the Congressmen chiefly composed of Hindus' 'unmolested', we should consider human nature as it is and the animal world as it is, not as they ought to be according to idealists. We find that small nations inhabiting small countries having no imperialistic aggressive intentions are not being left 'unmolested'. But why speak of small nations and small countries? The great Chinese people inhabiting the great country of China was non-violent. But that did not prevent Japan from molesting China. Man is partly, perhaps in great part, an animal. In the animal world the non-violent animals are preyed upon by the violent, which may be called 'warriors.' In the foregoing sentences, I have used the word 'non-violent' in its ordinary acceptation of not ferocious, not vindictive, and, in the case of the lower animals in particular, graminivorous and herbivorous. Of course, if non-violence were taken in its idealistic sense of absolute freedom from anger, ill-will, desire to do harm, etc., no man and no lower animal will be found to be truly non-violent.

Our conclusion then is that even if the Congressmen are still non-violent, they may be and most probably will be molested by the warriors. Of course, they will be left unmolested if they are servilely obedient to the warriors. But Gandhiji rules out such a supposition by saying that the Congressmen will refuse to let the warriors exploit their unarmed countrymen.

Mahatmaji says, "Congressmen won't want to divide power with the warriors." Why? Power is not necessarily bad and its possession is evil. Power in the hands of a tyrant is an evil. But in the hands of a truly democratic people and their leaders, it is beneficent. If the Englishmen withdraw from India and the country has to be led forward in the paths of progress in all directions, the governmental power, the power of the State, must vest in those who are most desirous and most capable of so leading the country onwards towards the goal of human and national perfection. So, if the Congressmen have that desire and capacity, they must be in possession of the power of the State.

Gandhiji says Congressmen will refuse to let the warriors exploit their unarmed countrymen. People desire power and seize power not for its own sake but because it enables those who have it to make others subservient to their will for the acquisition of wealth and the conveniences of life and luxuries. That in one word is called exploitation. Therefore, it may be taken for granted that if a particular class or group of men, be they foreigners or indigenes, come to have supreme power in a country, they will want to exploit the people of the country in general. If the Congressmen try to prevent such exploitation, they will have to make use of some appropriate instrument. As they are non-violent, they can try to prevent exploitation by non-co-operating with and being civilly disobedient to the 'warriors'. But whatever else non-co-operation and civil disobedience on the part of the Congress may have achieved—and such achievement has not certainly been negligible, it has not certainly succeeded in preventing exploitation. It has been powerless to prevent the insertion of the chapter on Discrimination in the Government of India Act of 1935, it has been powerless to prevent monopolies being given to the Imperial Chemical Industries, it has been powerless to prevent big foreign capital from starting big factories on Indian soil and killing indigenous enterprise, etc., etc.

It would not be unfair to infer that Gandhiji really feels that unarmed Indians will not be left unmolested and unexploited by the 'warriors', for he adds: "Thus if anybody has cause to keep the British rule for protection from the stronger element, it is the Congressmen and those Hindus and others who are represented by the Congress." It is also clear that in his opinion the sections of the Indian people from whom soldiers are recruited are the 'stronger element'—whatever the sense in which he may have used the expression. Soldiership is not non-violent, but nevertheless it can claim credit for making for strength in that sense.

From the sentences in the article which follow one can gather that in Gandhiji's opinion it is not the numerically superior majority

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which is stronger but it is the minority supplying soldiers to the army, including in great part the Muslims, which is the stronger element. The Communal Decision of the British Government has made this stronger element still more strong by giving it weightage, which has been given to the stronger element by taking away some of the representation to which the numerically superior but, in Gandhiji's opinion, the really weaker element was justly entitled. And it is, by the by, this Communal Decision which, Gandhiji has said, the Congress has loyally accepted.

There is nothing wrong in the numerically superior sections of a country being collectively superior in strength also. And certainly it is only fair and just that the majority should be at least as strong as the minority. If that were so, there would be no molestation and exploitation of the majority by the minority.

In the situation as imagined by Gandhiji if the unarmed majority are left unmolested and unexploited, it will not be because of their power to resist molestation and exploitation but because of the merciful forbearance of the 'warriors'. But though Mahatma Gandhi is opposed to bearing and using arms, it cannot be assumed that he will ever tolerate any individual or collection of individuals being at the mercy of any other individual or collection of individuals.

We have said above that it is only fair and just that the majority should be at least as strong as the minority. The equitable distribution of strength all over India can be brought about in one of two ways. If strength is understood in the military sense, soldiers should be recruited from all parts of India and from all communities, the only qualification being a certain fixed standard of physical and intellectual (including moral) fitness. It is wrong to assume that only some regions and some communities and sections of the people can furnish good soldiers. The Punjab was conquered with the help of non-Punjabi soldiers. If the sections of the people from whom the latter came are no longer drawn upon for supplying recruits to the army, it is not their fault. Every part of India still contains men who can fight, as it contained such men in former ages and even during the earlier British period.

This method of equitable distribution of strength all over the country would be economically just, too. As all provinces of India contribute to the expenses of the army by paying taxes it is only right that all should get some part of the pay and allowances paid to the soldiers by being allowed to supply fighters.

The other method of equitable distribution of strength (or weakness, if you like) throughout the country would be to do away with the army altogether and to convert all Indians to the cult of non-violence, so that no part of India may have either the inclination or the power to molest or exploit any other part. Assuming, but not admitting, the early feasibility of such conversion, there would remain the far greater and far more difficult task of similar conversion of all the powerful armed nations of the world. For unless they were so converted, non-violent and unarmed India would fall a prey to some one or other or several of such nations. We do not say that such conversion is impossible even in the very distant future, but we confess we cannot foresee the time when this may come to pass.

Leaving aside the question of somehow or other successfully preventing the invasion and conquest of independent India by foreign nations, let us try to understand the meaning of real freedom and independence of India. A free and independent India means not only that it is not ruled by a foreign nation but also that it implies that all its parts are free, no part being subject or liable to molestation or exploitation by any other part or parts. As we have shown, such molestation and exploitation can be prevented in either of two ways described above. If neither of these methods be adopted, the mere withdrawal of the English from India and its non-invasion by any other foreign nation will not make India really free and independent. In the article on "The Fiction of Majority" Gandhiji has said nothing regarding the adoption of either method.

That recruitment has long been confined to a few regions is not the result of accident but of a policy and a process. It is not our intention to discuss in this note Mahatma Gandhi's charitable view of the process.

Congress Working Committee's Resolution on the Political Crisis in India

At the conclusion of the Congress Working Committee's recent five days' session at Allahabad on the 23rd November last, it passed a long resolution the full text of which is reproduced below.

The Working Committee has noted with pleasure the response of the country to the policy enunciated by them regarding the war in Europe and its repercussions in

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This policy, based on numerous declarations of Congress, was laid down in a statement issued by the mittee on September 14, and subsequent events have y justified its wisdom and expedience. The course the war and the policy pursued by the British and h Governments, in particular, the declarations made behalf of the British Government regarding India, to demonstrate that the present war, like the World of 1914-18, is being carried on for imperialist ends, British Imperialism is to remain entrenched in India. With such a war and with this policy the Congress associate itself, and it cannot countenance the ation of India's resources to this end.

Barrier to Freedom

The Working Committee's unequivocal demand was declaration of war aims in regard to democracy and rialism and in particular, how these aims were going applied to India. These aims could only be con- d worthy, if they included the elimination of imperial- and the treatment of India as an independent nation policy would be guided in accordance with the of her people. The answer to this demand has been y unsatisfactory and an attempt has been made on of the British Government to create misunderstand- and to befog the main and moral issue.

justification of this refusal to make a declaration ms of the Working Committee's resolution, com- pleas have been advanced and the rights of the ities and of the princes pleaded as barriers to India's m.

Imperialist Domination

The Committee wish to declare with all emphasis no communal considerations arise in meeting the d of the Congress, and the minorities, whatever other differences might be, do not oppose India's to freedom and independence. The princes are ented by, and are emblems of the paramount power dia. In the end, it will be the people of Indian who will determine what part they will take in a dia, though the British Government have consistently their wishes in the matter which vitally affects In any event, the wishes of those who may oppose independence are, and must be, irrelevant to the tion of the British Government's intentions. The ittee can only interpret this attempt to avoid a ent of their war aims and Indian freedom, by taking under irrelevant issues, as a desire to maintain imperialist domination in India in alliance with nary elements in the country.

A Moral Issue

ngress has looked upon the war crisis and the ns it raises as essentially a moral issue, and has ght to profit by it in any spirit of bargaining. The moral and dominant issue of war aims and India's n have to be settled satisfactorily before any other ary question can be considered.

no event can the Congress accept responsibility of vernment, even in the transitional period, without wer being given to popular representatives. The g Committee, therefore, approve of and endorse ly dated November 4, 1939, sent by the Congress nt to the Viceroy.

Constituent Assembly

Committee wish to declare again that recogni- India's independence and right of her people to their constitution through a Constituent Assembly, is essential in order to remove the taint of imperialism from Britain's policy and to enable the Congress to consider further co-operation.

They hold that the Constituent Assembly is the only democratic method of determining the constitution of a free country, and no one who believes in democracy and freedom can possibly take exception to it.

The Working Committee believe too that the Constituent Assembly alone is the adequate instrument for solving communal and other difficulties. This, however, does not mean that the Working Committee will relax their efforts for arriving at a solution of the communal problem. This Assembly can frame a constitution in which the rights of accepted minorities would be protected to their satisfaction, and in the event of some matters relating to minority rights not being mutually agreed to, they can be referred to arbitration. The Constituent Assembly should be elected on basis of adult suffrage, existing separate electorates being retained for such minorities as desire them. The number of these members in the Assembly should reflect their numerical strength.

Resignation of Ministers

The declarations made on behalf of the British Government, being inadequate, have compelled the Congress to dissociate itself from British policy and war efforts, and as a first step in non-co-operation to bring about the resignations of all the Congress Governments in the provinces.

That policy of non-co-operation continues and must continue unless the British Government revises its policy and accepts the Congress contention.

The Working Committee would remind Congressmen that it is inherent in every form of Satyagraha that no effort is spared to achieve an honourable settlement with the opponent. While a Satyagrahi is ever ready for a non-violent fight, if it has to come, he never relaxes his efforts for peace and always works for its attainments. The Working Committee will, therefore, continue to explore the means of arriving at an honourable settlement, even though the British Government has banged the door in the face of the Congress. The Committee must, however, resist by the non-violent methods of the Congress, all attempts to coerce the people of India along paths which are not of their choice and everything that is against the dignity and freedom of India.

Direct Action

The Working Committee appreciate and expresses their pleasure at the readiness exhibited by Congressmen for launching Civil Disobedience, should this become necessary. But Civil Disobedience requires the same strict discipline as an army organised for an armed conflict. The army is helpless unless it possesses its weapon of destruction and knows how to use them. So also an army of non-violent soldiers is ineffective unless it understands and possesses the essentials of non-violence. The Working Committee desire to make it clear that the true test of preparedness for Civil Disobedience lies in Congressmen themselves spinning and promoting the cause of khadi to the exclusion of mill cloth, and deeming it their duty to establish harmony between the communities by personal acts of service to those other than members of their own community, and individual Hindu Congressmen seeking an occasion for fraternising with the Harijans as often as possible.

The Congress organisations and Congressmen should, therefore, prepare for future action by promoting this

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programme. They should explain to the people the message and policy and implications of the Constituent Assembly, which is the crux of the Congress programme for the future."—*A. P.*

This resolution does not contain anything which either Mahatma Gandhi or the Congress Working Committee had not said previously. It does not, therefore, call for any fresh comments. If any one expected to find heroics in it, he would be sure to be disappointed. There is no fight in it, nor, as is quite proper, any show of fight or bluffing. But dignified firmness is not wanting. It is firm to the extent that the Congress leaders are conscious of their strength.

As, in the opinion of Mahatma Gandhi, Indians are not sufficiently democratic, disciplined and non-violent, perhaps there is an apprehension in the subconscious regions of the minds of Mahatma Gandhi and the leaders who follow him that "if the English were to withdraw all of a sudden" and there was no foreign usurper to rule, the Indian "warriors" "will overrun India", and the leaders are not sure whether that would be better than the present kind of British rule. So they are not in a hurry to make the English "withdraw all of a sudden."

The Congress leaders and Congress Committees have prescribed for India's ills the panacea of the Constituent Assembly—how often we cannot say. We do not know whether, when and if this Assembly comes, Congress will rule the roast. But if it does and continues to "loyally accept" the Communal Decision, independence will scarcely mean what it should. Nor, by the by, can independence be the real thing if soldiering be confined only to a very few regions and communities and classes. A time may come when there will be no armies in any country. But so long as there is an army in India, democratic and nationalistic principles require that it should be open to men from all regions in the country who come up to a fixed physical and mental standard. To be, practically, ruled by a pretorian guard from particular regions is neither freedom nor independence.

By way of preparation for future action the Committee have enunciated the programme indicated in the following sentence:

The Working Committee desire to make it clear that the true test of preparedness for Civil Disobedience lies in Congressmen themselves spinning and promoting the cause of khadi to the exclusion of mill cloth, and deeming it their duty to establish harmony between the communities by personal acts of service to those other than members of their own community, and individual Hindu Congressmen seeking an occasion for fraternising with the Harijans as often as possible.

We are not opposed to the spinning wheel and the khadi-weaving hand-loom. But we do not give them the place of supreme importance which Mahatmaji has assigned to them. Nor are we for the exclusion of Indian mill cloth. The other parts of the programme we support.

The King's Speech

LONDON, Nov. 23.

Parliament has been prorogued and will reassemble on November 28. The Lord Chancellor read the King's speech in His Majesty's absence.

The King in his speech said: "The shadow of war once more has fallen over Europe. Despite the efforts of my Government to preserve peace, Germany, in violation of solemn undertakings, wantonly invaded Poland. This new instance of German aggression and bad faith was a challenge which we could not decline without dishonour to ourselves and peril to the cause of freedom and the progress of mankind. We seek no material gain. Liberty and free institutions are our birthright which we, like our forefathers, are resolved to preserve."

The speech proceeds to thank members of the House of Commons for their ready acceptance of heavy financial war burdens. "This prompt and ungrudging response has deeply impressed the world and demonstrated the unflinching determination of my people to make every sacrifice necessary for victory.

"My Lords and members of the House of Commons, the issue is clear. With an united will my peoples here and overseas have dedicated themselves to the struggle. The spontaneous decision of my Dominions to participate in the conflict and the valuable help which they are giving and are about to give to the common cause is an encouragement to me. With the aid of our faithful French and Polish Allies we cannot doubt our cause will prevail."—*Reuter.*

In His Majesty's speech as cabled by *Reuter* there is no mention of India along with the Dominions. This will be appreciated.

There is no question that "this new instance of German aggression" is a "peril to the cause of freedom and the progress of mankind." As Indians are a part of mankind, the Indian National Congress, as also the Hindu Mahasabha, has been endeavouring to ascertain from the British Government how the war against Germany will secure and ensure India's freedom and progress.

His Majesty uttered the truth and nothing but the truth when he said that liberty and free institutions are the birthright of the British people and that they like their forefathers are resolved to preserve them. It would be good for Britain and all the world, including India, if His Majesty's advisers were always to bear in mind that liberty is the birthright of all other peoples, too, including Indians, and that Indians also desire to have it and keep it like others.

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Plea For a Bold Lead"

A conference of the Presidents and Secretaries of various district Congress Committees in Bengal was held on Thursday at the B. P. C. C. office and passed a resolution to the effect that it is definitely of opinion that the conditions for a national movement for self-determination are existent in the country and that a bold lead should be given immediately by the Congress Working Committee.

In case the Working Committee is not in a position to start the movement on an All-India scale immediately the conference asks the B. P. C. C. to request the Working Committee to permit the B. P. C. C. to start a movement on a provincial basis for protection of civil liberties in Bengal and also for release of political prisoners.

The least that the Congress Working Committee can and should do is to permit the B. P. C. C. to start a movement on a provincial basis for protection of civil liberties in Bengal and for the release of political prisoners.

The Communal "Award" Unchristian"?

Recently the *Statesman* has discussed in a long article the suggestion that the Communal "Award" is "unchristian." It seems to argue that it is not. It may not be "unchristian", but in our humble opinion it is unjust, unrighteous and machiavellian. The Anglo-Indian paper says that it was "devised by a Christian country to meet a difficult situation resulting from the inability of unchristians to agree." That the unchristians could not agree was not unexpected by their selecters. They were not selected by their countrymen but chosen by British imperialists with a particular object in view. The imperialists wanted men who would be able to agree and got them. If they had found men who would agree, they could have chosen them. They had to invite Mahatma Gandhi because he was so eager for an agreed settlement that he declared that he was ready to give the Crown a blank cheque. But the latter were loyal to their masters that they would not agree even on that condition. One fact proves conclusively that the British imperialists did not want any settlement mutually agreed to by the so-called delegates from India to the so-called Round Table Conference. The imperialists had chosen men who in their (the imperialists') opinion were free from the taint of patriotism. But they could not get together men who were absolutely unpatriotic. Under the leadership of His Highness the Honourable the Aga Khan some recommendations were drawn up which if accepted would have done some good to India. *But not a single one of these recommendations or suggestions was accepted.*

Christianity Teaches Unquestioning Obedience to Authority ?

In the course of the article referred to above the *Statesman* says:

> "Christianity itself gives little instruction about the practice of politics, except that it is the Christian duty to be obedient to authority."

If that be really the teaching of Christianity, Hampden and Pym and Cromwell and his Ironsides and Milton were all unchristian in their conduct. So were George Washington and the other leaders who made America free. And all those who in other Christian lands disobeyed "authority" and made their country free were also unchristian in what they did. It is too late in the day to preach the Divine Right of Authority to be implicitly obeyed and the supreme duty of unquestioning obedience to Authority.

Hindu Mahasabha's Attitude In The Crisis

BOMBAY, Nov. 20.

The working committee of the Hindu Mahasabha met on Sunday and passed a number of resolutions touching the present political situation in the country. The committee passed a resolution emphasising that the Hindu Mahasabha refused to look upon Dominion Status as the ultimate goal, but instead insisted upon it only as the immediate step to be taken towards the final goal of absolute political independence, and that a constitution based on that status should be conceded to India at the end of the war at the latest. The resolution added that a definite declaration to that effect alone could evoke responsible and willing co-operation. The Mahasabha welcomed the proposal for a consultative group in the Viceregal statement 'if it is made to serve as a tentative measure with powers more or less equal to those of a federal board of ministers and is entrusted without reservation with matters concerning the defence of India as a responsible council of ministers.'

By another resolution the committee condemned the alleged repression of Hindus in the frontier province and urged the central Government to increase the strength of the Hindu forces stationed.

On the question of war and India's participation in it, the Sabha reaffirmed its stand. It added: 'The working committee opines that India is not bound on any altruistic grounds to extend, as the Viceroy expects her to do in his statement, her co-operation beyond what self-interest and the defence of our nation may demand.' —*A. P. I.*

The resolution relating to India's political status immediately after the war and as her final goal asks for nothing less than what the Congress has asked for. It is more explicit than the Congress resolutions on the subject.

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The remark about the consultative group is also free from vagueness and is unobjectionable.

The resolution relating to alleged oppression of the Hindus is very moderately worded.

As regards participation in the war, the Hindu Mahasabha's attitude is on a par with that of all neutral countries. It claims for India the right which the British Dominions have exercised, namely, to decide freely whether to participate in the war or not, and to determine the extent of participation, if any.

Youth's Participation in Politics With Two Reservations

Presiding over the first conference of the Dhubri Students' Federation on the 19th November last, Sj. Sarat Chandra Bose advocated the participation of students in politics with two important reservations.

Believer as the speaker was in youths' participation in politics, he made two important reservations. He was not for utilizing the services of youth in their formative years for direct political action. Youth must take interest, he said, in public affairs, it must cultivate the spirit of nationalism, it must prepare itself for the tasks which faced them in life, but it need not fritter itself away in ineffective action until it was ready to give its best. So far as youth was concerned, the future was of infinitely greater importance than the present. They could not mortgage the continuous existence and vitality of the nation by exacting an untimely blood-toll from youth.

Mr. Bose's second caution was that they must not impose a preconceived and external system of values on youth, depriving them of free and responsible choice. Youth it was true, must be trained for social service, and initiated into the values of life. But in so doing they had no right to deprive them completely of their freedom. They had as much right to pick and choose, accept and reject what they had explored and found and arrive at a system of values for themselves. If there was to be progress in human society, if civilization was not to be condemned to sterility, they had to give youth its due measure of freedom.

Not to speak of lesser Congress leaders, Mahatma Gandhi has spoken against the active participation of students in politics. But speaking generally, Congress precept and Congress practice have not been the same in this matter.

Staggering War Expenditure of Britain

LONDON, Nov. 22.

The war was already costing the country at least six million sterling daily, Sir John Simon told listeners in a broadcast on "Paying for war." He said the modern aircraft cost three to seven times more than its comparable type in 1918; a division of troops in the field cost nearly twice as much to equip and maintain as it did in the last war, while the cost of a battleship was two to three times greater.

Sir John Simon stressed the need of everyone saving every penny possible in order to be able to lend it to Government and added that the second reason of limiting private spending was that unnecessary spending would help to raise prices unnecessarily.

Sir John Simon concluded by explaining the issue of new savings certificates and defence bonds and declared that he was confident that with the goodwill of people they ought to be able to secure a great contribution for war purposes thereby.—*Reuter.*

Six millions sterling is equivalent to more than eight crores of rupees. That is roughly half the annual budget of each of the provinces of Madras and Bombay and more than half the annual budget of Bengal. A nation which can spend this huge amount every day on war is rich beyond the dreams of any avaricious poor Indian. To partially realize how wealthy Britain is we must bear in mind that her war expenditure is not her only expenditure. The people of that country continue to feed and clothe, educate and amuse themselves, which means enormous additional expense.

Britain owes much of her wealth directly to her possession of India and indirectly much more.

It is sad to think what huge waste war involves. And yet Britain and France feel that they must fight for their very existence. How much happier and intellectually and spiritually better mankind would have been if there had been an *agreed* moral substitute for war and if the leaders of the powerful nations of the earth had availed themselves of this substitute instead of indulging in murderous and sanguinary warfare. One feels that there is such a substitute which could be made use of, if only the peoples of the earth were masters of themselves and sufficiently wise, self-controlled and passion-free.

N.-W. Railway Bans Hat to Lower Indian Staff

GHAZIABAD, Nov. 19.

A strange D. O., making an invidious racial distinction between the Indian and European employees of the North-Western Railway, has been recently issued from the Divisional Superintendent's office, Delhi Division, banning the use of the hat by the Indian staff while on duty.

The D. O. say: "Please note and inform the staff concerned that the use of European head-dress with uniform by Indians is prohibited unless they are drawing Rs. 150 p.m. or over."

Parsis will be considered as Indians for the purpose of this order unless domicile.

This D. O. has come as a surprise and has caused a flutter in the ranks of the Indian staff.

This banning is a blessing in disguise. The lower Indian staff of this railway will be made compulsorily self-respecting in their head-dress. The higher Indian staff ought to be voluntarily self-respecting and discard the European hat.

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bindranath Tagore's Appeal on behalf of China

Rabindra Nath Tagore has issued the following appeal :

"I have been deeply touched by the letter of appeal by Madame Sun Yat-Sen to Dr. Debesh Mukherjee who had been to China as a member of the Congress Medical Mission to that country. The devastation caused by the protracted Japanese aggression has rendered the lot of innocent Chinese lives an imperative duty for all of us who realise the ancient bond of friendship that ties our two great countries. We should come to the help of China in her hour of need by contributing whatever we possibly can towards the humanitarian works that the doctors in China have undertaken."

Contributions are to be sent to Dr. Debesh Mukherjee, 3/1, Kali Banerji Lane, Howrah, Dr. Sunil Chandra Bose, 38/2, Elgin Road, Calcutta, or Mr. G. P. Huthee Singh, National Planning Committee, Old Customs House, Bombay.

ang Kai-shek Confident of Victory

CHUNGKING, Nov. 12.

Addressing the plenary session of the Central Kuomintang Executive Committee, Marshal Chiang Kai-Shek reviewed the war situation in the past nine months and assured party leaders that Japan's offensive in military, political and economic fields was daily becoming more and more doomed to failure. His confidence in China's ultimate victory was greatly strengthened as the result of his recent personal trip of inspection of the front, where he was deeply impressed with the fighting initiative of the Chinese troops and the high morale of the people.—*Reuter.*

mber of Jews in Germany

AMSTERDAM, Nov. 23.

The number of Jews in Germany and Sudetenland without Austria, Poland and Czechoslovakia has dropped from 500,000 in 1933 to 185,000 on October 1, 1939, according to a report of the Reich Association of Jews in Germany quoted by the *Rottendamsche Courant.*

An overwhelming majority have no income from work and the number without any property is extraordinarily high and of those with property only 16 per cent. have more than 5,000 marks.—*Reuter.*

ritisher to "Represent the Minister Shipping in India"

LONDON, Nov. 24.

Mr. George Riddoch Campbell has been appointed to represent the Minister of Shipping in India.—*Reuter.*

What little Indian shipping there is in this country suffers from British competition. A Britisher, specially no Britisher interested in British shipping in India, ought to have been appointed to "represent the Minister of shipping in India". But as such an appointment has been made, it would be but bare justice to appoint an Indian in addition who knows all about Indian shipping to represent Indian shipping interests.

Just Plea for Helping Ex-employees of "Enemy-firms"

The suggestion that the Government of India should utilise the assets of the "enemy firms" for providing employment to the ex-employees of those firms, is made by Mr. Humayun Kabir, M.L.C., (Bengal) in a statement recently issued to the Press.

Mr. Kabir says :

"Every day the newspapers bring to us stories of the horrors of war, and on one with any imagination or humanity can remain unaffected by the sufferings of innocent men, women and children in European countries. It seems, however, that the plight of a large number of our fellow countrymen who have been equally affected by the war has not attracted the attention and sympathy it deserves. In our midst there are several thousands of men who have been thrown out of employment on the outbreak of the war,—in Calcutta alone, I understand their number considerably exceeds five hundred. They and their families are faced today with loss of sustenance, and that for no fault of theirs, for they were employed in businesses permitted and even encouraged by the law. These ex-employees of 'enemy firms' have every right to claim consideration and assistance from the State, for today it is almost universally recognized that the State must provide employment or the necessities of life for its citizens. The Government of India has taken over the large assets of these 'enemy firms' and it would be in the fitness of things if these were utilized for the employment and for provision of these unfortunate Indian citizens. Even if there be any technical difficulties in the way they should prove capable of solution if the will is there."—*A. P.*

Keshub Chunder Sen Birth Anniversary at Madras

The Truth Seekers Fraternity, Madras, celebrated the 101st Birth Anniversary of Brahmananda Keshub Chunder Sen on the 18th and 19th November last. Dr. Srimati Muthulakshmi Reddi presided over the public meeting on the 18th. Dr. G. S. Arundale presided at the Federation of Religions. Teachers of different faiths spoke at the Federation. Professor Dr. B. B. Dey unveiled the picture of Sri Keshub at the Metropolitan College. There was Divine Service in the morning. Condolence resolutions were passed at the demise of Dr. Sir R. Venkataratnam and Dr. V. Ramakrishna Row.

The Hindu of Madras writes editorially :

It was but fitting that Madras, which had no small share in arranging the visit of Swami Vivekananda to the Parliament of Religions at Chicago, should have celebrated the Keshub Chunder Sen anniversary with a "Federation of Religions." At the meeting held at Congress House yesterday, appropriately enough under the Chairmanship of the President of the Theosophical

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Society, various speakers expounded the central tenets of their respective religions. The true catholicity and far-reaching idealism of Hinduism, the Buddha's call to tread the Right Way, Christ's concern for the individual, the Prophet's endeavour towards the brotherhood of man and Zoroaster's stress on purity and love—these contribute their share to our imperishable legacy. As Dr. Arundale emphasised yesterday, God could be reached through different paths. United we go forward to salvation, our differences only adding richness to life. It is to be hoped that the spirit of unity, which was so strikingly demonstrated yesterday, would permeate the political and cultural fields and that such discord and strife as have taken their toll at Sukkur and which true religion abhors, will soon vanish from our land.

Satyananda Roy

Warm tributes were paid to the memory of the late Dr. Satyananda Roy, officiating Education Officer of the Calcutta Corporation, at a public meeting held at Albert Hall. Sj. N. C. Sen, Mayor of Calcutta, presided.

In paying tributes to his memory, the Mayor said that Dr. Roy never hankered after name and fame; he always loved to keep himself in the background. He had rare strength of character. It was a misfortune for the country that many of his plans for the educational improvement could not be translated into action. Dr. Roy was endowed with deep erudition. He had contemplated harnessing the experience he had gained in the matter of children's education in America and England to improving children's education in this country, and if they really wanted to pay sincere tributes to his memory, they should first set themselves about establishing a children's library.

Sj. Jnananjan Neogy, Sj. Jogendra Nath Gupta, Sj. Sushil Acharyee, Sj. Bhutnath Mookherjee and Sj. Manmatha Nath Bose among others addressed the gathering, paying glowing tributes to the memory of the deceased.

87 Bengal Politicals Still In Jail

It came out in the course of the answer to a question in the Bengal Council of State on the 24th November last that 87 Bengal political prisoners are still in jail and that the Government are not prepared to release them now. But they will have to be released some day and they have already been in jail for a long time and are prepared to begin a new chapter in their lives. It would be statesmanlike to release them without delay.

Nazis on "Iniquities of British Rule"

LONDON, Nov. 25.

Nazi propagandists have been making some rather wild statement about conditions in India with a view to proving "the iniquities of the British rule." A typical example is the assertion that there are 40,000,000 unemployed in India. No comprehensive Indian unemployment statistics exist, as an Indian losing work in towns usually returns to his village, but considering that the total industrial population of India is only 26,000,000 and the total urban population does not exceed 29,000,000, the absurdity of the Nazi claim is apparent.

Another point made against the British administration is that the average life of an Indian today is 23 years compared with 30 half-a-century ago. In fact over the last fifty odd years expectation of life for Indians has risen from 23.67 to 26.9 years and population has increased from 250 to 350 millions. Expectation of life in Great Britain is 30.6 years.—*B. O. W.*

It is true that no comprehensive Indian unemployment statistics exist, and that not merely because "an Indian losing work in towns usually returns to his village". The fact is there is unemployment both among the urban and the village populations, both among the industrial and the non-industrial populations. Unemployment prevails very widely among the middle-class literate population. The vast numbers of people who find employment in agricultural operations, remain unemployed for at least half the year when agricultural operations are over. Considering all these facts it may be said that accurate unemployment statistics are as difficult to compile in India as they are undoubtedly important.

It is true that an Indian villager losing work in towns usually returns to his village, but the question is, does he get any work in his village when he goes back there ?

We have no statistics before us relating to the average length of life in India half a century ago. Perhaps no accurate statistics of that period exist. But what we learn from the Census of India for 1931, Vol. I, part I, page 165, is that in the year 1931 in India the expectation of life at age 0 was 26.91 and that of England in 1921 at the same age was 55.62. If at present the expectation of life in England is 30.6, it must have gone down enormously in the course of 18 years. But we think the figure given by B. O. W. is wrong.

All-India Women's Conference, Calcutta Branch

The annual constituent conference of the All-India Women's Conference, Calcutta Branch, began its two days' session in Calcutta on the 25th November last. Begum Shareefah Hamid Ali presided over it. Her Highness the Dowager Maharani Sucharu Devi of Mayurbhanj opened the exhibition held in connection with it in the presence of a large and distinguished gathering. The Begum Hamid Ali said in the course of her presidential address :—

"The All-India Women's Conference has established for itself an important position throughout the country. We are proud that we have been taking a leading part

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all nation-building activities which have drawn the of womanhood closer together.

"To us there are no separate compartments of pro- or religion or race. We are all Indian women and such we work harmoniously for the improvement of the ition of women morally, socially in education and in

OUTLOOK BROADENED

"It has helped us to broaden our minds and gradu- led us to study special subjects and acquire wledge of civic matters which I venture to think was done by such a large body of women before our ference came into existence. It has given us a true ion of what nationhood signifies.

She maintained :

"Chief amongst our ideals—one which we deliberately er and acclaim is our unity of purpose—our single re of drawing all classes together, our will-power to get the communal differences which have been deli- ately raised up by those in power or those seeking er—in short men and women who are politically k with the wine of power, who refuse to see the of the whole but can only see the good of a part. nation can be strong when there are weak links in

"It is the duty of those who are stronger to take the er by the hand and help them to raise themselves the highest standard. We are thinking in terms of cation, economic rights, just and fair opportunities working for the country and ultimately of guiding the inies of our provinces and so of the country—*i.e.*, ical power. To reach this goal there must be no ction—but mutual trust and goodwill. Let us, the en at least, by word, thought and deed put forth all strength and influence to show by practical work that e are not mere utopian dreams but can be swiftly easily attained if the stronger stoops and the weaker es an effort to reach the hand of the stronger. One he weakest links in our chain of nationhood—one h has been forged much against our will—is separate orates. Now that it is an accomplished fact and has ght all the evils that we foretold it would—it cannot roken and mended anew unless both the parties, or I say all the parties, are willing to have it broken and made anew. Our leaders must make it the ess of their lives to create such an atmosphere of rstanding and goodwill that each side will volun- and with trust and friendship ask that the separa- might end and voluntary and equitable partnership t begin. I maintain that we the women must give d to our countrymen in this matter. They are like en squabbling about shining bits of glass which reality hardly worth the trouble of picking up and t to see the worthwhile things lying close at hand."

In concluding her address she made a fer- and solemn appeal to her sisters, which true.

"Let nothing deter us, women, from standing der to shoulder together working with one single t in view and that is to establish complete harmony goodwill in the country. All other things will come and in good time—but neglect this burning question low things to slide, and our country will break ing precious which she will never be able to mend

"Friends, you who are working together not only e section of the population but for all those who live in this land know the joy, the elation which comes to us when we have accomplished something which we set ourselves to do—be it big or small. Everything has a relative value after all—perhaps what you think is a small matter might have an accumulative force of such magnitude that it might shake the very foundation of a country as huge as ours—it might prove to be an item which helps on the salvation of the country. It is well we realize the importance of a movement like ours—its far reaching and dynamic effect on the custom, manner and thought of the people. We are unconsciously responsible for the weaving of the fabric which makes up India. Any good that we do has as far reaching effects as any (though unconsciously done) that is wrought by us. Let us then in humility, but conscious of the power of good and evil that our small but capable hands possess, put forth our hands in friendship to all who are willing and proud to serve India. Let us give friendship and love and service to those who ask for it but give even more to those who do not ask for it but try to avoid us. Those are the people who are really and truly in need of thoughtful far-seeing help and understanding, and above all of friendship."

Khan Bahadur Azizul Huque's Patna University Convocation Address

The Hon'ble Khan Bahadur Azizul Huque, Vice-chancellor of the Calcutta University and Speaker, Bengal Legislative Assembly, delivered his eloquent convocation address to the new graduates of the Patna University on the 25th of November last. In the course of his address, referring to war conditions in Europe and their causes, he said :—

At a time when we are still in the early stage of a new constitutional development, even though temporarily suspended in many places, with plenary powers of executive and legislative authority within the provinces, oftentimes I feel within myself whether we have not to guard ourselves against the operation of similar forces in this country. If that contingency ever arises—and I pray to the Almighty that it may never come—it is bound to corrode the very foundation of our economic and political life. It will bring ruin to our land and shatter the hopes of generations cherished through ages past. The Empire of Asoka will then be a mere name in geography, the Empire of the Mughals will only be a phantom of history, and the dream of all our heroes will vanish for ever. A certain amount of parochial patriotism must inevitably develop within the provincial barriers and is probably a necessity in the present conditions. I am never impatient of such parochial patriotism, provided there is nothing to weaken our organic national existence.

He naturally passed on to consider the problems of reconstruction of the provinces and provincial autonomy without damaging the organic unity of India.

In reconstructing the provinces of the future—a task which the young men and women of today will soon be called upon to take up—we have to ensure the organic unity of India without in any way endangering the autonomy of the provinces, the fullest self-expression for all the communities or the integrity of other fundamental rights. Thus alone will evolve the ideal of a National

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State for India. India is more a continent than a mere country. Great Britain, France and Italy have each a population less than that of Bengal; Eire, Holland, Denmark, Bulgaria and Norway have each a population not even equivalent to the population of some of the districts in India; Germany in 1938 had a population approximating the combined populations of the United Provinces and Bihar. What is today happening in Europe may in future be possible in this country. We have, therefore. to read the lessons of the history of Europe in the interests of the future of India. The history of India itself bears tragic evidence of the danger of isolated states with no bond of cohesive unity. With a highly developed intellectual and civilized life, India could not withstand the wave of Muslim invasion even though individual States sometimes put up a most sturdy fight and a heroic resistance. The political structure slowly built up by the Mughals was shattered to pieces when the rising ambitions of provincial satraps could not be curbed. The problem of the future of India is, therefore, how to preserve the integrity of the economic and political life of India as a whole, in the midst of free development of individual units and full self-expression of all creeds and communities.

Perhaps a time may come in the distant future when there will be one Indian culture composed of diverse elements fused together inseparably and inextricably.

In the speaker's opinion,

One country, one people, unifying diverse creeds and cultures—that represents the history of India. It is only by an approach to all our problems in such a spirit that we can attain the high destiny which awaits the future of our land.

And here in India we have everything in our midst that goes to make up a strong, united and powerful nation.

He concluded with a plea for a new synthesis.

I have always felt within myself that it is by keeping the map of India in the background of all our actions, and in a proper perspective of the history of our past, rich in quality and quantity, that we can have the necessary inspiration and background of the unity among the different people inhabiting this vast country. Let us only have faith in ourselves and our past and trust in Providence to guide ourselves and lead us to our future.

Today I plead for this new synthesis and outlook, even though I am aware of the many controversies, jarring notes and discords. They are mere passing phases. The sun will again rise up in all the refulgent glory of the day, the occasional cloud-bursts and thunders will soon vanish, and the little mists and fogs here and there will soon pass away.

And I have no doubt in my mind that when that day comes, you and your province will have a noble part to play. As I speak before you today, I see a vision of the future, while the panorama of the past rises up in cluster before my eyes. Here within this province, I see Gautama Buddha renouncing the Royal Estate and the wealth of the Palaces, sitting beneath the Bodhi tree in deep meditation searching after eternal bliss; I see Asoka in the height of his majesty sending out his missions of peace and piety, and directing the raising of his edicts and monuments throughout the length and breadth of this wide country, the glories of Magadha, the splendour of Pataliputra, the cultural dissertations of Nalanda and Bikramsila, the discourses of Silabhadra, Mahavira and Parswanath, the powers of the Mauryas, the Guptas and the Palas all appear before my eyes; I see Megasthenes appearing before the court of Pataliputra and Hiuen Tsang crossing the rugged passes of successive mountain ranges to pay his homage and tribute to the genius of India; I see Sher Shah planning and directing the opening out of roads and the establishment of hospitals and *serais* from one end of India to the other, cutting out jungles and forests, negotiating hills and rocks, and bridging up streams and rivers; I see Makhdoomut Mulk Sharafuddin giving his learned dissertations on the subtleties of Theology and Philosophy; I see the distinguished Subedars of Bihar extending their princely patronage to arts and letters, trade and industry; I see Mir Kasim valiantly defending the independence of Bengal and Bihar. As these scenes pass before my eyes, I see a vision of this province once again making its mark in the history of India. I see a cultured people, valiant and strong, in plenty and abundance, the masses happy and content, able to read and write, the rise of big cities out of nothing forging furnaces and exploiting the vast mineral resources of this land.

"Ankh Jo Kuch Dekhtee Hai
Lub Pa Aa Sakta Neheen,
Mahve Hairat Hun
Ke Duniya Kya Se Kya Ho Jaegee."

And in that picture, I see you, the Graduates of this University, occupying the most pre-eminent positions—leaders of men, moulders of thought, pioneers of industry and organizers of prosperous peasantry and, above all, builders of peace, amity and concord. Graduates of the University, today I raise that vision and that ideal before you and I wish you God-speed in your march of life.

Twenty-fifth Session of the International Labour Conference

The peoples of the world are so pre-occupied with war news that the International Labour Conference has attracted no attention. In ordinary years, too, as there is nothing sensational in its work, not much attention is paid to it. This year its session has been practically ignored by even the great dailies. Yet we read of the good work done by it in the *International Labour Review*:

The Twenty-fifth Session of the International Labour Conference was held in Geneva from 8 to 28 June, 1939. The following items were on the agenda:

I. Technical and vocational education and apprenticeship.
II. Regulation of contracts of employment of indigenous workers.
III. Recruiting, placing and conditions of labour (equality of treatment) of migrant workers.
IV. Regulation of hours of work and rest periods of professional drivers (and their assistants) of vehicles engaged in road transport.
V. Generalization of the reduction of hours of work in industry, commerce and offices.
VI. Reduction of hours of work in coal mines.

The Conference was composed as follows:—

There were 46 States represented at the Twenty-fifth Session. The total number of delegates was 154, in-

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ing 86 Government delegates, 34 employers' delegates, 34 workers' delegates. Including those appointed g the course of the Conference, the number of ers was 199, of whom 97 were attached to Govern- delegates, 48 to employers' delegates, and 54 to ers' delegates. In all, 353 persons were accredited e Conference.

Incomplete Delegations

The following eleven States were represented by rnment delegates only: Afghanistan, Bolivia, Colom- the Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, Iran, Iraq, ma, Siam (now Thailand), and Turkey.

At the previous session of the Conference the number elegations consisting of Government delegates only been sixteen. In 1937, it was fourteen and in 1936 s fifteen.

Some of the concluding paragraphs of the rt of the twenty-fifth session of the Con- nce are reproduced below.

Although the Conference, on account of the situation ing from the large-scale production of armaments, up the idea of dealing this year with the generaliza- of the reduction of hours of work and the reduction urs of work in coal mines, the positive results which ieved are still remarkable, as it adopted no fewer our Conventions and ten Recommendations.

In the case of hours of work and rest periods in transport, a problem of importance not merely as s the reduction of hours of work but also in con- n with the safety of road users, the Conference adopted a Draft Convention and four Recommenda- It adopted two Draft Conventions and two Recom- ations in furtherance of the work of protecting e labourers begun ten years ago. In the delicate e of migration the Conference adopted a Draft Con- on and two Recommendations concerning the re- ng, placing, and conditions of work, of migrant ers. Lastly, in connection with the vocational ng and apprenticeship, it drew up two important mendations which will be of great utility in ries where new legislative action in this sphere is contemplated.

Taking into account the uncertainty under which the is labouring, it may thus be said that methods of ational collaboration in social policy have proved effective for the solution of serious problems even time of crisis.

The report concludes with words of hope :

The Twenty-fifth Session of the Conference showed even in a crisis it was the ideal of social justice s which the vital forces—Governments, employers, workers—of the immense majority of the countries world were striving. Even if a catastrophe without ent were to descend upon the world it is certain these forces would continue to work together and not be turned from their ideal.

The Secretary-General of the Twenty-fifth Session e Conference said in his closing speech : "We close Conference of 1939 with malice towards none, with ill towards all, and we ask for peace, not bowed r but with the simple courage of the soldier who ready to give life gladly that others may know y of living."

may be hoped that the energy and courage of all who consider the International Labour Organization instrument of progress will continue to be exercised in the sphere of social policy and that, with the maintenance of peace, the Conference will be enabled year by year to continue its great work.

71st Birthday of "Thakkar Bapa"

The 71st birthday of Shri Amritlal V. Thakkar, affectionately and reverently called "Thakkar Bapa", fell on the 29th November last. It was celebrated at Bombay, Delhi and other places in a befitting manner and a purse was presented to him. May he live for at least thirty years more to do more good to the classes for whom he has laboured for the last quarter of a century. He is truly a rare worker, as Mahatma Gandhi says. Here is a mere brief outline of the work which he has done during the last 25 years.

1914 : Joined the Servants of India Society, Poona, as a Life Member on 6-2-1914. Went to the U. P. on famine relief work.

1915 : Looked after various co-operative societies of sweepers in Bombay. Started several schools for children of labour classes in Ahmedabad and Bombay.

1916 : Famine relief work in Cutch.

1917 : Secretary of an association of the non-official members of the then Bombay Council; studied several subjects closely. Worked for Mr. Vithalbhai Patel's Bill for compulsory primary education; organised meetings of depressed classes in Bombay.

1918 : Work for Primary Education in the Bombay Presidency. Enquiry into the distress of the agriculturists of the district of Kaira, Gujarat.

1919 : Labour work in Jamshedpur; organised welfare work for the labourers.

1920 : Famine relief in the district of Puri, Orissa.

1921 : Khadi work in Kathiawad.

1922 : Famine relief work in Panchmahals, Gujarat.

1923 : Beginning of the Bhil Welfare work in Panchmahals and Antyaja Seva Mandal work (Work for Depressed Classes and aboriginal tribes).

1924-25 : Consolidation and extension of Bhil and Antyaja Seva Mandal work in Gujarat.

1926 : Presided over Bhavnagar State Subjects' Conference; Secretary of All-India States Subjects' Conference. Introduced scouting system in the boarding and day schools in the Bhil area.

1927 : Flood relief work in Gujarat. Flood relief work in Sind. Presided over Kathaiwad States Subjects' Conference at Porbunder. Organised a Scout Rally in the District of Panchmahals.

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1928 : Enquiry into Bardoli agitation; continued to take interest in the problem of the States. A member of the Patiala Enquiry Committee, appointed by the All-India States Peoples' Conference and officiated as Chairman of the said Committee. President of the Punjab States Peoples' Conference. Bhil work progress. Well construction work for depressed classes; survey of municipalities in Gujarat.

1929 : Flood relief work in Assam.

1930 : Bhil work progress. Wells for depressed classes. Co-operative societies for municipal Bhangis of Jhalod and Mahudha in Gujarat. A Dharmshala for Bhangis at Nadiad. Sentenced to six months' imprisonment on the charge of abetment of picketing liquor shops, but released after two months.

1931 : Enquiry into the police atrocities on Borsad women.

1932 : Bhil and Harijan Work. Bhangi Co-operative Societies in Nadiad and Jhalod. Annual melas in the Bhil area. Interned for 3 months. Swadeshi League at Dohad. Poona Pact. Supplied statistics for the depressed class population and number of Seats of D. C. in the future legislatures and took part in the talks leading to Poona Pact. Appointed General Secretary of the Servants of Untouchables Society, (Harijan Sevak Sangh).

1933 : Harijan Tour in different provinces with Gandhiji.

1934 : Harijan Tour with Gandhiji. (12,584 miles' travel in six months.) Organised Harijan work in the Provinces. Collection of funds for Harijan work: tour in Provinces for organising Harijan work.

1935 : Tour in Madras Presidency for organising Harijan work. Tour in Assam and starting of welfare work for tribal people.

1936 : Tour in Andhra. Tour in Travancore, Rajputana and Orissa on Harijan work.

1937 : Toured in Rajputana, U.P., Bihar, Assam, Maharashtra and in Nizam's State on Harijan work. Studied further the problem of aborigines. Prepared schemes for Harijan Uplift for submission to six Provincial Congress Governments. Toured in Gwalior and Central India. Toured in Kathiawad with Mrs. Rameshwari Nerhu, Vice-President, Harijan Sevak Sangh, Delhi.

1938 : Toured in Orissa. Flood Relief Work in Upper Assam. Toured in the States of Central India and South Rajputana in the company of Mrs. Rameshwari Nehru. Appointed Chairman of (1) the Municipal Sweepers Enquiry Committee by the Government of C.P. and Berar and (2) the Partially Excluded Areas Enquiry Committee by the Government of Orissa.

1939 : Organised welfare work for the Bhils of the western part of the West Khandesh district at the instance of Mahatma Gandhi and the Bombay Government (Dr. Gilder). Devoted attention to the problem of the aborigines in some provinces. Organized Relief Work for the Talcher refugees. Continuation of work in connection with the Partially Excluded Areas Enquiry Committee, Orissa and Municipal Sweepers Enquiry Committee, C.P. Supervision of the extension of the Harijan Niwas Buildings, Delhi. Toured in Bengal, Bihar, Orissa, Assam and C. P. on Harijan and Aboriginal work. Prepared schemes for the uplift of Harijans and Aborigines in Bihar at the instance of Bihar Government. Completes 70th year on 29th November, 1939.

How we wish all public workers were *workers* like Thakkar Bapa—at least the younger ones among them !

Labour Problems in Time of War

The International Labour Review for November contains a very important article on Labour problems in time of war. It treats of Employment, Unemployment, and Vocational Education; Contracts of Service; Hours of Work and Rest Periods; Employment of Women and Children; Women Workers, and Child Labour; Industrial Medicine; Accident Prevention; Labour Inspection; Social Insurance; Assistance for the Families of Mobilized Men; Assistance for War Victims; Wages; Nutrition; Housing; Agricultural Workers; Seamen; Native Labour; Collaboration between Public Authorities and Employers' and Workers' Organizations.

Though India is really a non-belligerent country, her subject condition has made her technically a belligerent country. Nevertheless new industries are likely to be started here as in other non-belligerent countries, as they ought to be. Our industrialists require to pay particular attention to the following sentences quoted from the *International Labour Review* :

"Belligerent countries will lose markets, but non-belligerent countries will also suffer from the contraction of world markets for some commodities. In non-belligerent countries industries will expand to supply domestic and export markets from which the belligerents have partially or completely withdrawn. This expansion in non-belligerent countries, if not carefully organized and controlled, will be too precipitate, and will bring severe contraction and distress when belligerent countries again enter the export market on a large scale after the war."

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Conditions of Future Peace

There are politicians and statesmen who that peace depends mainly on political territorial readjustments. But those who interested mainly in economic and labour lems think that something more is neces- That is a view on which the International our office lays stress:

"The treaty of peace that is to come will not only be for political and territorial readjustments; it must be foundations of a better economic and social order the world. The declaration in the Constitution of International Labour Organization that world peace be based on social justice remains and will remain It carries forward Albert Thomas's dictum *"If you for peace, prepare for justice."* The statesmen who bear the heavy responsibility of fixing the terms of must have a full knowledge of the economic and conditions of the world and of the aspirations of ployers and workers who collaborate in the organi- of production."

ll Recognition of Human Rights"

On the 25th of November last the Bengal perative Alliance celebrated the Seven- h International Co-operators' Day in tta by organizing an imposing procession holding a meeting in the Senate Hall under presidentship of Srijut Nalini Ranjan er, finance minister of Bengal. After the sident had addressed the large gathering, following resolution was unanimously ed:

This assembly of co-operators comprised in the wide membership of the International Co-operative ce recognizing the gravity of the present world war in the presence of the failure of the Governments collectively or individually to restore understand- and fraternity in international relations and thus se an impregnable barrier against war, re-affirms nviction that the co-operative system of economy s social ideal represent the future basis of civiliza- and the surest guarantee of peace, and calls upon operative organizations, national and international, mediately formulate the demands of co-operators bilize their forces as citizens with all their moral conomic influence they possess for the defence of m, re-establishment of justice, full recognition of rights and the restoration of peace."

In seconding the resolution Sj. Mrinal Bose made a speech in the course of he said:

is Governments that make war, but they always in the name of their peoples. But peoples do not to make war. Why then do people co-operate with Governments in the wars declared by the latter? because people are taught from their infancy that "isms" are greater than co-operation, even greater le. Thus peoples are made to fight for "national- patriotism," "Imperialism," "Fascism," "Hitler- Communism," and all the "isms" that the ingenuity has discovered. "Co-operators throughout the world," said Mr. Bose, "have to eradicate this evil organizations to change the minds of the people and control the Governments.

Nature had intended to make Indians one people, but here again the ingenuity of man has discovered that we are so many nations, communities, races, classes, etc. Co-operators have to fight against these evildoers, and spread the doctrine of co-operation, day in and day out among the people.

N. R. Sarker's Address on International Co-operators' Day

Speaking as president of the International Co-operators' Day meeting in Calcutta, Mr. N. R. Sarker said:

I have also always advocated a strengthening of the co-operative movement on scientific lines and of co-operation in all its forms, as it has been my firm conviction that in co-operation, properly understood and properly applied, lay the solution of the social and economic problems of the masses in the rural areas. The experiments in co-operation in Western countries, where the movement has had its origin, have clearly demonstrated the great possibilities of economic improvement through this movement. Sweden offers us a conspicuous example of what the co-operative movement, if properly conducted, could do for the all-round uplift of a country. Denmark again is the world's outstanding example of agricultural recovery—a recovery which came from the people themselves and by the natural processes of increased efficiency, the elimination of waste and the reduction of overhead costs, through the principles of co-operation. Moreover, co-operation in Denmark is not merely confined to agriculture and industry, but also extends to a wider area of national activities. In fact, it is as pervasive as the State itself. It enlists the humblest citizen on a plane of equality with the richest and transfers to those who produce and those who consume many of the activities which in other countries are performed by distant, if not hostile agencies, indifferent to the effect of their acts on the well-being of the people whom they profess to serve.

After showing that the co-operative movement has spread its activities to the international sphere also, he observed:

"I for one have no hesitation in believing that Freedom, in the truest sense, Co-operation and Peace are indivisible, and that only as co-operation in the international field gains ground and is intensified can we hope for lasting peace and the triumph of real freedom in the world.

"It may be pertinent to observe in this connection that even communistic Russia and Fascist Italy, although wedded to totalitarian and collectivist philosophy, have in the economic sphere resorted to the co-operative principle quite largely and with very conspicuous success."

Bengal has special reason to adopt the co-operative principle.

Indeed the co-operative principle has a special lesson for Bengal, for with small resources and her diverse needs, the necessity for making a little go a long way becomes all the more urgent. And it is not in that restricted field alone that I see great possibilities for co-operation in this province. In the social and economic spheres and even in the political sphere, I think, there is a great need and also great possibilities for co-operation.

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What Forward Bloc May Do

At the opening ceremony of the new premises of the office of the Forward Bloc Sj. Subhas Chandra Bose said that if the Congress Working Committee did not follow up the resignation of the Congress ministries to its logical conclusion, as he apprehended it would not, the Leftist forces would not fail to give a bold lead to the country.

Those who do not belong to any party would rejoice whichever party succeeded in making the country free. It would give us the greatest pleasure if all political parties and communities combined and co-operated to bring the struggle for freedom to a successful close.

Some Forward Bloc Resolutions

The All-India Working Committee of the Forward Bloc passed some resolutions at its sitting on the 26th November last in Calcutta, some of which are printed below:

The Committee condemned "the Governmental repression that has been accentuated in different parts of the country since the outbreak of war in September and which has been directed solely against anti-Imperialists of various persuasions. The Committee also notes with strong disapproval the further aggravation of governmental repression in U. P., Andhra, Tamil Nad and other provinces since the resignation of Congress ministries."

The Committee draws the attention of the All-India Muslim League to the policy and activities of the Governments of the Punjab and Bengal that are under its influence and control. "It is a matter of deep regret," the Committee feels "that since the inception of the war, in these two provinces arrest and persecution and curtailment of civil liberties have been much more widespread and drastic than in provinces administered by Congress ministries. It is noteworthy that the Punjab Government, that is supposed to look after the interests of the Muslims, has made no discrimination between Hindu and Muslim anti-Imperialists as is evident from the treatment accorded to the Majlis-i-Ahrar during the last two months."

The Committee emphatically condemns the Bengal Government for the regime it has introduced since the outbreak of war, whereunder public meetings have been banned all over the province, the Press Ordinance has been applied in a drastic and rigorous manner and arrest and persecution have been increased, as also the harassment of political workers of all Leftist parties and groups. This regime amounts in effect to a complete denial of civil liberty and the responsibility, for it rests primarily and directly on a Government that is controlled by the All-India Muslim League and indirectly on the British Government that professes to be a champion of democracy and freedom."

These resolutions are worthy of support so far as they go.

The Committee has considered it noteworthy that the Punjab Government have made no discrimination between Hindus and Muslims. It should have noted with satisfaction that the Bengal Government *have* discriminated between Hindus and Muslims! For no one is a Nationalist who is not indifferent to the interests, religious rights, civil liberties, and welfare of the Hindus—particularly of those of Bengal.

Another resolution passed by the Committee runs as follows:

The Committee registers its strong protest at the unfair allegation made by Mahatma Gandhi and some other leaders to the effect that Indian Muslims will resist a national struggle for freedom, with the result that communal riots will occur. The Committee considers that such an accusation is altogether unfounded and that no freedom-loving Muslim can possibly tolerate it and the Committee has no doubt that Indian Muslims will emphatically repudiate this baseless and unwarranted slur. It is confident that poor and exploited Muslims, who recognise no sin so heinous as slavery and whose passion for freedom is transparently clear, will come forward in their thousands and tens of thousands to serve the national cause."

Though our reading of newspapers is far from exhaustive, we may be allowed to say that we do not remember to have come across this particular allegation in so many words, though there seems to be some such apprehension in the minds of some Congress leaders. Whether the apprehension, if it exists, is well founded, or whether the Forward Bloc's confidence, expressed in the last sentence of the resolution, is well founded, we are not in a position to say, being more or less arm-chair politicians. But we have our own notions, which we need not give out, as we are not leaders.

Plants Their Own Physicians

When the late Sir J. C. Bose said that plants have emotions and heart-beats and feel pain, there was a volley of opposition from many quarters. He pointed out how wounded plants heal themselves with mysterious juices.

With this as basis Mr. Aire Jan Haagen-Smith of the California Institute of Technology, proceeded on the study and solved the mystery of that healing juice.

He butchered a batch of fresh string beans and dropped the juice into the pod-linings of other wounded beans. In a few hours, large clumps of healthy new cells piled up. After a painstaking analysis, he isolated a complicated compound containing oxalic acid, a common plant substance which cures all wounds caused on the plants by the cruel hand of man.

Russian Statecraft and Diplomacy

The aristocracy and the middle-class merchants, industrialists and intellectuals of Britain, who still form the bulk of its ruling class, had a notion that, of the inhabitants of Britain, they alone understood statecraft and diplomacy and possessed administrative talent and that if the unkempt labourites and the horny-handed sons of the soil were ever entrusted with the portfolios of the govern-

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nt, they would make a mess of the whole ng. But as a matter of fact, when placed at helm of the state they did not do so. vertheless the upper classes of Britain may l cherish the same notion.

Whatever the case may be with Britain, Russia, which has been entirely freed from aristocratic and bourgeoisie elements, leaders longing to the class of common people have wn themselves on the whole equal in diplocy and statecraft (which, as they are today, do not admire) to British and other politins. They broke off with Britain and France l concluded a pact with Germany. Few ld then suspect that Russia had done so with eye to the main chance.

She simply mobilized her army to the ish border, but did little fighting. That was to be done by Germany. When Poland been entirely disabled by Germany, Russia ped in and laid claim to and seized the lthier and more profitable half of Poland. many was made a fool of but had to keep t. What Russia did was not right, any e than Germany's action was right. But sia was the cleverer of the two conquerors.

After the seizure of the better portion of nd, Russia has been busy securing practiy the overlordship of some of her smaller hbours. What the outcome of her exnge of 'courtesies' with Finland will be is yet (27th November) certain.

As yet Russia has not taken any active in the Anglo-Franco-German war, and ain has not been saying any harsh things nst the Soviet.

We simple-minded Indians do not always rstand the game of the European powers. this we have been hearing for decades that many and Russia both wanted to grab a. If that be so, the Soviet may be waiting the day when Germany will make a move rds India after disabling Britain, if she on the ocean by submarine and magnetic warfare. Then she (Russia) being nearer a will seize the opportunity to occupy country. That may be her bright idea—we not know. But we do not in the least desire ain's disablement by Germany. He must n arrant knave and fool combined who ld prefer Hitler's rule to British rule, gh the latter has many faults and imperons. What we want is plain self-rule.

Partition of Poland

The state known as Poland before it was tioned between Russia and Germany was, no doubt, partly the creation of the Treaty of Versailles. But there is also no doubt that there is and was a distinct country called Poland with a distinct people called the Poles mainly inhabiting it, speaking a distinct language called Polish with a properly developed literature. *Assuming* that the Treaty of Versailles added some German territory and German inhabitants and some Ukrainian territory and inhabitants to Poland proper, it would have been justifiable to separate these by peaceful means from the latter. War was not justified. There would have been justification for any region proved to be inhabited mainly by German-speaking people and desiring to be included in Germany to be included therein. Similarly the region inhabited mainly by the Ukrainians and other non-Polish people could have been peacefully allowed and helped either to join the other Ukranians and form a separate state or join Soviet Russia, according as those people desired. It cannot be taken for granted that all German-speaking peoples inhabiting regions near Germany were or are longing to be placed under Hitler's rule or that all Ukrainians and other non-Russians were or are devout adherents of Stalinism.

The peaceful method of inclusion of some territory in Germany and some in Russia could be approved, but the method of sanguinary warfare cannot. Nevertheless, if after the defeat of Poland, Germany and Russia had left Poland proper to the Poles after appropriating to themselves the non-Polish portions, there could have been some justification for such a step. But they have not done so—they have partitioned Poland proper, too. All liberty-loving independent countries ought to do what they can to restore a free Poland to the Poles.

Another urgent duty awaits humanity. It is to administer relief to destitute Poles of both sexes and all ages, wherever they may be.

Aerial, Submarine And Mine Warfare

With the progress of science, war has become more savage and inhuman. It has been becoming more and more destructive not only of the actual fighters but also of women and children and other non-combatant population, dwelling not only in fortified towns taking active part in a war but also in open villages and towns—their only fault being that they are part of the population of a country at war. The most glaring example of this horrible aspect of modern warfare has been presented to the world by the attacking air squadrons of Japan demolishing entire villages and towns of China.

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Similar havoc, though not on such a large scale, was wrought in the late Spanish Civil war.

In the present Anglo-Franco-German war, German aeroplanes have been trying to bomb British villages and towns, but with little or no success. As the sole object of aggressive warfare is the destruction of or infliction of loss on the enemy, the aggressors do not discriminate between the means adopted for the purpose. Deceit and treachery are not considered blameworthy if practised during warfare. Attacking the enemy without his getting warned is considered particularly clever. It is, therefore, a blessing that noiseless aeroplane machinery have not yet been invented. Hence anti-aircraft guns can be used against aeroplanes and people can seek shelter underground betimes as protection against bombing.

But submarines can generally attack ships unawares, and cannot generally be fought as attacking aeroplanes can be and are. In the present war Germany seems to rely greatly on her submarines and different kinds of mines for success. The number of ships she has already destroyed by these means would have had a paralysing effect if Britain did not possess a very large mercantile marine and a powerful navy. Nonetheless she must be feeling the heavy loss. Her scientists and inventors are doing all they can to find out some means to baffle Germany's submarine and mines campaign, which has been latterly greatly intensified. The havoc wrought by this campaign makes the inhumanity of war particularly conspicuous. One cannot but admire the courage, patriotism and sense of duty of the sailors who continue to man and ply all sea-going craft in spite of imminent risk of sudden death any hour of the day and night.

Germany is making an enemy of neutral countries also by indiscriminately sinking ships, whether belonging to Britain and France or to non-belligerent countries.

The economic staying power of Germany is not at all equal to that of Britain. The latter's efforts to seize and prevent all German exports by sea are sure to greatly affect Germany's resources at no distant date.

Real and Nominal Neutrality

If in war time any country does not help any of the belligerents in any way, that is real neutrality. But if any so-called neutral country, sells arms, machinery and ammunition to both belligerent parties, that is not true neutrality. Such a country in fact shares the guilt of both the warring parties to the extent that they may be guilty, if both be so. To supply arms and ammunition is really to take part in war.

That America will supply war materials to whomsoever may buy them does not indicate either her pacifism or her impartiality. It only shows that she wants to make money. That she has got large orders for aeroplanes from the Allies, and that Britain has enough ships to import war goods from America and Germany has not, may have been determining factors in the recent amendment of America's Neutrality Law.

War As Enemy of Culture

The last great war in Europe horrified mankind by its destruction in France and other countries of great monuments of human culture. In the Sino-Japanese war, too, Japan has destroyed many universities, libraries, ancient palatial buildings and other monuments and innumerable objects of art of various kinds. Such destruction has taken place in the Spanish Civil war, too.

The havoc wrought in Warsaw is indescribable.

If objects of culture could be safeguarded and preserved even in the midst of war, most of the cultural heritage of humanity now destroyed during wartime could be transmitted to posterity.

The Mournful Plight of Warsaw

Who can have the heart to talk of the glories of war in the face of the condition to which the inhabitants of villages and towns wrecked by the aggressors are reduced? The citizens of Warsaw put up a most valiant fight in defence of their hearths and homes, and now the city is a mass of ruins, the famished inhabitants are obliged to feed on dead dogs and are a prey to epidemics. We do not even know whether any help from outside can reach them.

Such is a part of the darker side of modern civilization.

Unexpected Undignified Comment and Language

From before election to the Congress presidential chair for the second time, in spite of provocation Srijut Subhas Chandra Bose has been speaking and writing with becoming self-restraint and dignity. We were, therefore, sorry to notice the following paragraphs in an editorial article written by him in the latest issue of his *Forward Bloc* (November 25, 1939) on the resolution of the Congress Working Committee regarding the Congress attitude to the British Government :

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The most significant sentence in the first resolution is follows :—"The Working Committee will continue explore all means of arriving at an honourable settle- even though the British Government has banged door in the face of the Congress," which when para- sed should read "We shall continue to lick the feet the British Government even though we have been ed by them."

This is not Politics as we understand it or as the ern world understands it—but perhaps it is in accord- with Biblical or Vaishnavic traditions. Such a policy appeal to one or to a few persons—but will it be ptable to the nation that is more interested in freedom, h is a life-and-death question, than in the whims of iduals? It remains to be seen if the Indian people repudiate a policy that demands that we should lick feet that kick us.

Difference of opinion is only to be expected ll matters of greater or less importance. In ressing such difference one should rely on statement of facts and arguments in order to vince the public that one is right. Indul- e in undignified and abusive language leads he weakening of the case of the writer or ker who does so and in addition causes le to lose respect for him.

Constituent Assembly

In writing about the Constituent Assembly h, according to Mahatma Gandhi and the gress Working Committee, should draw up onstitution for India, it has been said that se communities which may desire to elect r representatives on it by separate electorates heir own may do so. A step further and the munalists will be given the right to their ent weightage, excessive and separate fixed a in the public services, and similar anti- ocratic and anti-national concessions. efore, we ought to be told beforehand in t respects the New Political Dispensation differ from the present political dispensa- which India has received from British erialists. Of course, the Indian word rna-Swaraj" and the English expression solute Independence" may be used to ote it. But will these high-sounding expres- s stand for the real thing?

We are not opposed to the idea of a Con- ent Assembly. But we desire that its lts should not in any respect be anti-national anti-democratic.

It would be difficult to convene a Consti- t Assembly for a country with such a large ulation as India. Perhaps the primary tors, the adults, in case adult suffrage be ted, will elect their representatives and e representatives will elect the delegates to Assembly. The adoption of adult suffrage may meet the needs of those who want separate communal electorates. If the kind of indirect election to the Assembly which has been indicated above were adopted, that might make the Assembly a body of manageable proportions. Still, it would be too large a body to draft a constitution. A small committee would have to be appointed to draft it. If the Congress played the leading role in the Constituent Assembly business, that committee would entrust the drafting to Mahatma Gandhi. In that case, what would really happen would be that the Constituent Assembly would be asked to vote on the draft.

Therefore much trouble and expense and fuss could be avoided if a very small committee of experts belonging to different parties and communities who have studied the popular constitutions of various countries were entrusted even now with the drafting of the constitution. They could do it in consultation with Mahatmaji, or, as he is the dictator, under his direction. We think such a constitution may be as satisfactory as can be expected in the present circumstances of India, though it will not completely satisfy all parties and persons.

Why Britishers Are In India

According to British imperialists, one of the reasons why Britishers are in India to rule the country is that there are various divisions among the people of the country, that there are conflicting claims put forward by them, and that there are communal clashes and quarrels, and so on and so forth; and Britishers are here to hold the balance even and to act as reconcilers, mediators and adjudicators.

The correctness of this plea being assumed but not admitted, it amounts to this that Britain will withdraw from India when the people have been unified, if not completely, at any rate to a far greater extent than at the time of the British occupation, when they will cease to put up separate claims and when there will not be communal clashes. But is it a fact that British rule has been deliberately trying to unify the peoples of India and that as a result the longer British rule lasts, the less does the British legislators feel it necessary to recognize divisions among the people, that the divisions recognized grow increasingly smaller in number, and fissiparous tendencies among the people grow less and less marked? Let us look at the facts. The notion that different communities in India have different interests was started under official auspices in the first decade of this century when Lord Minto was

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Viceroy, who, in the words of Lord Morley, "started the Moslem hare." But then he started only one hare. The number of hares have since then multiplied. The latest constitution of India, promulgated in 1935, recognizes more than a dozen hares, namely, "General," Scheduled Castes, Women, Moslems, Indian Christians, Anglo-Indian Christians, European Christians, Sikhs, Adibasis (Aborigines), European Chambers of Commerce, Indian Chambers of Commerce (subdivided into Moslem, Marwari, and others), Landlords, Farmers and Peasants, Factory Labour, Princes, Universities, ... By the time when the British arbiters of India's destiny feel it necessary to frame a new constitution for India, say in 1945—if, of course, they still act as our earthly Providence, they will gladly recognize the separate claims of Shias and Sunnis and Momins (if not other Muslims also), of the Christian aborigines and the non-Christian aborigines, of each of the separate Hindu scheduled castes (for some of them have already set up separate claims for themselves), of Catholics and Protestants, and so on.

It is the Indian nationalists who have been denouncing caste, trying to wipe off untouchability and obliterate caste distinctions and bring about communal unity. On the other hand, statutory and official recognition continues to be given meticulously to caste and other divisions and distinctions.

As for holding the balance even, the machiavellian Communal Decision and the uneven fixed communal quota in the public services, are among the grinning comments on that self-righteous imperialist claim.

Communal clashes, instead of decreasing in number with the length of years of British rule, have been on the increase.

Sanguinary Troubles in Sindh

It has been noticed for some decades past that whenever any constitutional reforms are demanded or talked of, all of a sudden, accidentally, there are communal clashes in some parts of the country or other while it is still under British rule.

The fanatical murders and plunders in Sukkur and some other towns of Sindh and the sanguinary and predatory raids by Baluchis on some Sindh villages cannot be sufficiently condemned and deplored. They are a condemnation, not of Purna Swaraj, which has still to come, but of the present regime. Those Muslim ministers of Sindh who have shown impartial firmness are greatly to be praised.

Dr. V. Ramakrishna Rao

The sudden, unexpected and premature death of Rao Sahib V. Ramakrishna Rao, M.A.,L.T., Ph.D., of Masulipatam, removes from our midst a distinguished scholar and educationist and a devoted servant of the motherland and humanity in the sphere of cultural and spiritual endeavour. He was a former principal of the Pittapur Rajah's College, Cocanada and Sir Ashutosh Mookerjee Research Medallist in Letters of the Calcutta University. Years ago he married a lady whom he dearly loved. After her lamented death after a brief period of married life, he led the life of a sannyāsin, though he did not don the ochre robes of any order, pursuing the higher life of the spirit. He was an eloquent speaker and a thoughtful and facile writer, noted for affluence of thought and sentiment, depth of piety and devotion and wealth of vocabulary. Among his works are *Altar Stairs*, a sequence of sixty studies in the life and love of the spirit, *Along the Pilgrim Path*, a record and review of Brāhma Samājes in India, and *Emerson, His Muse and Message*. It is to his devotion to Dr. Sir R. Venkata Ratnam, whom he called his master, that we owe eight volumes of *The Message and Ministrations* of the latter.

Hindu Mahasabha Session in Calcutta

The annual session of the All-India Hindu Mahasabha was decided to be held in Calcutta during next Christmas week some months ago. Under the Bengal ordinance prohibiting meetings, processions, etc., permission had to be obtained for holding the session. It was applied for some time ago. After a great deal of unreasonable delay the Bengal Ministry have given the permission sought. As the session is to be held on the 28th, 29th and 30th instant, there is not much time left for the necessary preparations.

We hope the Mahasabha will pay special attention to social reform and the social unification of the Hindus.

More than 2,500 Books Proscribed in Bengal

The following paragraphs appear in a report of the proceedings of the Bengal Legislative Assembly on the 27th November last:

More than 2,500 books written in Bengali and non-Bengali languages are under ban imposed by the Government of Bengal. This interesting information was vouchsafed to the Bengal Legislative Assembly by the Hon-

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Minister of the autonomous Government of Bengal, day, when it met after a rather long recess. The on was put by Mr. Sibnath Banerjee who wanted w if a novel—"Natun Diner Alo"—(New Day's written by Mrs. Bimal Prativa Debi had been bed by the Government.

on. Home Minister admitted that it was under and replying to further questions put by Mr. jee laid on table a list showing that from 1920-34 were under ban about 2,319 books and from 1934-36 umber of books under ban were 212. The Govern- said the Home Minister further, were not prepared ke a general statement whether they proposed to drawn the ban "but are ready to consider individual on their merits."

The proscription of more than 2,500 books province shows either that its government normal or that the condition of the mind people is not normal, or both. Whatever fact may be, is it creditable to those who charge of its affairs ?

dia in Bondage"

Apropos the Home Minister's statement banned books that the Bengal Govern- "are ready to consider individual cases on merits," we bring it to his notice that when time ago the Central Government were whether they would be pleased to withdraw an on the late Dr. J. T. Sunderland's *India ondage*, the reply received was to the effect the book had been proscribed by the Ben- Government, to whom the question should dressed. As the publisher of the book, amananda Chatterjee, is not a member of engal Assembly and as no member thereof sked the aforesaid question, we mention atter here—not in the expectation that it raw the attention of the Bengal Ministry he ban on the book will be withdrawn, but y to make one or two remarks.

One is this. There is not in the whole book *in Bondage*, or in any of its chapters, aphs or sentences, anything approaching concentrated sedition (according to the Penal Code) contained in the Indepen- Day declaration of the Indian National ess which is repeated every year in January a thousand platforms and in hundreds of papers without let or hindrance. Let any al or non-official who can, prove the falsity s remark.

Why then has the Independence Day ation not been proscribed and *India in* ge still remains proscribed ?

The other remark is that of all works *in Bondage* is *the* book which made out ongest case—an unanswerable case—for Indian self-rule. It is therefore a classical work.

If Sir N. N. Sircar, the late Law Member to the Government of India, who as Advocate-General of Bengal prosecuted Sj. Ramananda Chatterjee and got him convicted, were now asked whether the book should continue to remain proscribed ten years after the conviction of its publisher, we are quite sure his answer will be in the negative.

British Ministry of Information on Magnetic Mines

LONDON, Nov. 27.

The Ministry of Information announces that measures to combat the German Magnetic Mine campaign is well in hand.

An appeal for volunteers of two thousand men to man two hundred drifters and trawlers for minesweeping has evoked a greater number than required. These ships will become naval vessels classed as trawler reserve. It is recalled that towards the end of the last war, the American barrage of magnetic mines extended over a great area between Norway and Britain.—*Reuter.*

The sooner these measures succeed in combating the menace of the magnetic mines the better.

British Premier on Britain's War Aims and Peace Aims

On the 25th November last Mr. Chamberlain dwelt on Britain's war aims and peace aims in his broadcast speech.

Mr. Chamberlain thanked the Empire peoples for their support so freely and swiftly given and said: "We entered the war to defend freedom and establish peace, the two vital principles of our Empire and the Empire's unity today gave us moral as well as material strength to win them"—*Reuter.*

The Indian National Congress has asked the British Government if at the end of the war they will give India freedom. That means that in the opinion of the Congress freedom does not at present exist in the part of the Empire known as India. A thing that does not exist cannot require to be defended. Therefore India has relieved Britain of the task of defending freedom in the largest part of the Empire.

Dealing with peace aims Mr. Chamberlain said, "Our desire would be to establish a new Europe not in the sense of redrawing the map according to the ideas of the victors, but a Europe with a new spirit in which the nations of Europe would approach their difficulties with goodwill and mutual tolerance. In such a Europe the fear of aggression would have ceased to exist and such adjustments of boundaries as would be necessary be thrashed out between the neighbours sitting on equal terms round the table with the help of disinterested third parties, if so desired. In such a Europe it would be recognized that there could be no lasting peace unless

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there was a full and constant flow of trade between the nations concerned and each country would have the right to choose her own form of internal government as long as it did not pursue an external policy injurious to its neighbours and armaments would be gradually dropped as useless expense, except as far as needed for the preservation of internal law and order. This would take many years and some machinery would be needed capable of guiding the development of the new Europe in the right direction. He hoped that Germany, animated by a new spirit, might be among the nations which would participate in its operations."—*Reuter.*

The Indian National Congress has desired to know the peace aims of Britain. Without seeking to do so Britain's Prime Minister has satisfied the desire of the Congress. The British peace aims as described by the Premier have nothing to do with any country outside Europe. They are strictly confined to Europe.

Alleged Vindictive Policy of Congress Working Committee

A long resolution or statement issued by the Working Committee of the All-India Forward Bloc contains the following sentence:

> It has been reported by the members and supporters of the Forward Bloc in several provinces that the Congress Working Committee and its agents have been pursuing a vindictive policy against them.

After citing instances from the Frontier Province—not the brilliant kidnappings—, Delhi and Bengal, the statement concludes:

> The above instances though by no means exhaustive will suffice to demonstrate the attitude and policy of the Congress Working Committee and its agents vis-a-vis the Forward Bloc. This Committee apprehends that this attitude and policy will continue and therefore calls upon the members of the Bloc all over the country to put up with this persecution with calmness and fortitude, firm in the belief that it enjoys the confidence of the masses.
>
> It is painful to note that while the members of the Congress Working Committee go on appealing for unity and discipline, they themselves pursue a policy which leads to disunity and disruption in the ranks of the Congress. Though the whole world including India is now passing through an unprecedented crisis, the Congress Working Committee is still considering what disciplinary action should be taken in connection with the demonstrations held by the Leftists on the 9th July, last. —*U. P.*

We are not in a position to pronounce any opinion on the allegations.

Forward Bloc Wants Autonomous Baluchistan Province

The Forward Bloc committee's long resolution takes in Baluchistan also in its wide sweep, though it is silent on the exploits of the Baluchi raiders in the Sindh villages.

> The Committee sends its cordial greetings to the people of Baluchistan and assure them of its wholehearted sympathy and support in their heroic struggle for political and social progress. In particular, the Committee expresses its firm conviction that the people of Baluchistan are entitled to the same political status as the rest of India. The Committee condemns the Government of Baluchistan for the arrest of Khan Abdus Samad Khan, President of Anjuman-e-Vatan and Editor *Istaqlal*, a gallant worker in the cause of civil liberty and national freedom. It conveys its sympathy and support to him in the trials and tribulations that may be in store for him and his comrades and hopes that despite such obstacles, the freedom movement in Baluchistan will go on with unabated vigour.

The population of the whole of Baluchistan is smaller than that of a large district in Madras, Bengal or U. P. Who will pay for the administrative machinery required for an autonomous Baluchistan Province ?

Status of the Orissa States

Srijut Harekrishna Mahtab has sent us a criticism of the article on the Status of the Orissa States by Shri Ronendra Protap Singh Deo, published in our last issue. It has to be held over for publication in the next January issue owing to great pressure on our space in the present number.

Herr Hitler's Sarcasm

Herr Hitler is reported to have said sarcastically some time ago, "If Britain started granting her own Empire full liberty by restoring the freedom of India, we should have bowed to her." It is reported that he has subsequently amplified this sarcastic remark. It is true that the British Prime Minister and some other Ministers and the British Viceroy of India have repeatedly said that they were fighting for freedom and democracy, though they have not yet made India free and established fully democratic institutions here, or declared definitely when exactly they would do so. But those who live in glass houses ought not to throw stones at others. Herr Hitler, the destroyer of the liberty of his own people, of Austria, of Czechoslovakia and of Poland, should be the last person to attack another nation for not granting liberty to its subjects.

It is also true that British imperialists may say to Herr Hitler in reply : "Yes, if we were to grant liberty to India and withdraw from that country, it would be easy for you to invade and occupy it !" That might be a clever retort. But British statesmen should remember that Britain is responsible for the fact that India cannot defend herself against foreign invasion relying on her own unaided strength.

But charge and counter-charge apart, it is a historical fact worthy of serious consideration

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Britain's possession of India has made her lthy and powerful and has consequently used the envy of other nations. British erialism in India has been a standing mple of what imperialism can do for an erialist nation and has led other nations to to the path of empire-building. It has been the direct or indirect cause of some s undertaken by other nations. And Britain self has had to fight many a battle on land sea and in the air with the direct or indirect ct of keeping her hold on India.

If there is to be peace in the world, imperial- must go. If imperialism is to go, the greatest erial power in the world should give it up. establishment of complete self-rule in India, h is Britain's greatest imperial possession, ld be an indubitable proof that she has ed to worship at the shrine of imperialism. ing to do so, she could with all her soul and er power and resources fight the imperial- of other nations and be the greatest gonist and promoter of world-peace. That d indeed be a most glorious role.

It must be admitted that Britain alone is responsible for the fact that she has not become anti-imperialist. We Indians have yet given her all the help she requires to me the greatest promoter of world-peace by elves doing our utmost to become free, self- g and independent.

atma Gandhi on the Communal sion

In *Harijan* for November 4, 1939, Mahatma hi had written :

"Sir Samuel talks of the Communal Award as a rious act of the British Government. I am sorry entioned it.....I am unable to regard it as a proud achievement....I say this apart from its merits, do not bear close scrutiny. But the Congress has accepted it because I was party to the request to the late Mr. MacDonald to arbitrate."

Subsequently Gandhiji has corrected him- n *Harijan* of the 18th November. He has therein that it was not an award but a ion of the British Government, and that was not an award but a decision, "'there be no question of my being party to it." as regards his assertion that the Congress loyally accepted it, he has not made any tion. The Congress has not accepted it open session, nor has the All-India Con- Committee or the Congress Working mittee done so. *But the Congress has* ICALLY *accepted it,* the only dissentients ctice being the Congress Nationalist Party. They have all along carried on agitation against it, which neither the Rightists nor the Leftists or the Forward Bloc have done.

Gandhiji is for "an agreed revision of the decision, which has many glaring defects."

"What I (Gandhiji) will not do is to make an appeal to the British Government to revise it over the heads of the parties affected. It stands till the parties agree to purge it of its absurdities."

Which means that it is, in the language of Sir N. N. Sircar, "a temporary-permanent arrangement!"

"The Servant of India" Disappears

The Servant of India announced last month that owing to financial reasons it would not be published any longer. It is greatly to be regretted. Its editorial notes and signed and unsigned articles and some of its book reviews generally bore marks of careful study of the subjects dealt with therein. The writers' conclusions were in general courageously and impartially stated. These indicate qualities which are not plentiful like blackberries among us journalists.

One can only hope that, if in future the financial position of the Servants of India Society improves, its weekly organ, which was a credit to Indian journalism, will again be published.

"The King Opens Parliament"

LONDON, Nov. 28.

The King's speech at the first war session of Parliament was very short and to the point. His Majesty declared, "The prosecution of war commands the energies of all my subjects. My Dominions overseas are participating whole-heartedly and with the most gratifying effectiveness. Throughout the world my navies, together with the merchant navy and fishing fleets, are keeping the highways of the sea free and open.

"I am well assured that my armies and air forces at Home and in France and all stations overseas will be equal to any efforts and sacrifices to which they may be called.

"Grave responsibilities rest upon Parliament at this time. I am convinced that it will express the resolution of the nation on the measures to be submitted for the attainment of the purpose on which all our efforts are set."—*Reuter.*

The absence of any reference to India will be appreciated in this country.

Debate on the Address in the House of Commons

LONDON, Nov. 28.

In the House of Commons, speaking on the debate on the address, Mr. Attlee referred to Mr. Chamberlain's broadcast and quoted his reference to the aggressive bullying spirit which had to be defeated. That aggressive spirit, said Mr. Attlee, was not confined to Germany. There have been aggressive wars before and there would

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be again unless the human race decided to make necessary changes in its organisation.

We should consider the principles, whereon we wanted to build peace and what practical steps we must take to realise a new world.

THE PROBLEM OF PEACE

The problem of peace is not a continental one, least of all should we look at it from a narrow European angle. We had to consider it in the general state of the world and a peace settlement must be made with the co-operation of the victors, vanquished and neutrals alike. We wanted to establish after war something in which all nations would join. There should be recognition of the rights of all nations, small as well as large, to have the right to live.

Mr. Attlee called this international democracy and added: "We demand equality of opportunities for all nations, abandonment of aggression and use of force, recognition of rights of racial, cultural and religious minorities, abandonment of the spirit of absolute sovereignty, recognition of international authority with power to enforce its decision, abandonment of Imperialism and extension of freedom all over the world and equality of access to all nations to the good things of the world."—*Reuter.*

These are undoubtedly lofty ideals finely expressed. We shall be happy if we live to see Britain following them in India.

Mr. Chamberlain on Mr. Attlee's Speech

In the course of the debate on the address,

Dealing with Mr. Attlee's speech, Mr. Chamberlain said it would be worse than futile, it would be a mischievous attempt, to lay down conditions today, conditions under which a new world would be created. "We have not entered this war with a vindictive purpose and we do not, therefore, intend to impose a vindictive peace. What we say is that first of all we must put an end to this menace, under which Europe has lain for so many years. If we can really do that, if confidence can be established throughout Europe, then, whilst I am not excluding the necessity of dealing with other parts of the world, still I feel that Europe is the key to the situation, and if Europe can be settled the rest of the world would not prove so difficult a problem."

There is one way in which "Europe can be settled" which will not settle the problem of the rest of the world. Though it is difficult it would not be impossible for the big European powers to fix their shares of the territories and resources of the non-European peoples of Africa and Asia. But such a settlement will not bring peace all over the world. Asiatics and Africans, too, are men, and their human rights must be fully recognized in practice. Otherwise there can be neither justice nor peace.

Mr. Chamberlain said, Mr. Attlee had said that Imperialism must be abandoned, but did not say what country he had in mind as practising Imperialism today. If Imperialism means the assertion of racial superiority, suppression of political and economic freedom of other peoples, the exploitation of the resources of other countries for the benefit of the imperialist country, then I say these are not the characteristics of this country, but they are the characteristics of the present administration of Germany.

Whatever may have been the case in the past we have no thought of treating the British Empire on the lines I described. For years it has been the accepted dogma that the administration of the Colonial Empire is a trust which has to be conducted primarily in the interests of the people of the country concerned. We have already undertaken to give free access to the markets and materials of many of our most important Colonies.

Mr. Chamberlain's words will not be considered true in India.

What Girl Guides Do In China

A recent issue of *The China Weekly Review* (that for September 23, 1939) received by us on the 13th October contains some inspiring photographs of what Girl Guides do in China. "The Girl Guides of Szechwan," it is stated, "do much more than picnic and parade; they perform national service." In one picture a company of Girl Guides is seen mobilized for road building, while in another picture a winsome lass prepares a meal for the community. In a third picture the girls are seen making winter clothing for China's soldiers.

Dinesh Chandra Sen

Bengal's literature and scholarship stand definitely poorer today by the death of Dr. Dinesh Chandra Sen. Early in his youth Dinesh Chandra developed a deep and abiding devotion for the literary history and culture and traditions of the province of his birth, and no one person contributed more to the restoration and reconstruction of that history. He was indeed a pioneer, in the sense that no one before him had appreciated, as he did, the value of materials that so far had remained neglected in rural areas and unknown corners, and utilised them in interpreting and reconstructing the cultural history of Bengal. He was principally responsible for bringing to public notice the forgotten Ballads of East Bengal, and his History of Bengali Literature, in spite of its inaccuracies, will have to be read by all serious students of Bengali literature for a long time to come. Not that he was a great scholar and "explorer" and nothing besides; he possessed a style all his own, and he re-created, as it were, the age-old tales of Sati, Behula, Phullara, and many other mythological and traditional figures and imbued them with supreme beauty. He was a writer of original fiction also. He was a devoted lover of old Bengal and had a museum of his own in his Behala residence for the collection and preservation of Bengal's historical and cultural antiquities.

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POLAND AND THE WAR

By C. F. ANDREWS

ere may still be lingering in many minds a ous doubt whether Poland's own record, e she was made an independent nation of ope by the Treaty of Versailles, has been such a character as to allow her now to m, in this hour of her desolation, the un-tioning moral sympathy of the whole lized world outside Germany and Russia. case is not so strong as that of Czecho-akia,—much less than that of Abyssinia China.

The artifical nature of Poland's boundaries, her war with Soviet Russia, in 1921, mes clear even to a casual observer. The city of Danzig, with its German population kept somehow within the Polish Customs n: the Corridor, predominantly Polish, separating the two sections of Prussia, East West: the large Jewish population, with e problems of its own: the white Russian Ukrainian minorities spreading over her ern territory—these and other anomalies been often recognized. They have natu-served to raise questions about the anence of new national boundaries which been shaped in such a manner.

It is because I have felt these questions nally and tried to answer them, that I am ring now to write about them. For it has me clear to me, on examination, that nd's claim to world sympathy is much ger than I had first imagined. Along with the further point has to be reckoned into account, that it has become finally and erably necessary to stop once and for all further act of Nazi aggression, so that nations might no longer be led astray by false notion that violence, deceit and false-may be used with impunity in national ns; for that would be fatal in the end to ue human progress.

This does not mean that the German e, who have suffered so terribly in the must be pilloried once more, but rather those who have so unscrupulously seized ower in Germany and abused it must be to realize that such anti-social dealings t be passed over by any mere methods of sement.' Their inequity has mounted up too high and must topple over by its own weight.

II

At the same time, it is also necessary to deal faithfully with those things wherein Poland has put herself in the wrong since she became a nation.

The first of these that has struck every one's attention has been the haste with which she seized the portion of Czecho-Slovakian territory that she claimed as her own and thus added one more blow to that unfortunate Republic. This has been explained away by Mr. W. J. Rose, in his book on Poland, but it has left a bad impression. In addition, there has been abundant evidence that Poland has continually failed to do justice to the minorities which are within her borders. Though she had known what it meant to be badly treated as a 'minority' herself in earlier days, she has by no means done all she could to lighten the burden of others.

If, therefore, Poland has now been brought again into subjection and her territory overrun, does this mean that her old boundaries must be completely restored, even where there has been injustice done to others before? While the brutal aggression of Nazi Germany must be condemned by every thinking man, may there not be things done by Poland herself in the time of universal confusion after the late war that must be put right if the world is to be built up again on sounder lines? Does not her failure to deal generously and wisely with large numbers of White Russians and Ukrainians, who have been loosely placed within her borders, make it impossible to call upon the whole world to defend those boundaries now to their full limit? Should not a renewed Poland be satisfied with less, and be thankful if the Allies win it back? After all, are not appendages of unwilling people a weakness rather than a strength?

Questions of this kind have disturbed me, and it has not been easy to find an answer. Yet I believe that Poland's advance during the last twenty years, has been greater than most of us are aware of, and that her case is essen-

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tially just. What follows will be an attempt to prove this.

III

Let us take, first of all, the question of the Free City of Danzig and the Corridor. The racial issue here is clearly divided. There is something to be said on both sides. For if Danzig was full of Germans, the Corridor was full of Poles. Germany could not have it both ways claiming both Danzig *and* the Corridor. A single-hearted desire for peace could easily have led to a settlement of the racial difficulty if it stood by itself. But every one knows, that it was the *fortification* of Danzig, and the *military* use of a strip of German territory, across the Corridor, that were the real points at issue; and if these had been extorted from Poland by threats in the same way that Austria, Czecho-Slovakia, and Memel had been previously threatened, then Poland, as an independent nation, would have been crumpled up in exactly the same way that Czecho-Slovakia was dismembered. The trick of summoning the responsible leaders into Hitler's presence, and then brow-beating them into surrender, under the threat of overwhelming destruction, had been played too often. Every time that such a clumsy manœuvre was tried afresh, it became harder to employ it again.

Competent observers, such as Mr. Wilson Harris of the *Spectator*, had very little doubt that the two questions of Danzig and the Corridor could have been decided without war. If the threat of Nazi violence had been removed, war might still have been averted by a compromise on both sides. But it appears now, that from the moment when Herr Von Ribbentrop had secured a last moment pact with Soviet Russia, Hitler had made up his mind to invade Poland, and thus end what he dared to call Poland's 'lunacy.' How far any secret terms were included in the Soviet Pact itself is not yet clear; but a certain order of events seems to have been followed with clock-like precision. There was first of all a bungling attempt at camouflage which deceivd nobody. Then followed the effort of Hitler to exonerate himself from the blame of starting the war by casting it upon the Poles and the British. Nothing could be more damaging to Nazi Germany's reputation for good faith than the conversations with the British Ambassador which the Blue Book records. They depict minutely and accurately the attempt at deception made at the very time that the order was being given to the mobilised Nazi troops to invade Poland. No delay for negotiation was allowed. No ultimatum was given. No war was declared. Instead of this, the German troops marched in from their carefully prepared positions, and Poland was soon at their mercy.

IV

If the famous Kellogg Pact, which all the nations signed ten years ago amid universal rejoicing means anything at all, then surely the United States of America, which sponsored the Pact, ought to take immediate cognisance of what has happened and act upon it. As was agreed at the time, the aggressor should be named, and there should be a gathering of those who signed the Pact and are not directly at war, so that steps may be taken to outlaw the one who has committed this act of lawless aggression, not merely against the injured nation but against all mankind.

If, however, it is argued that other breaches of the Pact have already been made, no less flagrant than this of Germany, and yet nothing has been done, it should be pointed out that such a fact is all the more reason why a firm stand should be taken now. For it is plain that if this is not done, then this universal treaty of mankind on which such fair hopes were built, will fall into the same abandonment of disrepute as the League of Nations at Geneva. Its solemn signature at Paris in 1928 will be recorded in human history as nothing but an empty ceremony. In that case it will never be revived. For if no solid appeal can be made now, after such an act of aggression as the lawless invasion of Poland then no future claim of any despoiled and humiliated nation is likely to have much effect.

V

With regard to the Polish treatment of the minorities within her borders much might be written. We may discount at once the violent Nazi propaganda, which was carried on with such outrageous falsehood just before the invasion of Poland began. The spate of 'atrocity' stories, which were poured forth from the radio and the Press, were obviously manufactured for home consumption and merely worked up for the occasion. The very same method of lying propaganda had been tried before about Austria and Czecho-Slovakia.

Their disproof is self-evident to any reasonable man. In the first place, Hitler himself had stated not long ago that his relations with Poland were excellent. In the second place, the very last thing that a minor power is likely to do, when attacked by a major power, is to seek to precipitate war by giving a handle to the aggressor. Just the very

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site would happen. The utmost care would sken to give no offence.

Let us take a parallel instance to show hypocrisy which underlay these Nazi ics. Out of all the nations of Europe it been generally recognised by impartial rvers that the Czechs were the best in ope, along with the Swiss, in giving demo- ic rights and privileges to their minorities. the Nazis under Hitler declared that such eities were being carried out by the Czechs they could not wait a day longer, but must nce march in and set things right by force. these same Nazis were, all the while, ing with the utmost cruelty the Jewish rity within their own border.

Such methods of propaganda could deceive dy outside Germany, and they were clear- ntended for one purpose only, namely, to e a pretext for the use of violence in m in order to gain their end.

One of the methods continually employed the Nazis in every territory bordering on many, where Germans in small numbers to be found was to send in spies and is *provocateurs* in order to stir up trouble. 'Nazi method' of provocation became well- n all over Europe; and only the low of moral conduct, and the loss of freedom, these tactics endured. The unpopularity he Nazi regime has followed and it has me one of the worst instruments of oppres- that the world has ever seen. The greatest dy of all is that the kindly people of many have either been brutalised by it or forced to endure it.

VI

The national minorities all over Central East Europe are the despair of any al administration, because just across the r are those who are intent on fomenting hief and at the same time each national spreads its own discontent. These prob- are acute in Poland, where three out of y ten people are non-Polish by race. In comparatively short time since Poland me once more a nation there has been great unrest and much persecution and ression. Yet though they may have been tisfied, it is doubtful if any of these mino- would definitely have wished to break of their own accord and belong to a bouring Power.

The most difficult problem of all has been of the Ukrainians who number over 000 in Poland, out of a community of over 30,000,000. The remainder are in Soviet Russia. Whether these and the 2,000,000 White Russians, would prefer to be Sovietised is doubtful. One thing however is certain, they would prefer any form of Government rather than the Nazi regime. Their real desire has been to become a self-governing nation independent of other powers. Some day, perhaps, that autonomy may be theirs; but it can hardly be given them, as things are in Eastern Europe today, where power politics rule over every other interest. Probably the most oppressed of all the minorities in Poland were the Jews.

VII

Let us turn for a moment to compare the Czechs and the Poles in their general democratic outlook and their treatment of other people. Undoubtedly, as I have said, the Czechs stands out best. From the time of John Huss onward, the Czechs had won at a great cost their religious freedom, and this proved to be the true foundation of their subsequent national freedom. More than anything else, it had given them the stability needed to build up a democracy upon a basis much firmer than that of aristocratic and Catholic Poland. Poland's attention was being continually turned to external affairs; and during the last twenty years she has never known from one day to the other when she might be attacked. She therefore delayed too long her internal reforms. While both the Czechs and the Poles had their faults, the Czechs proved more stable in the way they conducted their affairs. Masaryk was by far the greatest national leader thrown up by the European War. Pilsudski, in Poland, cannot be compared with him in moral stature.

VIII

Yet something more may be said, on the positive side, in favour of the Poles. For they had gifts which were to prove of immense value to the human race as a whole.

The greatest of these was their love of Art, especially Music. Here they had a brilliant record in spite of their long subjection. It would be difficult to overestimate what they have already achieved. We, in India, are not likely at all to undervalue such an inheritance, which serves to bind mankind together.

Their own highly artistic and intellectual nature made them more eager than any other European people to understand the East. Our own India they loved most of all. Every one who came to Poland from India was sure to

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receive a warm welcome. Many Poles have travelled to India in order to learn Indian culture. They would pay pilgrimages to Segaon and Santiniketan in order to visit Gandhi and Tagore. I have met them there and admired their artistic gifts. At Warsaw, there was an Institute of Oriental studies supported by the Poles. Indian Art and Literature and Music were taught there by competent persons. All this has now been destroyed by a holocaust of incendiary bombs. It can never be restored under Nazi rule !

Only this year, I had been asked, along with others, to contribute to the Special 'Indian Number' of the most popular magazine in Poland, which was to be entirely devoted to Indian culture. The subject on which I was asked specially to write included in its scope the 'Ancient Syrian Church in Travancore.' So varied and wide was the field they wished to cover ! It was an immense happiness to me to contribute that article and I was warmly thanked for doing so. But, as far as I know, this Indian Special Number was never published. The War brought ruin there also as well as in other ways. If I remember rightly, the 'Indian Number' was to have been brought out in September; but in September, Warsaw has been left a smouldering heap of ruins, with all its beautiful Cathedrals and Churches bombed into mutilated fragments and laid level with the dust.

When a vast earthquake happens, such as that at Tokyo in 1924, or in Bihar ten years later, the tragic misery of the human suffering involved drives men almost to despair. Such destructive forces of Nature seem to us cruel beyond words. But when *human* hands create the ruin, with implements devised by the *human* brain, the sheer devilry of it all pierces us even deeper. In the wanton destruction of Warsaw, one of the most precious gifts of humanity, which might have enabled the East and the West to draw near together in mutual understanding, has now been annihilated. *For these Poles were the one people in Eastern Europe who had a genuine and instinctive sympathy with what was highest in the culture of India and the East.* Their progress in understanding, during the last twenty years since Poland again became a nation, had been very rapid. Now all this has perished in the final catastrophe of War.

IX

Each country appears to have its own peculiar contribution to offer to the human race. That is why freedom is so precious. I have known both Poles and Germans. Both peoples are splendidly equipped with intellectual powers, but of a different order. If freedom were a universal heritage, these qualities of each people might be used for the good of the whole human race. But instead of this we are being driven more and more by an ineluctable force towards the last crime of mutual destruction. Yet it has often been said with exact truth, that those who are determined to drive others into the ditch fall into it themselves.

England herself should be the last to point the finger of scorn at other nations; because she practised for centuries this form of vandalism on Ireland and sought to destroy Eire's unique literary and artistic heritage and enslave her peolpe. No Englishman can read the true history of Ireland without a sense of burning shame. Here, also, in India, cruel attempts have been made in the past to crush Indian aspirations. These, too, have borne the same vandal character of brute force, and have shocked the world. General Dyer at Amritsar, and the 'Black and Tans' in Ireland, have singular marks of likeness.

France, again, suffered morally, after the noble outburst of the French Revolution, owing to the moral decadence introduced by the so-called 'glory' of Empire. This was one of the fatal legacies left over to posterity after the era of Napoleon. Its effect can still be traced in French 'colonial' rule.

Very late in the day, following upon Bismarck, and other men of 'blood and iron,' the Nazis have now set themselves to pursue the same degenerate course. They took Italy, in its unscrupulous use of falsehood and violence, as their own bad example; and they have gone far further in the use of the same weapons. Whether Soviet Russia, under its Dictator, will employ these means of imperial conquest, who can say ?

It would almost seem as though the human race, as a whole, would never learn the one supremely simple, but yet most difficult of all lessons, namely, that evil can never be overcome by evil, but only by good. Gautama, the Buddha taught it 2,500 years ago. Jesus Christ repeated the same precept by His own example with marvellous, life-giving power. But the tempting short-cut, wherein quick results are sought by violent and unjust means, has continually attracted mankind; and nations have succumbed to the temptation. "All these things will I give Thee," says the Tempter, "if thou wilt fall down and worship me." The voice of Evil wins, and mankind becomes once more enslaved.

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Yet how tawdry are the antics of these dic-
s, who strut across the stage for a brief
ent! From Alexander and Cæsar to Genghis
and Tamerlane; from Frederick of
ia and Napoleon to Hitler and Mussolini,
short-lived is their sway, compared with
who have built up the human mind on the
lations of righteousness and truth!

Can the brute in man, we ask, ever be
d? Can Non-violence succeed when the
hysteria is at its worst? Do whole nations
d, as well as individuals? Have we yet
the means of driving out the unclean
within us.

These, after all, are the final tests. They
wn far deeper into life itself than all those
ems' whereby men seek to build up human
y afresh. For, in the end, it is the Spirit
ashions the Body, rather than the Body
frames the Spirit. As Edmund Spenser has
s,

"For of the Soul, the Body Form doth take:
For Soul is Form, and doth the Body make."

To use the simpler language of Scripture, which expresses the same truth,—"The Kingdom of God is within you".

Down all the centuries of her subjection and oppression, there was in Poland that immortal Spirit, which kept the greatest of her children in tune with the joys and sorrows of all mankind. It produced music and literature that can never perish. Now for a time, yet once again, she has been partitioned and divided into fragments. Yet in the end, with all her faults purified, she may rise with renewed strength and prove a blessing to the world. In the words of one of her own poets she has realised that just as Christ was done to death and rose again, so may this suffering nation rise. He has nobly given to his own country these prophetic words:

Hail, O Christ. Thou Lord of men.
Poland, in Thy footsteps treading,
Like Thee suffers, at Thy bidding;
Like Thee, too, shall rise again.

EMERSON AND JAMES FREEMAN CLARKE

By J. T. SUNDERLAND

END from the early years of Emerson's
ry to the end of his life was James Free-
Clarke, who was himself a prominent
rian minister and writer on religious sub-
During Dr. Clarke's long career in Boston,
d Emerson were associated in various com-
projects, various social and intellectual
ments. Both were interested in the Trans-
ntal movement and in Brook Farm and
wrote for the Dial. Both were members
Saturday Club; both were active in the
avery cause and other reforms of the

n a lecture delivered by Dr. Clarke in
on "The Religious Philosophy of Ralph
o Emerson," we get an interesting glimpse
e impression made upon him (as well as
e community) by the early utterances of
son,—his Phi Beta Kappa and Divinity
l addresses and his course of lectures, in
ic Hall, Boston, in 1836. Said Dr.
: "The majority of the sensible, practi-
mmunity regarded him as mystical, as
or affected, as an imitator of Carlyle, as
tionary, as a fool, as one who did not himself know what he meant. A small but determined minority, chiefly composed of young men and women, admired him and believed in him, took him for their guide, teacher and master. I, and most of my friends, belonged to this class. Without accepting all his opinions, or indeed knowing what they were, we felt that he did us more good than any other writer or speaker among us, and chiefly in two ways,—first, by encouraging self-reliance, and, secondly, by encouraging God-reliance." Though the theological views expressed by Emerson at this time were more radical than Clarke could wholly accept, yet he felt the mental and spiritual stimulation in them, he admired Emerson's sincerity and courage and was moved by his deeply religious spirit.

James Freeman Clarke was born in Boston and, like Emerson, received his University education at Harvard, but he was seven years younger than Emerson. After graduation he went to Louisville, Kentucky, in the then "Far West," and labored there five years as minister of a newly formed Unitarian church. Then he returned to Boston, where he built up a strong-

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society (the Church of the Disciples) of which he was the pastor until his death in 1884.

While he was in Louisville, Clarke, in addition to his ministerial duties, published a small but vigorous and forward-looking monthly magazine. At this time the first of Emerson's poems were beginning to be circulated in manuscript among his friends and came under the observation of Clarke. Realizing their high quality, he sought and obtained permission to put them into his magazine for the benefit of his readers. Thus, through James Freeman Clarke, Emerson's poetry was started on its world-wide circulation.

One of the directions in which Emerson and Clarke found much in common was the deep interest of both in the literature and philosophy of the Orient. Many of Emerson's poems reflect this interest and throughout his prose writings there are allusions to the eminent religious teachers and the sacred literature of Persia, Arabia, China and India. The same interest in the Orient appears in the studies and writings of James Freeman Clarke on comparative religion, particularly in his well-known volume, "Ten Great Religions",—a book which has done an important work in furnishing American readers with intelligent and trustworthy information regarding the sacred books and great historic religions outside our own. The views of the two men regarding the various religions of mankind are not always the same, but the spirit of reverence and appreciation with which all are studied is similar in both.

In view of the intellectual sympathy existing between Emerson and Clarke, it is not surprising that, after the death of Margaret Fuller, the two co-operated (with the assistance of William H. Channing) in preparing and publishing a memoir of her.

No difference of opinion between these two friends ever caused a rift in their friendship. While some of the other ministers associated with Emerson were antagonized by his advanced views, Freeman Clarke never wavered in his admiration of him. In a fine article on Emerson published soon after his death, Dr. Clarke thus portrays his great friend:

"Emerson, the strong soul, the tender soul, has gone on his way. He will always fill a niche in the Universal Church, as a New England prophet. He had the purity of the New England air in his moral nature, a touch of the shrewd Yankee wit in his speech, and the long inheritance of ancestral faith incarnate in his blood and brain. To this were added qualities which were derived from some far-off realm of human life,—an Oriental cast of thought, a touch of medieval mysticism, and a vocabulary derived from books unknown to our New England literature. No commonplaces of language are to be found in his writings; and though he read the older writers, he does not imitate them. He also, like the humble-bee, has brought contributions from remote fields, and enriched our language with a new and picturesque speech all his own."

James Freeman Clarke spoke the last words of appreciation and affection at Emerson's funeral in 1882. Oliver Wendell Holmes in his Life of Emerson, thus comments: "The Reverend James Freeman Clarke delivered the closing address. There was hardly a living person more competent to speak or write of Emerson than this high-minded and brave-souled man, who did not wait until he was famous to be his admirer and champion."

Dr. Clarke spoke in part as follows:

"The saying of the Liturgy is true and wise, that 'in the midst of life we are in death.' But it is still more true that in the midst of death we are in life. We do not ever believe as much in immortality as when we look on such a dear and noble face as this which lies before us, now so still, which a few hours ago was radiant with thought and love. 'He is not here, he is risen'. That power which we knew,—that soaring intelligence, that soul of fire, that ever-advancing spirit,—*that* cannot have been suddenly annihilated with the decay of these earthly organs. God does not trifle with his creatures by bringing to nothing the ripe fruit of the ages, by the lesion of a cerebral cell, or some bodily tissue. Such was his own faith as expressed in his own great words:—

'Wilt thou not ope thy heart to know
What rainbows teach and sunsets show?
Verdict which accumulates
From lengthening scroll of human fates,
Voice of earth to earth returned,
Prayers of saints that inly burned,—
Saying, What is excellent,
As God lives, is permanent;
Hearts are dust, hearts' loves remain;
Heart's love will meet thee again.'"

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THE NEWSPAPER IN AMERICA AND ABROAD

By Dr. SUDHINDRA BOSE

I

RE are a number of States (Provinces) in United States of America where courts ot require a newspaper man to reveal a source or any confidential conversation m in the course of his work. The reason t newspapers are in an exceptional position affected by a public interest—as is recog- by the American Constitution itself in arantee of "freedom of the press."

The American public supports this every The reporter is given a pass to go inside nes when a big blaze is on, is admitted on liners at Quarantine, is received twice a by the President of the United States, front seat at crowded murder trials, is a ss at executions notwithstanding that New law strictly limits the number present to ximum of about twenty-eight.

Hundreds of such privileges are granted because journalists are all fine fellows, but necessary assistance to their work of keep- the public informed. The principle is mental, regardless of whether all papers y the consideration. The press is essen- o sound government. The press has its nique function—to collect and disseminate mation.

Protection for the sources of news is simply er aid to the proper functioning of the and a necessary one. To remain unawed thority, to expose the arrogance and the rities of privilege, to attack usurpation, to and defend the common rights of man— that is an invaluable service to a nation.

The American opinion regards the press as mentally and primarily a public service, er cent. In a democracy the press is the public utility. It happens to be a peculiar of public utility, in that it cannot be owned trolled by government without loss of its ensable social value. It is a privately public utility. The soundness of its oning must rest on the vision of those in and of it. The important problems of the can press are problems of capitalism and racy.

It is true the press at times has been too too self-complacent. It has been often subjected to tremendous barrages of bitter criticism, to pressures and counter-pressures. And these things do not in their most important aspects, always come from mercenary interests. They come from people and groups and classes that are convinced they know what is right and true and fair, and who want their convictions made into principles to guide and color the factual presentation of news to the whole people.

A big metropolitan daily, by reason of the fact that it serves many thousands of people of varying political leanings, varying degrees of conservatism or liberalism, and all sorts of other varieties, has to adhere to what it considers the principle of news fairness. There are some deplorable, though few, conspicuous exceptions. But on the whole the proprietors of most American papers are trustees of a great power on behalf of a free people—a people that is determined to continue to govern itself and that must be honestly informed if it is going to make that determination count. The good such papers can do is invaluable; but the harm they can do is incalculable, also.

Happily, the American press is by far the best in the world. There is no newspaper anywhere on the globe which, from the angle of news and feature articles, compares with the *New York Times, New York Herald-Tribune,* or the *Chicago Daily Tribune.*

The Manchester Guardian is still the outstanding newspaper of the United Kingdom. But it is no better than half a dozen or more American newspapers such as the *Springfield Republican,* the *Saint Louis Post Dispatch,* the *Kansas City Star,* the *Emporia Gazette,* and the *Des Moines Register.* For the quality and fairness of their comments on news, they are the equal of the best that England has to offer.

Much has been said about the tendency of American newspapers to publish crime news. If Americans were all angels, there would of course be no crimes to report. But crimes are committed, and a newspaper that claims to be a record of the life of the community cannot fail to take note of it.

Moreover, sin is news. As a parson of my acquaintance once put it, good living is the expected thing and takes place with an unexcit-

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ing regularity—it does not get an inch in the papers.

Crimes is news; divorce is news; a vicious clergyman is news—just as a railway accident is news. Why? Because such things are exceptional, a departure from the ordinary. No editor would think of giving even a paragraph to a railway journey without an accident.

Suppose it were not so. Suppose crimes were the usual thing and honesty the exception. Then if anybody did a good deed, the reporters would rush to the scene to write up the story. (In American journalism, all articles are called "stories"). We should have such headlines in scare type:

"Great Sensation! Wild Excitement! The Honesty of the President of the United States Uncovered at Last. Whole Nation Shocked!"

"Startling Revelations in New York! An Affectionate Mother Discovered by Accident. Report Unfortunately Confirmed."

"Strange News from Washington! A Well-known Business House Pays All Its Debts! An Investigation Demanded."

"Odd Happenings in California. Old Married Couple Live Happily Together! Most Extraordinary! Unheard of in this Region."

Yet if we actually read such flaming headlines, we should think the editor had gone off his head. Honesty, decency and fairness, I am inclined to believe, are the rule. Crimes is news, and from this viewpoint, "good" news!"

II

The primary duty of a newspaper is to collect and publish information for the benefit of its readers. Therefore a newspaper chronicles experiences of all sorts, seeks to interpret the meaning of events and acts as a daily chart of our life. The complete file of any newspaper in the United States is a chronological history of the community in which it is published, and the better the newspaper the more complete the history. It is not without significance that the *New York Times* has this legend on its masthead: "All the News That's Fit to Print." Newspaper is human history still on the march.

I get a flock of newspapers from India every week. They tell me little or nothing of what is going on in the nation. There may be a few piffles about Rajas and Maharajas, some titled nonentities, or even some scrabby little Provincial Governors, but they give no picture of the life of the country. There is practically no news outside of politics. To be sure, the columns are nearly choked with editorials and essays, but they cannot be substitute for news.

I am aware of the progress made by some of the Indian newspapers in recent years, particularly *The Amrita Bazar Patrika*, *The Bombay Chronicle*, and *The Hindu* (Madras). They have shown some advance in the collection and preparation of news, but not much. This job is still regarded as among the minor chores of the newspaper office.

In India the first page of a newspaper is usually given to printing a desert of miscellaneous advertisements. In America the first page is the most important page, and the typical American newspaper has its most important foreign and domestic news on this page, with that of first importance on the right-hand column. Then, too, across the top of the front page is a "streamer" in large letters giving the reader in a flash the newspaper's idea of the most interesting or most significant news of the world. The streamer, or the banner headline, is an accustomed feature of the first page make-up.

A word about the make-up. On every big newspaper in the United States is a man, sometimes called the make-up man, who is responsible for the front page of the paper. He weighs the value of the available news and decides the prominence it shall be given.

To his desk comes information about local happenings "covered" by the city staff. He knows what all the various editors have on hand or in prospect; he follows closely the material from telegraph and cable desks—until finally he has a complete picture of the news supply for the day.

From this large grist he chooses the one item that tops the rest and specifies for it the first position in display on the front page. After that he disposes of the various other "stories" in lesser prominence, according to their news value.

The way the make-up man handles the news and his choice of front page material varies endlessly with personal judgment, policy, time, expediency and competition. But he will invariably select what he considers the most important news for prominent position on page 1, relegate lesser items to an inside position or bury the most obscure ones on page 21. Thus is shaped an average first page of almost any important daily newspaper in the United States.

The editorials are usually on one of the middle pages, followed by sports news and classified advertising. Other features of the

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ern paper are: obituary notices, dramatic cism, book reviews, news of commerce and ce, and sometimes a woman's page. Pecu- to the American newspaper is the satirical ment on current events of the newspaper umnist. A few years ago the deceased ard (Calcutta) had a Columnist who ished a column under the head, "Kings and bages." It was always readable.

III

If one makes a comparative study European newspapers he finds that their journalism, though good, is no better than American best and their worst, worse than American.

Take the French press. Though free, it otoriously corrupt and venal. Judging by t disclosures, it appears one can buy almost French editor or newspaper owner for cash. French government, under its new gency powers, has arrested several promi- French journalists working on reactionary rs for being employed by the Gestapo man spy system). The French reporters l be flattered by the name of "grafter" ncy name for swindler). The exception could count on your fingers.

One of the reasons for this is that French papers, with still fewer exceptions, are ing sheets which never aspire to make ses. Their managements pay starvation ies and expect writers, as a matter of e, to hustle a living wage on the side by kedowns".

This practice has become so standardized e Republic that the rank and file French paper reader, when he scans in the paper count of the virtues of a new prima donna play, can guess accurately within a few s per adjective just how much money the up has cost her sponsors. This is equal- e in the field of book-reviews and politics. countries which maintain diplomatic ons with France support both a newspaper an embassy in Paris as a part of the routine of doing business. *Vive le journaliste! le franc!*

There are economic reasons for all this. ay advertising is almost non-existent in ch newspapers and is limited to small ules of depilatory copy and plugs for pills h fraudulently promise, at the age of seventy hty, a magnificent resurgence of the vital rs!

Englishmen have a very low opinion of ican newspapers; but what do the Americans think of the English products? To an American, used to the presentation of news on the basis of interesting and exciting values, the English papers are dull reading. With the exception of about three papers, which have adopted American methods in a half-hearted way, the London papers seem to treat news in an incidental manner, placing it far back in the paper, subordinating it to music, books, drama, stock markets, or some pet crusade. *The Daily Express* is the only morning paper that presents a front page of news.

The English newspapers as a whole are not free from careless and incompetent reporting, and sticky writing. It is a common practice in the English press to print news stories in which names of the persons concerned are omitted, and often when a name is given, the first name is overlooked. Critical reviews of artists are published without a sigle mention of the names of the artists. English reporters constantly ignore the rule of who, what, when and where in their stories.

As far as Indian news is concerned, the English newspapers are purveyors of misinformation; they are disseminators of half-truths and untruths. With the negligible exception of *The Worker*, there is no honest paper in England that a self-respecting Indian can depend upon. The Indian news items and the editorial comments on them, in Fleet Street sheets, are stupid and silly and dishonest. India can expect no fairness at the hand of the god-forshaken penny-a-liner or inkstained wretch of Fleet Street.

To American newspaper men, the English popular press is without ethics or conscience. It carries advertisements for fake cures, rheumatism, diabetes and other scourages. Hundreds of thousands of poor devils are swindled and victimized. Patent medicine fakers were kicked out of the majority of the United States papers a quarter of a century ago, but they still flourish in English papers luxuriantly.

Most Englishmen profess disgust at the "vulgarity" of the American press. Yet it is noticeable that the English papers which have the largest circulation are precisely those which have attempted to imitate the gaudiest features of American journalism.

The privilege of printing sheer filth was abolished by the London government a few years ago in the interests of moral hygiene; but has the public taste for smut disappeared? I doubt it. The eminent American journalist Westbrook Pegler, who has seen active news-

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paper service on both sides of the Atlantic, says :

"Notwithstanding the severity of the English libel law and the restrictions governing the coverage of crime, the English papers have managed to achieve a rich yellow complexion and would be much yellower if they dared. It has not been many years since the English press was permitted to publish verbatim testimony in covering divorce trials, and did so with an enthusiasm which bespoke an eager public appetite for intimacies which according to American standards were much too foul for publication."

Lord Northcliff's advice that a good newspaper article should contain either or all of three subjects—sex, the flag and murder—is still in the main the guiding line of the English yellow press.

It is not necessary to say much about the press of the slave countries where dictators beat their breasts and edit the papers. There the newspaper, absolutely controlled by the government, has become a mere propaganda sheet. For proof of this statement, look at Germany. In every German newspaper office, a short wave radio receiving set has long been installed. Each morning at an early hour, a high government official in Berlin broadcasts the orders of the day to the press of Germany. This or that government official is to make a speech, but newspapers must omit from their columns certain paragraphs of that address. It may be all right for government officials to make certain remarks from the public platform. It is, however, all wrong for the German newspapers to say they made such remarks. The dictator orders who shall say what and when and where. The serfs of the press crack up to salute and obey the orders without back talk.

Nor does the government control of the press end there. Every newspaper office in Germany, even in normal times, is subject to a constant and close espionage. The German secret police has tapped every telephone line and every telegraph wire in every newspaper office in Germany. The secret police is in constant touch with everything that comes in or goes out of every office in the land.

If a message is received or sent that does not fit in exactly with the government policies, in a very few moments after that message has been sent or received the sender or receiver or both may be carted away to a German jail or German concentration camp not to be heard from for many long months. And it has sometimes happened that the offender has even faced firing squads and been dumped into a grave. Criticism of government is abolished, conscience proscribed.

The newspapers of the dictator countries have lost the last vestige of their freedom. They are merely the adjuncts of their governments' lie factories. These alleged newspapers are no newspapers at all, judged by the American standard.

Of course, there are many faults in the American press. Most of them are the faults of the American democratic-capitalist society. So long as human beings have opinions, they will express them in a democracy and often they will be biased opinions. Newspapers are run by human beings, whether in democratic America, Fascist Italy, Nazi Germany or Communist Russia. But in Italy, Germany and Russia the same people who control newspapers also run the government, and the only newspaper opinion one reads is the government's. For the dictators have suppressed the freedom of the press. Maybe some day the whole European kettle will explode, and the debris will bury the despots who bend the neck and the conscience of man. Some day the kettle will burst and blast the tyrants. The voice of freedom cannot be squelched permanently, in Europe or Asia. The free spirit of human beings, Oriental or Occidental, is bound to assert itself against thraldom.

IV

The news-collecting, writing, editing, printing, distribution, and financial management are a gigantic, elaborately organized industry. It cannot be run on charity. Modern newspapers are supported mainly by their advertising since they are sold for only a small fraction of the cost of production.

In America, at least, advertising is the most important source of a newspaper's revenue. That is perhaps the primary reason why the American press is the best in the world and able to maintain skilled journalists at every important nerve center of world news. To what extent the editorial policy of a paper is affected by the interests of its advertisers has been a subject of much discussion. American journalistic ethics preclude the colouring of the news columns, either by the political bias of the proprietor or by the interests of the advertisers.

Yet I have heard it argued that advertisers wield a great and sinister power over the American press. They could and they occasionally do, but not often. Furthermore, most American advertisers are schooled in the American theory that a newspaper's value to them is its reader's trust in its news impartiality. So advertisers come in to bang their fists

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business manager's desk much less fre- than one would darkly suspect.

Then, too, I may exaggerate the intelligence American readers, but it seems to me that days they are inclined to put a mental ance against propaganda and colored news, hus keep a close watch on newspapers. ffect of such a watch is felt inevitably by irculation department. A public press long survive without public support. per that loses money gives up the ghost, or late. It may not be generally known ia that the mortality rate among American apers is high. Nearly eighty of them folded up or merged with others within ast twelve months. The strongest and successful papers are those which enjoy trust.

Perhaps the ideal of the American journa- s nowhere better stated than in the "Journalist's Creed" formulated by the first Dean of the School of Journalism at the University of Missouri. I quote it here in full without any apology :

"I believe the journalism which succeeds best—and best deserves success—fears God and honors man ; is stoutly independent, unmoved by pride of opinion or greed of power, constructive, tolerant but never careless, self-controlled, patient, always unafraid ; is quickly indignant at injustice; is unswayed by the appeal of privilege or the clamour of the mob ; seeks to give every man a chance, and as far as law and honest wage and the recognition of human brotherhood can make it so, an equal chance ; is profoundly patriotic while sincerely promoting international goodwill, and cementing world comradeship ; is a journalism of humanity, of and for today's world."

THE SINGING PEOPLE OF SIMLA HILLS

By DEVENDRA SATYARTHI

ommon, ancient vocation of agriculture is o the sons and daughters of the Himalayas. manners seem to be unchanging. Their and dances are their own. Their festi- re their own. All of them seem to be the same mould. Their smiles and tears, and dreams, their traditions are all quite r. With hearts like the moist, hungry waiting upturned for seeds, they look ds nature and celebrate it in their songs. is a society in which a truly popular appears, in the language of Prof. Child, ey "are not divided by political organi- s and book-culture into marked distinct s", and "consequently there is such unity of ideas and feelings that the whole form one individual."

Thousands of folk-songs, current among ill-people, are the spontaneous expres- of the people's national genius.

he bulk of the songs are love-songs. The of love is always at work; and the long of the hill-people's love-poetry is not arily based on wedded love. Marriage may not prove to be a serious, life- e between man and woman. Cases of ent are not rare. Tradition has taught the husband to take a case of this nature rather lightly; he only cares to charge the full bride-price, which he had paid to the girl's father, from the rival lover with the help of the court.

One can have more than one wife. The rich peasant would like to have two, or even three wives, for they help him to get a better crop. In spite of continuous elopements, relationships between man and woman do not miss the normal charm. The hill-woman, in the long run, proves to be a helpful wife and wise mother; and we can compare her to the woman of China, in the words of Dr. Lin Yutang, "she is loyal, she is obedient, she is always a good mother, she is instinctively chaste. The trouble is with man. Man sins, and he must sin, but every time he sins there is a man in it. Perhaps she is not interested in any particular man, but she is in love with man, and being in love with man she is in love with life."

The hill-woman accepts love as the intoxicating breeze she breathes. She is fond of wearing deep colours. Her songs, alive with the water-colour delicacy of the landscapes of her country, have their own music about them. Modesty and sweet voice, her two ornaments,

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Skirts [Photo : K. Shamsher, Kuthar State, Simla Hills

The daughters of the Himalayas. The flowing lines of their skirts, as they dance inspired by common joys of life, make a beautiful picture.

are always dear to the lover; thus he sings; *Shimlā re Bājāre bare saste pāno; ik sukhi deengi-dooji mithri jabāno!* (Very cheap are the betels sold in the bazars of Simla; firstly, I am pleased with your modesty, and, secondly, with your sweet voice!)

One of the cherished lovers is Mushua; he is apparently of recent origin. Like all lovers, he knows the art of love. The opening lines of a song give the whereabouts of Mushua; *Kei teri dogri, kei o terā gāon? Kei ke chalirā, kya o terā nāon?* (Which is your temporary quarter? And which is your native village? Whither do you go? And do give me your name, too!) Mushua, the lover, replies: *Shali meri dogri, Himri o mer gāon: Daure ke chalirā, Mushua merā nāon!* (Shali is my temporary quarter, and Himri is my village; I am going on my round, and Mushua is my name!).

The charm of these songs lies in the tunes to which they are originally sung. The beauty and profundity of the hill-music is no less. Mushua may be playing on his flute; and his words, backed by the rhythmic notes, may be acting as a real philtre on the woman. The full feel of the atmosphere, that belongs to the music of the songs, can not be associated with the simple translations.

The songs are frank and bold. The pine tree some time becomes an emblem of a mettlesome lover. In one of the love-songs, a woman says: *Dhara pande rie chiutie, hol chirmurie pange; jioo jindri taeenge, sonpee, a koe kalja mange?* (O Pine tree of the hill-peak your branches are about to interknit; even m life I have put at your disposal, my love, no why do you beg for my heart?).

Padmu, or lotus, is a popular name for th woman. She is addressed in one of the dance songs:

Don't go by the path
that runs through
the village of Shali, O Padmu!
O it would be a roundabout way.
Quite a long way, O Padmu, my sweetheart,
it would be a roundabout way.

You may very well tend
the cattle
of your father, O Padmu,
O I'll present you quite new clothes,
O Padmu, my sweetheart,
Pray come to me at night
O we'll play the playing-cards.

Now blossom forth, O Bud!
O Bud of the *Paza* flower!
Let's go to Junga,
we'll return after seeing the *Raja*.
O we'll see the *Raja*, O Padmu, my sweetheart,
O it would be a roundabout way.

The love-song of the hill-people is mostly of yesterday and today; the joy and hope of the lover may prophetically cast their shadows on to-morrow. It is the mundane every-day world to which it belongs. Welling up clear and transparent from the heart of the soil of native genius, love-songs always make living

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try: a poetry of love, elemental and
inctive, nude and at the same time un-
shed.

Rashmu, or silken girl, is another name

Her Flowers

he can sing numerous songs about her flowers the sweetheart. She may have her own about Mushua, her lover :

O I'll cook the *Khichri*
and I'll pour the *ghee* in it;
O yours and mine, O Mushua !
are the similar hearts !

The pigeon has eaten its allotted corn,
The peacock has commenced its dance;
O I'll kill my Mushua
with the power of magic.

The pomegranate is in bloom,
O who'll taste its fruit ?
O the heart of Reshmu
will ever cling to Mushua.

All the flowers have blossomed,
now the *Kathi* flowers will be in bloom;
You and I, O Mushua,
are eternal lovers.

Mushua's yard is filled
with the thorns of the *Kainth* plant;
O poor wretch Mushua,
you got slaps at Reshmu's hands !

he songs of love are sung with the firm that man and woman can never escape iracle of love, and that romance is no Day in and day out, love is always born

II

Life and song grow side by side; they share a common realm of reminiscence. Life here is a rapid rise and fall of joys and sorrows; and the folk-song is life's self-expression, the crystallization of the people's hopes and dreams, triumphs and despairs.

The cradle-song gets an impetus from an old hill-ritual of lulling the child at a spot, where a little stream of water turns into the field, and then, having lain him down, the directing of a tiny stream of water, arranged by means of a hollow stick or piece of bark, to fall on his head. The cool water falling on his head, the child, in most cases, enjoys a sound sleep, and it is very seldom that he gets disturbed and wakes. This practice the daughter of the Himalayas believes, imparts hardihood and strength to the child. This is just one instance. Various rituals touch the fringe of folk-song.

The Origin of Death, which is the title of a short but novel theme, is konwn to men, women and children alike. It has a gospel of humility about it; and it rightly inspires the

[Photo : K. Shamsher

The male members of a Barar Family

They take to hunting. They eat even snakes. Their life is like a satire on the modern world of exploitation.

semi-mystic folk-song. In the beginning of the world, God placed two handfuls of ashes in a corner and hid himself. It was a great miracle that soon turned the two handfuls of

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ashes into a man and a woman. They were the first man and woman in God's creation. The woman was a beautiful specimen of God's divine art; she was shy and modest; she smiled a half-smile as she put her eyes for the first time into the eyes of the man, who looked

Sweet Sixteen

rather high-spirited and mettlesome. They accepted the beauty around them as the air they breathed. But their minds were quite blank. God noted it with fun. He addressed his new specimens of creation by name, saying, *Manoo* (lit. human beings), but the man and woman replied rather coarsely, saying. *Hoo* (lit. yes), instead of the term *Ha jee* (lit. Yes, Life !), the words of response that God, the spring of all life, expected from them. The Almighty Father got annoyed and could not help denying everlasting life to the man and the woman and their progeny for all time to come. And on the very spots, where the man and the woman stood, lay their ashes when they died after giving birth to some children. And Death always remembers the order of the Almighty Father to kill a human being ultimately one day. Even to this day, the story-teller would say emphatically, if a man scratched his skin, he finds a line of ash of which he was originally made by God.

The Arrival of Janjhoti Tune is another novel example of the popular art of story-telling. In the beginning, the children of the Himalayas knew very iittle about music. The native bards were always trying to find out a tune which would rightly crown their poetry. Then one day, to their wonder, the notes of a heavenly tune came to their ears. It was the voice of Narad, the divine singer, who had come to their country after visiting various places. The great gypsy-spirit that carried Narad from place to place was a cause of much exertion; and it was after a long rest that he felt refreshed amidst the first spring-flowers, and sang his favourite tune. Narad returned to heaven, but his tune lived in the heart of the hill-people. It was called *Janjhoti*, a song beyond *Janjhat*, or worry. The hill-people's emotions are strong and elemental, and *Janjhoti* has developed their sense of rhythm and love of melody.

The people's store of legend is quite rich. Narad, the divine singer, is remembered through another story, too. *Narad's Pride Tumbles Down* is the popular title of the story. Pride is man's great enemy. Sometimes it taints the purity of even gods. It comes very slowly; but once it enters one's head it is not easy to escape its misguiding tendency. Once Narad felt proud of his achievements in the art of music. Vishnu ,who liked Narad in his heart of hearts, felt it very badly. "I must break Narad's pride if I am his true friend", he thought. He had to create an illusion-palace with his miraculous power, and while he was going to pay a visit to it, he asked Narad to accompany him. They heard a great, high-pitched wail from a distance. Reaching nearer they found many a man and woman, the inmates of that palace, shedding bitter tears over their broken limbs. "Why are you weeping, ye men and women ?" Lord Vishnu enquired, "and also tell me who you are ?"

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y all joined to answer. Their eyes were filled with tears as they said, "We are *Ragas* and the *Raginis*. We were made by hadeva. The divine singer Narad, who s not know music fully well, always sings lessly; he is all rash now, and we, the as and the *Raginis*, are now before you h all our limbs broken and features badly orted. And unless Mahadeva himself sings the shades of music one by one there is no e of our survival". Narad's pride tumbled m. Mahadeva had to sing himself for the oration of the purity of music. The story-r in Simla hills seems to be sure, as he you his legend, that the illusion-palace, ch is referred to in the story, was made ewhere near Simla.

III

The hill-song, like the hill-life, enjoys a thy, out-door atmosphere. It is a part of earth and it grows out of it, and receives n it all that is good and beautiful in it. Folk-dances widen the horizon of folk-s; etching various moods of the human t, they make successful vignettes. In some s the song is subservient to melody or hm, and the words are a secondary con-ration. But a single word may be the soul poetry, "all the charm of all the muses n flowering in a word" as the poet would

The *Dashi*, sung by women, is a harvest-e. Dashi is said to be a daughter of Indra, king of heaven; she came down to the h to give this melody to the peasant en. The *Jhoori* is a small type of love-e. Some may be named after certain cal words coming in the refrains: *Chhorua*, ina, *Loka* and *Devra* are some of such es; the *Chhorua* always addressed to a hmin youth, is sung to the *Janjhoti* tune; hna celebrates the heroic sacrifice of a hill-, named Mohan;* *Loka* (lit. O Man) is n a love-song, and is addressed to rather indifferent lover; *Devrā* (lit. O Brother-aw!) portrays the woman's tendency ards her husband's younger brother. The *Jhoori* is sung against the background nature. The singer keeps his feet planted the soil. The homeliness, that is filled with breath of spring, lends it the colour of re-poetry in spite of the fact that its key-e is romance.

The *Nati* is originally a dance-song; it may be sung even without dance. It is simply an improvement upon the *Jhoori;* the expert singers freely mould the couplets of Jhoori songs into Nati, adding simlpy the popular refrains.

Another type of Swing-songs are known as *Laooni*. They are sweet like the eyes and

Sweethearts

Marriage is not a serious, life-long tie among the hill-people. The woman can go to a new man of her own accord only if he agrees to pay back the bride-price to her husband whom she leaves once for all

gestures of the girls who sing them. They are like the dawns and sunsets of the hills from which the daughters of the hills seem to have stolen much of the charm and colour of their faces. The themes of these songs deal with the family-life.

The *Kariala* is a dance; it is danced round a bonfire. The songs of this dance, too, which mostly portray the good, glad days of leisure after the harvest is over, are known after its name. The dancers, called *Kairalchi*, are only men; the womenfolk are mere spectators. The *Chhati* is another dance for men alone; its main posture is rather the kneeling down on the ground. The *Bharooan* is the women's marriage-dance; it is famous for a special merry-making, it inspires very delicate movements of hands as well as feet.

The term *Bharat*, originally used for the epic story of the Mahabharat, is now used for every longer story song, and has come to mean, more or less, the ballad. Even the *Sati* and

* *Vide* my article "*Revival of India's Folk-Songs*," *Modern Review*, June, 1935, that includes the heroic of Mohan's sacrifice.

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the *Mahasati* songs, alive with the stories of some of the women who ended their lives smilingly by taking poison of their own accord, and the examples of which I have not been able to get, can also come under the heading of *Bharat*.

Possibly, there may be some more names of the Simla hill-people's songs and dances. Some of the names may even differ according to different localities and segmental interiors of various small valleys.

Mimicry and buffoonery may put a folk dance into relief. Ebbing and falling with each shade of emotion, the dancers' faces look like melting gold. The rapid roll of drums is dear to them; tradition has always inspired them to move in perfect rhythm. The soft, cool hill-breeze, with its breath that remembers the repeated embrace of the pollen, seems to join the dancers of the spring season. The women's *Bharooan*, the marriage-dance, is filled with the ringing sound of bangles and anklets; they put on their full jewellery, and, as they dance, their shoulders and arms and feet catch the intricate rhythm; they like to dance under the bright moon, for it was the moon, their children's maternal uncle, they believe, that inspired them to originate the key-note of the *Bharooan* in commemoration of its first hide-and-seek with the clouds. The climax of the eternal dance-movement is the mask-dance on the lines of the devil-dance of Tibet. It is always danced by men, and requires an auspicious occasion.

Here and there you may find a note of satire on life. The woman would certainly criticise the elderly persons, who try, if possible, to check her love; the puritanism, that obstructs the path of lovers, is always challenged. The girl, who was given in marriage to some one by her parents when she knew nothing about love or marriage, selects her own love, defying the high-handed ruling of her parents. Satires on poverty are very rare.

The heroic sentiment is almost missing; the hill-people, passive and non-agressive by nature, have never cared to catch the martial spirit suited to heroic poetry.

The frame-work of the songs, though in accordance with certain rules of rhyme and metre, is rather loose. Some of the words are stretched, while singing. Again the singer would like to add certain extra syllables, as he passes on from one song to another selecting his own refrains from the conventional stock.

The language is a daughter of Punjabi. There may be many words bearing the marks of their birth in the hills; still the philologist would easily recognize its well-established relation to the language of the Punjab. Most

The bride and the bridegroom
They memorize hundreds of songs inspired by an oral tradition

of the hill-people had migrated to the Punjab in former times; their language underwent considerable change in their new home, but could not forget its essential, original character.

IV

The story of the singing people of Simla hills would remain incomplete without an account of a wandering tribe, called *Baran*

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[Photo : Photo Service Co., Simla.

The Devil Dance

The climax of the dance-movement is the mask-dance on the lines of the devil-dance of Tibet. It requires an auspicious occasion

[Photo : Photo Service Co., Simla.

Dance and Nature

The hill-dancers enjoy a healthy, outdoor atmosphere. Songs are sung against the background of nature. The dancers dress up in a traditional style; the musicians appear in their every-day-life dress

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European politics : Matsya Nyaya or "Fish-Logic"

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Their womenfolk are great experts in cottage-industry of reed-baskets; the tion has taught them to prepare, for sale, ets ornamented with dyed threads of on; they sell sieves, too, along with old-d reed-rattles as toys for the hill-children. y go from door to door; and they sing to act the people's attention; they get corn as e. The men of this tribe are hunters er than basket-makers or singers like their en; you can mark them running like the utain-wind in search of game traced by lean but clever dogs.

The *Barar* women do not dress like the women. They are very smart and are fond he red colour that they generally prefer for *Dopatta*, the loose upper cloth. The i-folded *Ghaggra* or *Lahnga* on their legs, their shirts, trailing down the knees, bring the contrast. Some of them prove to be poetesses of the people; their striking es and ready laughter, their sense of our and fun lend an additional colour to in the hills. Their songs are lyrical; they not, however, unaware of the art of singing. Even their songs fetch them thing in return. No matter if the customer heir reed-baskets is not at hand; they will for you, and will demand their reward. modern man calls it the beggar's art; it is so. Finding a youthful *Barar* woman, ing songs of love, toned up by her own ces of the dancing eyes, you should not her a flirt; it is her honest art, and sure of sincerity, she asks for some money from as a reward of the entertainment she gave your half or full consent. They have ery over some Punjabi songs as well.

The *Barar* people are poor. Their huts rugged. They are, however, contented le now. The Criminal Tribes Depart-does not suspect them now as before. shift from place to place; each of their or family moving within the radius of t forty to fifty miles without encroaching each other's area. They eat even snakes lizards, I am told, aprat from their habit of g jackals and foxes. They cannot get birds' and the deer's flesh always, for the is strictly preserved in the Simla hill-s. I doubt very much if the *Barar* e are really proud of their skill in satis-their hunger by even the snake's

The *Barar* women's songs find a vast of appreciative hearts during the hill-

V

Every fair, apart from being a marketing occasion, gives an impetus to the people's holiday spirit. Songs describe how men and women, charged with romance, welcome the arrival of a fair.

The Sipi Fair is the crown of all hill fairs. Every year it comes in early May. Sipi is situated in Koti State near Simla. Sharply below the Mashobra bazar the road, shaded by kingly *Deodars*, soon takes you to the wooden temple of Sipi that stands near a stream. Sipi remains lonesome throughout the year; and it finds hundreds of people coming to greet it in their best dresses and spirits as the day of the fair dawns. Every one of them is full of song and dance. More potent than the voices of the people is the drum-play.

The temple has its blaring sound of conches. Outside the temple is erected a temporary shrine on a raised platform; here they place a small effigy of the god that gazes on the flowers, rice and coins offered to it by its devotees.

Opposite to the shrine is seen the women's enclosure, railed in by green logs. Here row upon row the women sit in terraces; every face a flower.

Families from far and near are busy making alliances. The fair continues for three days. It is alive all day long and far into the night with human hearts. The royal elephant nearby adds to the sight. The Raja, too, attends; a party of his young men, dressed in muslin petticoats, give a dance show.

The bazar of the fair has its own interesting sight. It has a medieval appearance. A snake-charmer may be offering an entertainment to the crowd that gathers round him; it is not his hobby though it looks so in the beginning. The *Madari*, or the conjurer, has his own magical feats to show. There are sweetmeat-stalls and shops of glass bangles and all sorts of cheap jewellery.

The visitors are all noisy and full of gossip.

VI

"The first flower," says Rabindranath Tagore in *Fireflies*, "that blossomed on this earth was an invitation to an unborn song". Flowers have a profound attraction for man from time immemorial; again and again he has celebrated them in his songs. Religion recognized them much later after the sanguine lover had compared his sweetheart's face to a fresh dewy flower.

The love-song in Simla hills is greatly

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inspired by the native flowers. The *Kooja* flowers produce a special effect on the singer:

All the flowers are blossoming !
Lo ! the *Koojas*, too, are in bloom !
Since my heart
has already got its love
O how can it accept
another fellow ?

The words are used with a passionate simplicity. The imagination is, of course confined to the limitations of rhyming while singing of the *Kooja* flower; soon the extempore poet uses the word *Dooja* (lit. second), that I have translated as "another felllow"; the successful rhyming of *Kooja* and *Dooja* is not all that is important; the original singer sings of love against the background of flowers, realizing that love, too , blooms like a *Kooja* and that it can only own one heart at a time if it is to be sincere to itself.

The *Jutura* is a red flower; it is another emblem of love. A woman, whose sweetheart was leaving for Simla, sings:

All the flowers are blossoming !
Lo! the *Juturas*, too, are in bloom.
O you are going to Simla,
O I dislike your separation.

Observation of nature is evident. They have a riddle about the barley-ear : "From yon hill came a mendicant; himself short-statured, his beard is long". It is how they describe the personality of the barley.

The girl, who sings,

O green Koomshi plant
of the valley,
You are green, ever-green !
O I'll win
the man of my heart,
or I'll die !

perhaps compares herself to the Koomshi plant.

The *Kapki* tree, that gives its leaves to the people for making leaf-cups, has an ear for the village-romance:

O we will sow the maize,
the seeds of cucumber and *Tori*, too,
we will sow;
O our love-affair
has reached the ear of the Kapki tree !

The man, who sings to his beloved after love at the first sight, takes a suggestion from the breeze and the pine tree:

O the hill-breeze
sets the pine to motion ;
Turn backward, O girl,
and see,
O I am just a swain !

There is a riddle about the pine: "Its bones, consumed by fire, light like a lamp; its hair make good brooms". They think of the pine in the terms of a man. The pine is the ancient emblem of the lover. There are numerous songs that refer to the pine:

O the pine-cones are formed !
They are for the birds !
O the rate of the *Reet* has come down
And I'll bring a new wife !

The *Reet* is the amount of money that a man is bound to pay to his lady-love's husband according to the hill-tradition, and after which he becomes her rightful husband. The above song might have been sung originally addressed to a woman by her own husband, who perhaps, wanted to cheque her over-proud nature.

In August and September, when the cones are formed on the pines and the *Deodars* bear their own *Koka* cones, the folk-song gets a new picture:

The cones are growing
on the pine trees,
the Deodars have borne *Koka* cones;
O I saw men, many men,
But your glances are unique !

Some of the songs express sypmathy for the birds:

O cruel wood-cutter !
Cut merely the lower branches !
Extend not, O extend not your axe
towards the top;
O leave it
for the birds' nests.

The lover may be asked to come like a bird:

The sparrows have feasted upon the paddy ears,
The crows have shared the maize;
Be a bird and come to me, my love,
Here on the hill-top the flute makes music.

The flute is the friend of the lover. He speaks through it. Words that once pass through the flute become pure poetry. The girl in the valleys sings in the summer:

The month of *Jeth* has come,
the sun burns me;
now play to me, my love,
your flute !

The flute likes only the soft drum-play. The flute is the drum's wife, the people would tell you. Again and again one hears about the flute:

The *Kangni* plants look beautiful
in the paddy-field;
the daughter-in-law looks beautiful
beside the mother-in-law;
the son-in-law looks well
beside his father-in-law;
and the flute sounds well
with the drum-play.

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The stream flows with a rippling sound as it ...ses along the stony bed; it gives a hint to the ...er, who addresses her indifferent beloved:

The flowing water ripples,
and the still water is calm;
O I left coming to you, my love,
since I understood your nature.

The hill-man, as he leaves for employment the plains, feels rather sad; he may address flowing stream on his way:

O stream, going downward !
With stones in your course, you flow.
But what makes me come beyond my village ?
Ah me, I was destined to share my food
In a distant land !

He compares his life suggestively to the ...r that leaves its land of birth as he himself Again he wishes to be a *Jhal* creeper when sings:

O Jhal creeper, encircling the fencing rod !
May my native village
left beyond the valleys
live in peace !

He would like to cling to his village just as creeper clings to the fencing rod. But ...ger carries him far, far away.

Nature is always a food for thought. Some the songs have many variants. Again and ...in the hill-poet clutches instinctively at ...ious aspects of nature. There is always a ...dency of drawing parallels between human and nature.

The Deer Speaks, sung originally to a sad ..., wins our sympathy for the poor animal ...m man kills for his tasty dish:

The grazing deer thus speaks :

O Archer ! please listen,
You may give my horns to a mendicant, to a saint,
Dur, Dur, he'll make music as he'll blow into it !
You may give my skin to some Pandit, to some learned teacher,
O he'll spread it under him !
You may give my eyes to a Queen, a beauteous Queen,
She'll preserve them in a small box !
You may give my legs to a horse, to a fast-running horse,
O he'll surpass the enemy in the battle !

VII

The real beauty lives only when the folk-...gs are sung; it is more true in the case of hill-songs, the texts of which are not fixed for all times. As Bartsch said in his opinion on the *Diana,* Lithuania's popular songs :

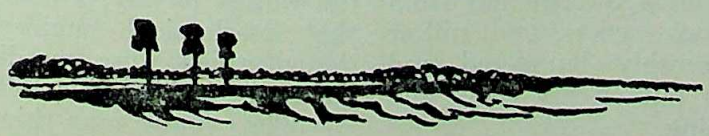
"There naturally arises in the mind of the man, who is close to nature, when he sees his song set down in print, the question : Why must it keep this exact form ? I myself change it frequently when I sing it. Every person has the same privilege, the same freedom; but now we shall be forced to memorize the words exactly. In his mind, he considers it an infringement of his rights, and refuses to recognize the printed song as his own. So it is with the folk-song, when its notes are firmly fixed. A certain colour which lay over the whole, expressing it, actually is lost in this setting down." *

However, the enthusiasm of the researcher of folk-songs cannot but carry on its line of work. His is a sincere care to preserve the original words of the versions he meets with on his way; and he translates them for the understanding of those who do not know, and cannot know for themselves, every language. It is true again that the translations cannot give the real spirit of the songs, but we cannot but require an interpreter's help.

The life-story of the singing people of Simla hills has its own genuine colour. They love their hills and all that belongs to their soil; they love their crops and domestic animals. And they love their numerous gods, too, in whom they seek their last shelter; *Bāk Bāni*, the goddess of eloquence, always lives in the thoughts of the singers, and they love the traditionally worded *Benedicts* as they invoke *Bāk Bāni's* blessing: "Mother *Bāk Bani*, give me the coveted virtues. O Light of all that is bright, save me from all calamities!" All words are Mother *Bāk Bāni's* offsprings, the singers believe.

I had to cover a long distance on foot, about one hundred and twenty-six miles, when I started from Kulu for Simla in 1930; it was an interesting journey through landscapes whose lines were flowing like those of a hill-maiden's graceful body. My reminiscence took me to Simla hills once again in 1936, and I felt enriched when I got more songs for my collections; and when I returned I had a refreshed picture on my mind, of a people who care more for song and dance than anything else.

* Uriah Katzenelenbogen, *The Diana*, 1935, Chicago, Lithuanian News Publishing Company, p. 32.



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INSIDE THE U. S. S. R.

Fourteen Days Hard

By Prof. SHYAMA CHARAN, M.A., M.SC. (London)

CHAPTER III

2,300 Miles Across Russia By Rail

(May 25) *Continued.*

At last we were on our way to Moscow, the Mecca of the communists, and I was at leisure to take stock of my companions of the next sixty hours.

Our compartment had six berths. Two were laterally arranged and a third lay along the length of the train across the window. The corridor passed in between the three. The other bunks were arranged above, only that the last berth over that across the window was made in three portions, the middle one of which could be let down in the daytime to enable the window to be opened.

In the compartment were two old women, two young ones, a young man and myself. I had one of the upper berths. In the daytime I had the use of the berth occupied by the man.

The carriage attendant came round, took my ticket for the railway journey and put it in his portfolio, hanging from his shoulders by a strap. It was fitted with a sufficient number of pockets for all the berths in that carriage. My ticket was put in its appropriate pocket, and throughout the whole of the journey remained with him and I was never once bothered for it. It was handed over to me when I got out of the train at Moscow about sixty hours later.

Passports too were not even once demanded during the journey, nor were we pestered with the long questionnaire which had become a nightmare in Iran.

Now a man entered our compartment with a huge bundle in his shoulders and put a mattress, two pillows and two blankets on each of the bunks that had not yet been provided with these articles. Soon after a woman followed with some canvas bags in her hands. She showed me one of them and pointed to its sealed mouth. The seal was broken and from inside were taken out two sheets, two pillow cases and a towel, all freshly laundered and snow-white. They were put on my bunk and a bed prepared for sleeping.

The charge for the bedding was five roubles which had already been included in the price of the ticket issued from Tehran.

When all these things had been arranged to the satisfaction of the passengers, some of them came into my compartment, sat on the berths around me and tried to engage me in a conversation. But not one of them knew any of the languages that I could talk, while I was as equally innocent of Russian.

I had with me, however, Marlborough's Russian conversation book in its familiar sky blue wrapper. I took it out of my bag and passed it on to the young man on whose berth I was sitting. He looked at the book rather with indifference at first, but when he opened it and found interesting questions and answers in Russian, he felt interested in it. He started reading it from the first page and whenever he came across a suitable question he showed it to me. I, in my turn, found out a suitable reply in the book and pointed it out to him. In this way and also with the help of the dictionary at the end of the book we got on well.

The first thing the young man wanted to know was my profession. He asked me if I was a communist or a capitalist. I assured him that I was neither. He next turned up the word for "labourer" and pointed first toward me and then at the word. I said "niet" which is the word for "no" in their 'language, and turned up the word for teacher and professor. His next query was, teacher of what? Science, Applied Mathematics, etc. did not raise my stock in their eyes. But when I turned up the word for "mechanics" there were smiles all round, and I was shaken by the hand and acclaimed as one of their own.

My position was established with them. A teacher of mechanics had a status in their land where engineering, specially mechanical, was in great demand. Owing to the paucity of the words, luckily, I could not explain to them that mechanical engineering and mechanics, though allied, were two different things. Where ignorance is bliss, 'tis folly to be wise.

The young man himself turned out to be

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engineer mechanic working on some boat the newly opened Moscow-Volga Canal. He the red star with the hammer and sickle his cap. All the railway staff, too, had this e but the hammer in their case had been ced by a monkey wrench. All were very to me. It repaid me travelling Hard to meet so many persons of the so-called r classes. I should not use the word es here. It would be better to call them lower strata of the proletarian society of U. S. S. R. All were well dressed, had manners and were companionable. It difficult to imagine that these persons be the bloody Reds whose deeds are so known all over the world.

Before the train left Baku the passengers laid in a good supply of food—usually d, butter, cheese, sausages, and fruits. of them had their tea pots with them. car attendant used to come round fre- tly supplying them with hot water ed for making tea.

At noon I was pressed to share their food them. I showed them my book of dining coupons and tried to explain to them that elling through their land was officially ged and included food and hotels on the

I now walked through several carriages, ly Hard class, and entered the dining car. chief waiter knew some German, so there no difficulty in understanding each other. as shown to a seat and soon the two les turned up. They were taken to her table but they came over and occupied uple of seats on mine, which was then ved for us for the whole journey. It very pleasant to meet them four times a and to speak in English once more. They not understand either Russian or German helped them in ordering their dishes.

They were very fond of vodka and beer ordered them with every meal including kfast. They would shout for vodka and , and if there was any delay the old man he party, who was clean shaven made a exactly like that of a peevish baby shout- or its milk.

Though tea was not included in my meal ts still I was given some with biscuits, r and jam. After lunch we went over to sleeping car of the Swedes. The only ence between me in the Hard class and ther two in the I class sleepers was that had a two-berthed compartment, well- stered all to themselves, while I had to share mine—unupholstered—with six other comrades. That was all. I did not think it worth the additional two pounds a day. Moreover, travelling in a higher class I would not have been able to mix and live with the real proletariat of the U. S. S. R.

We were still passing through a dry and arid country. On the right we could catch glimpses of the Caspian Sea through the sand dunes and on the other side of the pumping towers over the oil wells. At the wayside stations could be seen the Georgians in their picturesque old type dresses.

At every stop we saw young children running along the train with red baked-clay water jars and mugs selling cool water to the passengers. They were bare legged and in tatters but looked very pretty.

In the evening we passed through the station of Makash Kala, situated in Daghestan, and a big city. The inhabitants are mostly Georgians and Circassians and are very handsome. They live in *auls*, curious villages with steep streets straggling up the hill-sides.

The Intourist arrange a tour in Daghestan if permission is given by the Government. The railway journey from Moscow is broken at this station. The distance from the Makash Kala to Gunib—about 150 kms.—is covered either by cars or buses. Then follows a week's trip on horseback through Daghestan when one passes across very interesting country, where people still retain their age-old customs. The horseback journey terminates at Mamed Kala, a station on the line to Baku.

Fridays, Saturdays and Sundays are all observed as holidays in these parts as there is an admixture of all races and religions here. In the Christian churches the priests prepare beer and sell it, as in the monasteries in France and Switzerland. Mark Twain relates how in Switzerland he was struck with wonder when he heard that one of the monasteries there had been named after Chartreuse—a famous drink.

The Khevsurs—inhabitants of Daghestan —are very fond of *arak*, a potent spirit, and carry on their blood feuds for generations.

They have a curious custom of confining their women, for five days every month and forty days after childbirth, in a solitary one-roomed house, called a Samrevlo. Nobody else can enter this room. If the woman dies, her body has to remain there for the full prescribed period. No help can be given to her even during the childbirth.

These people are bound by their *adat*—age-old customs, which cannot be transgressed

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with impunity. The women must do the household work only, and it is supposed to be a disgrace if men help them in it.

Girls used to be married between ten and twelve years of age. But now under the new regime, if there is a danger of any girl being married at an early age, she is taken away from her parents, and kept and taught in State schools. Imposing of fines, as is being tried in India, is no good for the transgression of the laws against early marriage. They can either be evaded or paid up as part of the already heavy marriage expenses.

Among the Khevsurs of these parts *fraternising* is a very peculiar custom unique in the whole world. A girl sleeps for one night only with a boy of her choice, and he becomes her brother. No sexual question enters here. If there is any sexual relation they are killed. The tie thus made is stronger than that of a real brother.

In India also there is a system somewhat akin to this, but the girl does not sleep with the man; instead she ties a wreath round his wrist, or if he happens to be away it is sent on to him. This ceremony usually takes place during the festival of Raksha Bandhan in July. The man so honoured is her brother and has to help her whenever required.

After dinner we prepared to retire to our bunks. Undressing was out of question in such a place, so we slept in our day clothes. I took off my coat and placed it under my pillow. I had a good sleep as the train moves very smoothly in spite of its fairly good speed.

(May 26)

I climbed down from my bunk at about eight and waited for my turn at the lavatory at the end of the carriage. It was fairly clean, but the water, supplied for toilet, was cold. However, the attendant was good enough to provide me with a mug of hot water for shaving. Thereafter the usual routine of the journey followed—breakfast, lunch, tea and dinner—accompanied by long conversations with the Swedes, and pantomime talks with my fellow travellers in the compartment.

In the morning the engineer took out of his haversack some toilet articles for his use. I asked him the prices of each. He informed me that the tooth powder had cost him one rouble and fifteen kopeks, the tooth brush seventy-six kopeks, and the cake of soap, weighing 150 gms. one rouble and ten kopeks. When I asked him about their country of origin he struck an attitude, and replied, (pointing first to himself) "Soviet; (then to the articles) Soviet. Good—it is Soviet. Bad—it is Soviet. We are Soviet. They are Soviet."

When we got up in the morning the character of the country had entirely changed. On either side was a rolling plain, as far as the eye could see, grown over with wheat plants. It comprised of Kolkhozes—the collective farms. For thousands of miles along the railway and several miles on either side was visible either ploughed land or land full of wheat plants. Here and there the monotony of the plains was relieved by the cottages of the workers, which had a small patch of vegetable garden, and a cow or two each, besides a few pigs in some of them.

No doubt, a few years ago there was famine and trouble here. Food had to be sent abroad in exchange for the much-needed machinery. But thanks to the efficient working of the collective farms they have plenty of food now. Such vast and extensive farms can be worked on an industrial basis and modern machinery used to advantage.

The workers on the fields are entitled to some private land, cows, pigs, etc., and are permitted to sell their cottage produce in the open market. They have to take a compulsory insurance for themselves and their implements against accidents.

The agronomist Lisenko has recently developed a process called Vernalisation which enables two crops to be raised from the soil that used to yield only one before. (See Appendix for further details).

By the decree of the Council of the People's Commissars, dated June 28, 1918, all industrial and commercial enterprises were nationalised, and together with all their assets declared State property. The former large estates of the landlords have since then been converted into Sovkhozes—State Farms—which serve as model farming centres, while the remaining land has been distributed among the peasants for tilling purposes and not as their private property.

Women, who until recently were only permitted to do the drudgery of the household now actively participate in constructive work on the collective farms.

Special attention is paid to their position in this capacity. They enjoy full and equal membership rights with men and occupy very often high positions as leaders of enterprises, chairmen of committees, etc. In the new statute promulgated at the instance of Stalin, women

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ese farms are freed from all labour one n before and one month after childbirth. ng this period of two months they are at the same rate as when working.

A colleague of mine who has been doing rch work on cereal rusts asked me to send samples of wheat plants, which showed of this rust, from Russian fields, and also me the address of a professor in Lenin- who was carrying on researches of the type in Russia. But from the talks of acquaintances before entering Russia as from my own observations in the country me to the conclusion that it would be y dangerous to meet the professor or take the samples of cereal rusts with me.

I found that people were being liquidated day for "counter-revolution".

I was afraid that the professor might ly have been liquidated or might be d for it if he came in contact with a mer. Again, taking the samples of wheat with me might be regarded by ustoms authorities at the various fron- as an atttempt to disseminate the disease eir fields. So I entered the lavatory, the door and tearing the address to threw it out of the window.

The only bloody sight that I encountered e way was the body of a man with the knocked out of shape, lying on a stretch- the vestibule at the end of a carriage. ps he had fallen out of a window of the ge head foremost. There was no fuss. e simply glanced at the corpse, or stepped it into the carriage indifferently. Evident- e sight of violent death seemed to be too common for them.

t about three in the afternoon we the river Don over a huge iron bridge ntered the station of Rostov. The city the other side looked very picturesque. ere now in the Ukrainian country, the of wheat cultivation.

n the platform could be seen a number of stalls, and a couple of book stalls selling ated Russian periodicals and daily . No foreign periodicals of any kind to be seen anywhere. The halt was for an hour, so the passengers had left the ges and were walking up and down the m purchasing food and other articles. purchased an ice-cream cone for one and ten kopeks.

urgeon steak had been the main dish in ning car up to now as we were not far the Caspian Sea. At some of the pre- vious stations I had noticed the dining car attendant bringing on his shoulders huge carcases of sturgeon looking like skinned sheep, and placing them in the ice chest in the car.

The third class waiting halls on the stations were bare of furnishings, as in other countries. They were provided with un- cushioned wooden benches and tables only. The passengers either sat on the benches or squatted on the floor. They seemed to be rather of an inferior kind than the Hard class passengers travelling with me on the express train. But they too obtained their food from the vendors in the waiting hall and drank tea out of their private *samovars* or purchased it from the huge samovars on the counters of the tea stalls. These persons were permitted on the platforms only when their train had arrived and disgorged its passengers for that station.

After leaving Rostov-on-Don the train went along the river and then followed the sea of Azov for some distance. The scenes and incidents described in Solokov's *And Quiet Flows the Don* came to my mind as we went along the river. I wondered how such a mild looking lot of persons in that beautiful country could be the brutal and uncultured fellows described in that book.

In the night we passed through the town of Kharkov.

(May 27)

On and on, through the green sea of the Kolkhozes. The train journey was becoming monotonous as the language difficulty prevent- ed a free talk.

It is very curious that during the whole course of the two-thousand-and-three-hundred- mile journey I did not encounter a single beggar. The accounts of the travellers through Russia have been full of the harrowing tales of beggars infesting the trains at every stop and pestering the passengers. I had read that they did not abstain even from petty thievery from the compartments of the station- ary trains at the stations.

Evidently the food shortage crisis has now passed and there are no more beggars on this line. The amount of food available on the stations seemed to be more than adequate and the passengers as well as the people on the stations, along the line, etc. appeared healthy and well fed. I noticed that a great many of them had grown paunchy and were putting on flesh.

An American remarked that all this show

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of prosperity and welfare was for the eyes of the foreign tourists, so that they may go away with a good impression of the plenty in the country.

Yes, a jolly good show for a length of more than two thousand miles ! If the Russians are capable of organising this long length they can very well be expected to organise the whole country.

During the course of the journey we used to have musical concerts from a gramophone, carried by a passenger. Sometimes other passengers would bring forward their own stock of records and they would be played through. It was a jolly interesting journey.

At about eight in the evening we reached the outskirts of Moskva—as it is called by the Russians. The train went at a slow speed through the suburbs. The sun was setting and its reddish rays reflected from the five crosses on the spires of a church will ever remain in my memory. Owing to adverse signals the train had stopped before the church, and somehow I had an impression that religion divested of the centuries old encrustations of the priestcraft will return once more to Russia in a purer and better form.

Somebody remarked in fun that the comrades of the U. S. S. R. are half Muslims, as they repeat only half the Kalma—the Muslim article of faith—" Lā Ilāh " *i.e.* there is no God.

We crossed a river and entered the station. The train stopped alongside a platform. Some five minutes later, when I had given up the hope of meeting any, an agent of the Intourist turned up and had my suitcases picked up by a porter. The Swedes also got out of their carriage accompanied by another agent.

I asked the one deputed to look after me if I could stay in Moscow for a day or so. He said that instructions to him were to see me off to Leningrad by a train leaving in about an hour. I then requested him to take me to the official-in-charge of the Intourist Bureau in Moscow, as I was sure he must have received the telegram from Baku about my stay here for a couple of days. I was informed that it was too late for me to see anybody as the offices were all closed at this time of the evening, and that I must proceed to Leningrad. Perhaps if the train had been half an hour late, they might have made arrangements for a night's stay at my expense. At any rate I could return late to Moscow for a day's tour from Leningrad.

So my luggage was placed on one taxi, and that of the Swedes on another. I said that we could all three travel together as far as the other station, but, they said no, we must travel separately as the Swedes had to catch an earlier train, being I class passengers. Mine was to leave 15 minutes or so after theirs.

I was asked now to pay four roubles to the porter for my cases. The car dashed through the streets of Moscow, which were crowded with cars and pedestrians. The tram cars were carrying more than their full load of passengers. I remember vividly only the grim sight of the fortress-like black station of the Siberian line. From here the exiles used to entrain for Siberia, leaving all hope behind.

At last we reached the northern station for Leningrad. In the way I tried to cajole and flatter the agent into letting me have a sight of the tomb of Lenin in the Red Square. I told him that surely he would not be so cruel as to deprive me, who had come thousands of miles from the land of Ind, of the sight of the tomb of such a famous man as Lenin who had set a new standard before the eyes of the world. I told him further that he could easily ask the taxi-driver to make a diversion and pass through the Red Square.

No ! he was adamant. I must go to the station for Leningrad and catch the train.

I was asked to pay twenty roubles for the taxi, the hire for a whole hour—sixteen being for the taxi and four for my suitcases. I asked the driver if he did not have a meter to charge by the distance. He said that his car was not fitted with one, and the charges were always by the hour.

I had only a few roubles left. The Indian Rupee currency notes were no good, and the Iranian ones could not be exchanged, as the banks were all closed at this time of the night. The agent was human enough to let me keep the few roubles and said that I might pay sixteen roubles for the car at Leningrad. I was asked to pay another three roubles to the porter for carrying the luggage to the train.

So for a journey, worth in all about three or four shillings, I was to pay the equivalent of about a pound. No doubt it does not encourage independent touring of the country. The agent also informed me that as there was no dining car in the train I would have to puchase my own dinner for the night, as the vendors at the food stalls would not accept my dining car coupons. I was also not coming from a hotel so food packed in a basket could not be supplied to me.

There were still forty minutes to the departure of the train so I asked him to let me go in the taxi to Lenin's tomb. The fare for the

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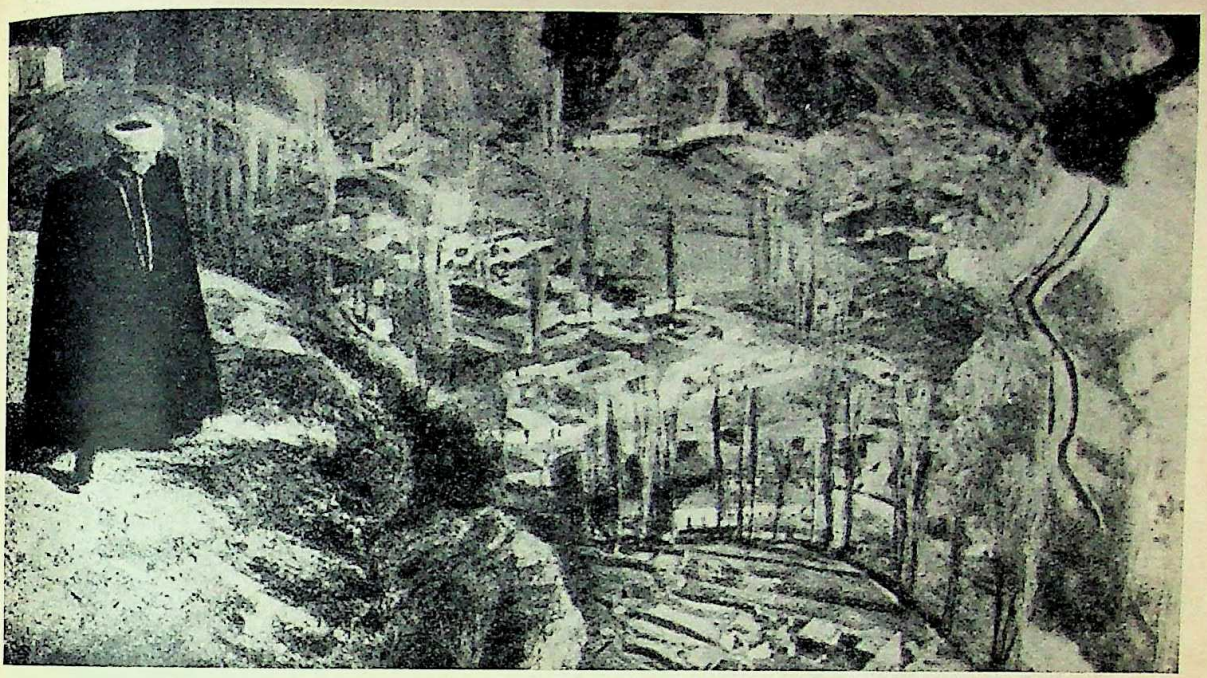

Daghestan, Aul Gunib

Ukrainian folk-dance

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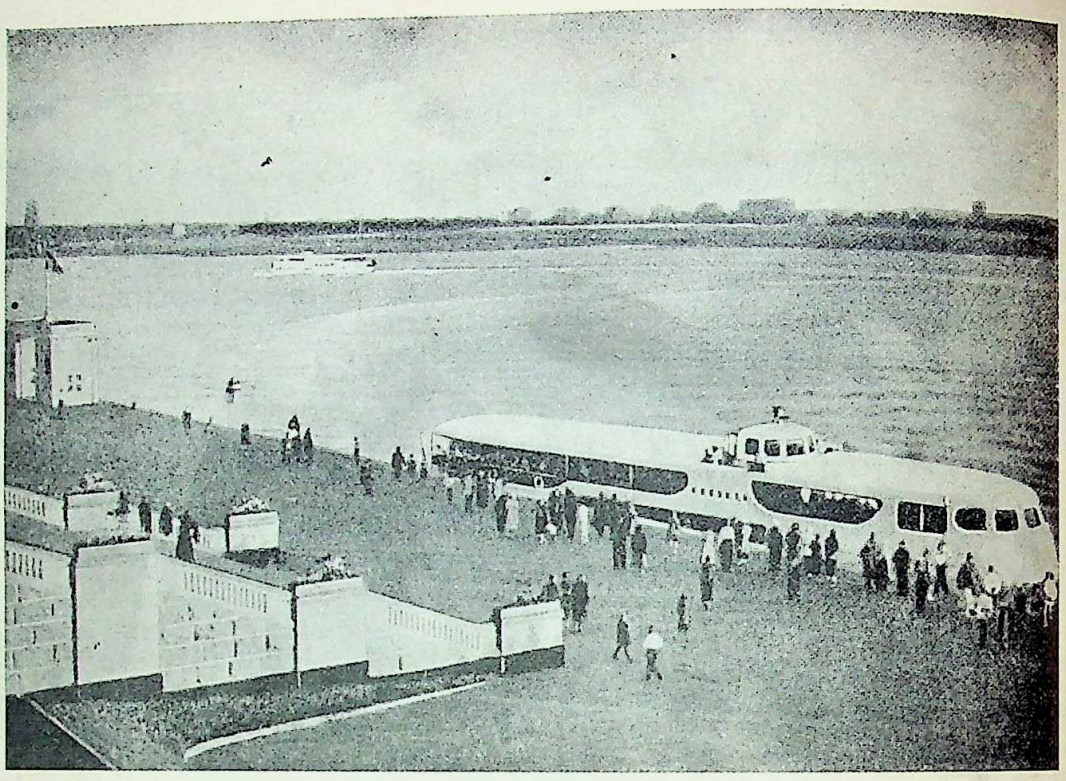
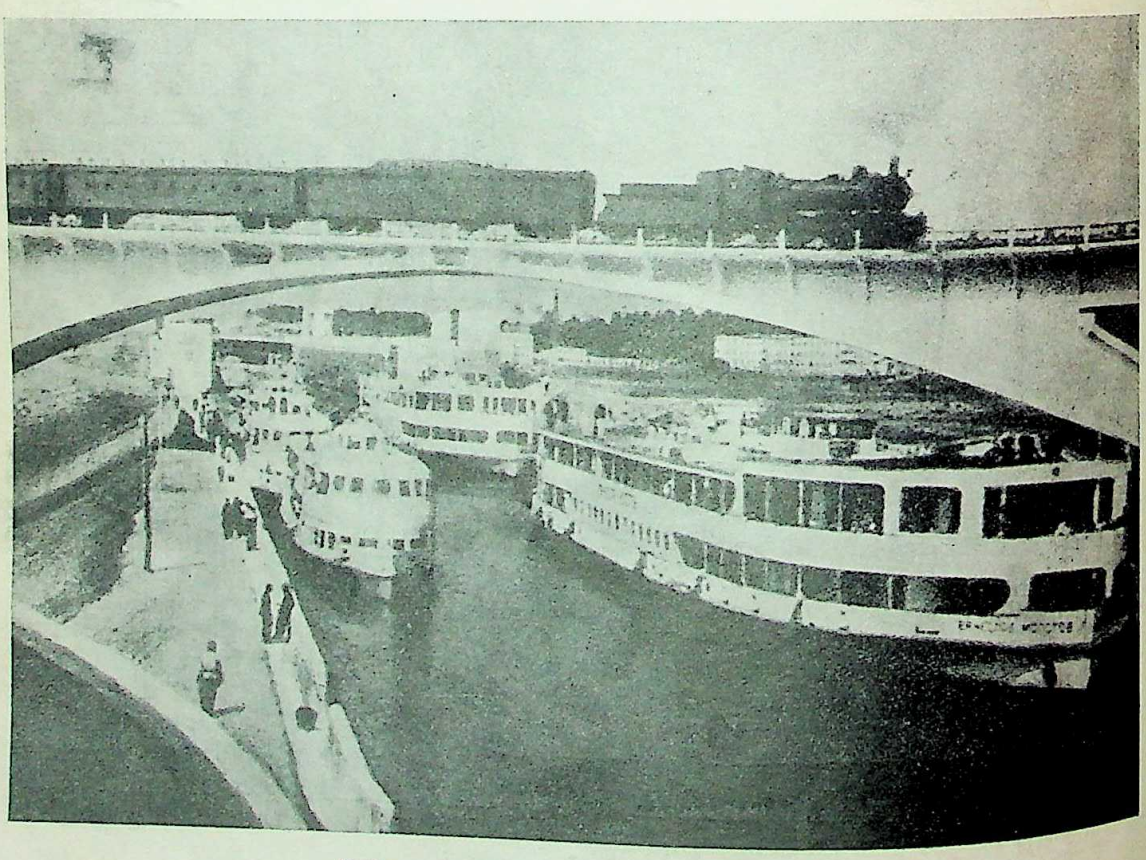


The New Moscow-Volga Canal



Railway Overbridge across Volga Canal

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ole hour had been paid already. Yes t was the difficulty—I had paid up the fare. Now I must engage the taxi afresh and for another hour. If I could produce an- er sixteen roubles in Russian, English or erican money, we could go over and see the b. No change—no sight seeing. Now I a vow always to carry with me some glish and American currency notes on my vels abroad.

The other agent now returned after seeing Swedes off in the train to Leningrad. He that he had asked them to inform the In- ist agents at the Leningrad station that I following by the next train.

My transport voucher for Leningrad was anged for the railway, berth reservation and ling tickets. The agents were good enough elp me with the suitcases to the train. y said that I might require the few roubles with me for some food on the way.

I could only buy one sandwich for two les and supped that night on it and a glass old water. The other rouble was utilised a cup of coffee next morning.

The railway carriage in which I travelled time was far better than the previous one. corridor was covered with carpets. There portraits of Russian leaders on the walls, hermometer, a barometer and carafes of r on shelves. The carriage was divided in- teral compartments, each one of which d be isolated from the corridor by a sliding provided with a full length mirror on the e.

Again bed linen in a sealed bag was brought my bed made on one of the lower berths. compartment had two lower and two r berths only. There were only two other llers in it. Both were well-fed specimens e comrades of the U. S. S. R.

The train left Moskva and we crossed the Moscow-Volga Canal by a huge bridge. canal was very broad here and had red and pilot lights for the big boats plying in it. In Russia station platforms, public halls all other suitable places are covered with aits of the Russian Revolutionists. The res of those who get into disfavour dis- ar as if by magic. I did not see any ait of Trotsky throughout my stay in ia.

The character of the country had changed . Pine forests were visible through the and a few cottages, evidently of the forest s, could also be seen scattered here and there. The temparature had fallen and it was getting rather cold.

APPENDIX

The great discovery of the agronomist Lisenko, of what has been named *vernalisation,* has received the widest possible practical use. It must be considered as a great victory of Soviet science in the domain of grain production.

The discovery, which was later developed by the Ukrainian Plant-Raising Institute, may be briefly described as follows: Every plant requires for its normal growth and development certain climatic conditions. The development of a plant proceeds by separate successive stages. Until one stage has been passed by it, the next stage cannot begin. This explains why winter wheat sown in spring does not form kernels—the plant has not passed the low temparature stage necessary for its development.

Lisenko devised an agronomical process by means of which it becomes possible to cause a plant to pass one of the stages of its development under conditions of slowed down germination of its seeds. It is evident that having passed the stage of vernalisation, ordinary crops sown in spring do not require low temperatures at the beginning of their growth. Thanks to the vernalisation process all changes which usually take place in the plant under field conditions in autumn, take place before sowing, in the germs inside the seed.

Exposing the seeds of winter crops to the action of low temperatures—from 0 to 10 degrees C.—during 30 to 50 days before sowing, we obtain winter plants suitable for spring sowing.

Vernalisation hastens the maturing of many spring varieties of cereals and of some other crops as well. This is of greatest importance, considering that in many districts, especially in the Volga region and in the Ukraine, the spring wheat is often exposed to hot, blasting winds, to burning, etc., several days before harvesting.

Potatoes may also be successfully treated by the process of vernalisation. In crops like cotton, vernalisation consists in exposing the seeds to the action of high temperatures, thus making possible the growing of southern plants in northern regions.

(To be continued)

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EUROPE AT WAR

By Major D. GRAHAM POLE

Critics of the Ministry of Information have complained that its handling of the news has been so dull as to deaden interest in our cause both at home and abroad. Well that may have been true in the opening weeks of the War. Perhaps it was even true a week ago, when a well-known General pointed out that we were not conducting this war in order to provide the Press with interesting paragraphs. But all this is over now. Sameness and repetition have vanished from the news. One shock does tread upon another's heels, so fast they follow. The War is no longer a local one between France and Britain on the one side and Germany on the other. The whole continent of Europe is becoming engaged and the general situation must be far different from what any of the belligerents imagined when they embarked upon this war. Sir Neville Henderson, in the Final Report which he has presented covering his last days in Berlin, remarks that the financial and economic position of Germany was such "that things could scarcely continue as they were without some explosion, internal or external."[1] Hitler accordingly chose war. But he chose also to invoke the protection of Russia. And Russia, which for twenty years had stayed within her own borders, has sprung out like an evil genie—and no one, and Hitler least of all, knows what kind of a partner he has called up.

When Russia first invaded Poland, Italy made the superficial reflection that the moral basis for our war against the Nazis had disappeared, and we had better make peace, since we evidently had no intention of making war upon Russia also. But we for our part thought Russian intervention might be no bad thing. It called a halt to Hitler's ambition in Eastern Europe. Moreover, although Lord Halifax has only lately said so, the Russians had a certain case. They were in the main just recovering for themselves those territories which Versailles would have given them and which the Poles later took from them—were in fact getting back to the Curzon line. So that all things considered our "moral basis" was quite sound; however much we disliked the spectacle of Russia giving the heroic Polish Army its coup-de-grace, shooting its officers for being officers, and hunting local landlords for being landlords. The old Poland, we knew, could not be restored.

But the trouble is that no one can really know what Russia is after. She seems to have changed over-night. Europe was taken by surprise when Hitler suddenly made friends with the Bolsheviks. But the wonder of such a thing is as nothing compared with the wonder of Stalin taking a leaf out of *Hitler's* book . . . And this is just what is happening at the present moment. The sickening technique of the Nazis, as Mr. Chamberlain has called it, is today the technique of the Russians. Just as in the past Hitler has pretended that his intended prey, Czecho-Slovakia or Poland, threatened Germany, so today Stalin pretends that Finland, whose sea bases he covets, threatens war upon Russia. Nor is this the only way in which Stalin emulates the Nazi methods. When his Foreign Minister, M. Molotov, made his long-awaited speech this week, the references to Finland were a model in the Nazi art of repression and of creating prejudice. He revealed all the terms which the Finns had refused; he did not reveal the terms they had accepted. What was the meaning of this? In America the first interpretation was that the Soviet intended war and at no distant date. Said Mr. Stephen Early, President Roosevelt's Secretary, somewhat cryptically, Molotov's decision to reveal the demands on Finland "seems to me to be worth considering as a question of timing." . . . Well, by the time this reaches India zero hour in the Baltic should have come and gone. Will it be war? The forces on the side of peace are considerable. There is first of all the undoubted fact that Finland has all the right on her side. She does not threaten Russia. Nor will she allow any Third Power to violate her neutrality either and so threaten Russia. (The only "third Power" also threatening the Baltic of course, and against whom all these Russian moves are directed, being Russia's new friend Germany!) Then Finland has the constant

1. Cmd. 6115 of 1939.

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active support of the Oslo Powers. And but not least she has the moral support America—which takes the whole matter out local atmosphere and makes it one of a al principle. These are great allies. If nd wins, she will not be the only gainer. ll be, at long last, a bloodless and success- and against aggression. What a lift this be to the democratic cause all over pe. Indeed, even if in the end Finland under, she has already done valiant e to democracy. A small country, with than half a million people, has dared to up to one of the mightiest Powers on Win or lose, she has put an aggressor al before the public opinion of the world.

f Russia is really putting on the Nazi e of aggression, it looks as if she is adopt- fashion that is already out of date. It range that she should have decided to r as an aggressor at the very moment France and Britain—and indeed opinion where—had decided that the time had to call a halt to this lawless behaviour. before the war the dictators seemed to be ground. Signor Mussolini was becom- Hitler's messenger-boy, and Hitler, as y pointed out, was becoming so bankrupt, ially and morally, as to be driven to rate courses. Yet Russia has turned out tionary! She certainly has not had begin- luck—except in the case of Poland where were good reasons. She tried to deflect y from the latter's undertakings to France Britain and she failed. She has tried to date Finland and has failed again, or, if ceeds, it will be at the price of losing ca's goodwill. Are these queer depar- in Russian policy a sign that dictator- even there, is losing its cunning? The n dictatorship has lasted so long and for its one redeeming feature seemed to be t least its energies were directed to rais- e standard of living, rather than towards sion and war, that it seemed to be based and enduring. But can even that fabulous giant, steer Russia along new and anomalous course? The sists for Russia try to argue that it will e right in the end, that when we see the picture, we will see that she acted for st. But why, if her motives are above on, does she cloak them in the language i aggression? The voice is the voice of azis, the hands are the hands of Nazi ion. Can the spirit really be some- different? If her action all along is only directed against German aggression, why need she feign friendship with Germany? The new German-Russian "friendship" has thrown English ideas about both into confusion. But it can be nothing to the confusion produced in Germany and Russia. For the moment, they jubilated at so successfully over-reaching the clever French and the stuck-up English. But it is difficult, surely, for the more reflective to close their eyes to the truth that they have not so much cut the ground from under our feet as from under the feet of their own revolutions.

Hitler called in Russia, in a critical hour, hoping that thereby he would frighten France and England out of their undertakings to Poland. But when France and England decided to fight all the same, Hitler found that he had fallen into the power of Russia instead. The first and obvious sign of this was that Berlin, to whom so many States—Austria, Czecho-Slovakia, and even France and England in the days of "appeasement"—had so often gone on pilgrimage, was now herself to learn how to sue. There began a one-way traffic to Moscow where, judging by the tragic changes which are now being imposed in Eastern Europe and the Baltic, Stalin required von Ribbentrop, as the price of Russia's neutrality in the war against France and England, to sign away all the ambitions, renounce the claim to a free hand in Eastern Europe, which were the very reasons that Germany entered upon the war. Indeed if reports of what happened in the Kremlin are true, von Ribbentrop found himself in the very position in which the Nazis, only a few months ago, had put President Hacha. There are reports of his drawing back aghast at what was put before him to sign, while Stalin stood smiling behind him and pointing to the place left ready for his signature.

There seems no end to the misery which the Nazis have drawn down upon Europe, and especially upon Germans, as a result of their over-weening and over-reaching ambitions. The first article of their belief was that the Germans were racially superior to every other breed on earth. Arising out of that they believed in the right of Germany to empire in Europe, to impose her rule upon and to exploit her neighbours, since those neighbours were her inferiors and, in her view, inferiors have not equal rights to live. In this, of course, they were but echoing Bismarck who quite frankly adopted for Germany the role of the wolf in Europe. Said Bismarck in his day,

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referring to Poland: "Strike the Poles until they lose the courage to live. I have much sympathy with them. . . but we must exterminate them. The wolf is not responsible for being what God made him." But the German wolf is doubling on its traces now. Instead of invading neighbouring folds it is retreating.

The great German retreat which is going on at present, retreat from the Baltic, retreat from Eastern Europe and the Balkans, is I think the most tragic feature of the war so far. It seems to be due to two main reasons. On the one hand, the Bolsheviks seem to have insisted that German nationals must be withdrawn from their new sphere in and around Baltic; on the other, the Nazis, growing desperate for funds and foreign exchange, decided to call home from abroad Germans and all the capital they could convert. Some of these Germans had been settled where they were for hundreds of years. But the Nazis seem to believe they can move human beings about as if they were potted plants. A hundred and five thousand Germans must be uprooted from the Baltic States. But apart from these there are about two and a half million Germans scattered over Denmark, the Low Countries, Italy, Hungary and the Balkans. These German minorities are told whether they are to go or stay by their leaders writing in the local Press. (It is amazing, incidentally, that such sovereign States as Denmark and Turkey admit of this interference—as it surely is. Amazing that a country like Roumania, who may herself be the next victim of German aggression, should have to allow her German minority to convert their estates, business, bank balances and other property, into exchange to swell the German war chest.) But this uprooting of Germans is only one-half of the misery. Hitler proposes, it is said, to settle them in Poland and especially the Polish corridor. They are to have the businesses of dispossessed Polish Jews. It is even said that some of them will be settled in Czecho-Slovakia—and Czechs carried off into captivity in Siberia, as part of the cruel racial untangling that Germany and Russia seem to have agreed between them! If all these terrible crimes are to be completed, no wonder President Roosevelt warned an Inter-Governmental Committee on Refugees the other day as to what they might expect at the end of the War. "We can estimate on a reasonable doctrine of chance," he said, "that there may be not 1,000,000 but 10,000,000 or 20,000,000 men, women and children belonging to many races and many religions living in many countries and possibly on many continents, who will enter into the wide picture—the problem of the human refugee."

Thinking over such questions as these people in England are beginning to realise that whether the war ends soon or late Europe will take years and years to recover from its wounds. But will it end soon? . . . At the moment of writing all the signs are that Germany is contemplating, after all, the much-proclaimed lightning stroke. But the stroke is to be directed solely against England. In the Nazi view of the war there has been a crescendo of warnings to the Allies, which the latter have rashly rejected, and now they must take the consequences. First of all, Hitler offered France and Britain "peace," on the grounds that as Poland was defeated there was no sense in going on with war. Next von Ribbentrop, in his speech at Danzig, gave France an invitation to a separate peace. Last and rather tamely, their great friend Russia has scouted the claims of the British blockade—and, with a *non sequitur* rather more glaring than Hitler's own, declares that with Poland defeated and out of the picture, the war which France and Britain are waging reveals itself in its true colours as an imperialist war.

Are we in England then to expect a series of devastating air raids? The Germans would like us to think so and to shake in our shoes. They hint that they will strike before we can get from America all those aeroplanes that we have ordered, and which the lifting of the arms embargo will now release to us. Well, we shall soon see. The general opinion seems to be that if an air war is to be launched against England, the Nazis will first invade the Low Countries. To attempt an air war against England from German air bases is not held to be practicable. By such a route the Nazi planes would have a long stretch of sea to come down and would be vulnerable to attack from our planes taking off from Norfolk. It is expected therefore that the Nazis may invade Holland (as the easiest way into Belgium, since Holland is less well prepared than Belgium and the Dutch-Belgian frontier is not defended at all). Once in Belgium the Nazis would have their aerodromes within a hundred miles of England. Are the Nazis contemplating such a gamble? Or do they reflect that our own planes have twice flown over Berlin and that their industrial areas are much more

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ly reached than are our own? As Air-mmodore L.E.O. Charlton points out in an cle published yesterday, "Air power can both ways, and the wreckage of her coal iron fields, together with the future silence her heavy industry, may appear in the eyes Germany too big a price to pay . . ."

Some move at all events will have to be made by Germany. Some success will have to be g to the German masses to keep up their rale. They do not seem to have enjoyed victory over Poland as much as the Nazis ected. When the war films have been wn in the cinemas, far from being elated at spectacle many people have left hurriedly, at the sight of the ruin their arms have le. At the same time their nerves are g frayed by the privations resulting from Franco-British blockade. There is in icular a serious shortage of fats and a se shortage of textiles. Shortage of soap shortage of clothes! What an irritation must be to the civilian population. But evil goes far deeper. Any German who embers the last war must feel apprehensive ut the economic situation. How can many face a long war when already there been a 50 per cent. increase in Income Tax addition to capital taxes, already savings ks deposits and insurance funds are begin-g to be mobilised, when foreign trade can be done by barter (which means that man industries, already hard-pressed to feed war machine, must produce a margin to er exports)—when, above all, they see that *ight from the mark has already begun.*

It is said that the younger generation in many believe absolutely in Hitler and will ow wherever he leads. But what must the er people think? What must the women e all think? When the Nazis came power, they said that women were "precious" to work alongside men in ustry—and drove them back into their es. But today, to feed the war machine, y have issued a decree ordering forced labour women between the ages of fifteen and enty years of age. As a French speaker, adcasting to Germany, remarked the other "Hitler promised you marriage and ernity. He will give you a million d. . ."

There are those who believe that Hitler's step will not only be against England. ile England is attacked by sea and by air, Nazi armies will perhaps turn their atten-to the Balkans, in particular to Roumania. No other explanation, they think, can be given for the great diplomatic activity which is also going on now in Berlin. The Nazis of course were very set-back by the Treaty with Turkey. More still have they resented the moves which have followed in the Mediterranean, which seemed to suggest that the Balkan States, under the lead of Turkey, might come to an understanding with Italy and so stabilise conditions in the Mediterranean—under the seal of Franco-British approval.

Are these the considerations now exercising Nazi diplomats and do they furnish the reason for the forthcoming visit of General Goering to Rome? Do the Nazis still hope to retrieve something from Eastern Europe, and is Russia, whose neutrality to say the least is maleficent, disposed to allow Germany a little scope there? After all, Russia can always swoop on Roumania, as she did on Poland, once Germany has gone in and disintegrated the situation first . . . I hope all these speculations are ill-founded. But it is difficult to forget that strange warning which Molotov made in his speech the other day. Why did he prophesy that *the war will spread over Europe and beyond*?

The proposed visit of Goering to Italy however—and incidentally it is another example of how the Nazis are now the pilgrims—is hedged about with uncertainties. It has been rumoured in Rome, then denied in Berlin, then confirmed in Berlin. It follows, too, on changes in Mussolini's cabinet which, on the whole, reduced its Axis preponderance. (Although the *Giornale d' Italia*, in true Italian fashion, at once sought to redress the balance by announcing "Fascism remains anti-Communist, but also unchangeably anti-democratic"!) Italy plainly, as before and always, will come out on whichever she decides will be the winning side. England also is courting her. We have concluded an economic agreement with her. Less creditably we are to send a Consul-General to Durazzo, thereby more or less recognizing the Italian conquest of Albania.

But while Signor Mussolini and his Fascist Cabinet debate their balancing act, there are forces in Italy which they cannot afford to ignore—and that is the Pope and the Catholic Church. The Pope has been deeply distressed at the ravages which the Nazis have made on Catholic Poland. He has expressed his sympathy, moreover, in an Encyclical which attacks the whole theory of the Totalitarian State . . . In other words, as I have already

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pointed out, the tide is setting against Dictatorship. France and Britain were proof of this when they decided at long last that the Nazi challenge must be met. America endorsed this when her President said that people could not be neutral in their thoughts. Turkey followed on when she stuck to her agreement with France and Britain in face of combined German and Russian pressure. And today Finland, with all the odds against her, has added her weight. *Everyone,* whatever their religious affinities, knows that the Pope is stating the truth when he says :

> "The idea which credits the State with unlimited authority is not simply an error harmful to the internal life of nations . . . but it likewise injures the relations between peoples, robs the law of nations of its foundations, means the violation of the rights of others, and impedes agreement and peaceful intercourse."

I had hoped to say something on the subject of war aims. It is much in the air at present and at least three considered statements have been published within the last few days. The most-discussed has been that of an American woman journalist, Dorothy-Thompson, which appeared in the *Daiy Telegraph and Morning Post,* the most statesmanlike perhaps that of Sir Walter Layton which appeared in the *News-Chronicle;* and the most important, no doubt, that which appeared in *The Times*—important because it appeared in that journal, which foreigners always insist must be the voice of the British Government. *The Times* statement, at all events, has been much discussed in France—and sat on heavily by the papers of the Right there. *The Times* advocated a form of federalism (but Right opinion in France believes first of all in the watch on the Rhine . . . And who can say it is wrong, even if they feel it is wrong !)

But there is no time to write any more. So I will close with this. It is said by distinguished refugee German writers that the everlasting German dilemma is this. Germany is short of raw materials. She does not possess them. So she always feels she must go to war and conquer territories which have them. And she always loses the war because she has not got them . . . So what are we going to do to free her, and Europe, from this vicious recurring circle ?

Westminister
6th November, 1939

DOMINION STATUS FOR INDIA—WHEN ?

By Major D. GRAHAM POLE

Vice-Chairman & Hon. Secretary of the British Committee on Indian and Burman Affairs, Member of the Burma Round Table Conference, Author of "India in Transition", "I Refer to India", etc.

One of the most important debates in Parliament since the War began was undoubtedly that on India initiated by Mr. Wedgwood Benn on behalf of the Labour Opposition on 26th October, 1939. In that debate there was an unusual amount of agreement as to the future status of India. But even if the debate had been unanimous in regard to the early and definite advent of Dominion Status in India, that, by itself, would have carried matters little further as far as India is concerned, as it is the words of Acts of Parliament and not the pious hopes or intentions expressed in Parliamentary debates that alone count. It is well to consider, therefore, what exactly is the position today and how pledges not incorporated in Acts of Parliament have been interpreted in the past by various members of His Majesty's present Government.

Lord Irwin, as Viceroy in 1929, on the authority of the Government of the day, made his famous Declaration that "the natural issue of India's progress", as contemplated in the Preamble of the Government of India Act of 1919, was "the attainment of Dominion Status."

Lord Linlithgow, the present Viceroy, on 17th October, 1939, approved this interpretation of the meaning of the Preamble and continued :

> "I need not dilate on the worde that Statement. They are clear and positive. They are enshrined in the Parliamentary record. They stand as a definite and categorical exposition of the policy of His Majesty's Government today and of their intentions today in this end, the future constitutional development and the position of India."[1]

Lord Zetland, the Secretary of State for

1. Cmd. 6121 of 1939.

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dia, speaking in the House of Lords on 18th ctober, 1939, said that

"Responsible self-government for India is the goal ich has been set forth by Parliament in the Preamble the Act of 1919: and it was with the full authority the Government of the day that the Foreign Secretary rd Hal.fax, then Lord Irwin) stated ten years later the natural issue of India's progress as there contemed—that is to say in the Preamble of the Act of 1919 as the attainment of Dominion Status. From that ective we never have had, nor do we now intend, to part."

Now that sounds very well, and if nothing d happened to cause doubts since Lord in's Declaration it might well be asked why ians refuse to accept so "clear and positive" declaration from which we never have had intention to depart. But is this quite an urate statement on the part of the Secretary State ?

Indians do not and cannot forget that since d Irwin's Declaration in 1929 we have had oint Select Cimmittee of both Houses of liament, presided over by Lord Linlithgow self, in 1933 and after that the passage ough Parliament of the present Government India Act of 1935. Nor can they forget that interpretation now accepted has been dered from—or explained away—by prominent mbers of His Majesty's present Government e it was made in 1929.

In the present (1935) Government of India the words "Dominion Status" nowhere occur nd, indeed, they were specially excluded spite of the pleadings of H. H. the Aga an and the other British Indian delegates sat with the Joint Select Committee, that should be included.

It may be that the interpretation of the ds of the Preamble of the 1919 Act bear the rpretation put upon them by Lord Irwin Linlithgow. It may be that such interpreon was accepted by the Government of the in 1929 and is accepted by the present ernment. But there are other words in that amble that are also accepted by the Governt—words that state in terms that the ish Parliament alone is to be the judge of pace at which India will reach that status, indeed whether (as Mr. Baldwin, the Prime nister, stated in the House of Commons in rch, 1935 at the conclusion of the India ate) the next step should be retrogression or gression.

It is only right, therefore, that the statets of members of the British Government oday, made since Lord Irwin's Declaration of 1929, should be examined, to realise exactly how they have interpreted that declaration from the terms of which as an objective "we never have had, nor do we now intend, to depart."

Mr. Winston Churchill, First Lord of the Admiralty and an important member of the present Government, told the Joint Select Committee, over which Lord Linlithgow presided, on 24th October, 1933, four years after the Declaration was made, that

"No member of the Cabinet, and certainly not the Prime Minister, meant, contemplated, or wished to suggest the establishment of a Dominion constitution for India in any period which human beings ought to take into account."[2]

Lord Linlithgow, in the statement I have above referred to, went on to refer to the Instrument of Instructions issued by His Majesty the King-Emperor to him and to his predecessor as Governor-General of India which concludes with the words

"that the partnership between India and the United Kingdom within Our Empire may be furthered to the end *that India may attain its due place among Our Dominions.*" (Italics mine)

Mr. Churchill, when these words were pointed out to him during his evidence before the Joint Select Committee, argued that "due place" did not mean "equal place", and did not involve the grant of a status equal to that of Australia or Canada.[3] Has Mr. Churchill changed his views, or do the Government accept the interpretation given by him before the Joint Select Committee ? Sir Samuel Hoare, speaking in the Debate, seemed to disagree with Mr. Churchill's statement quoted above. In answer to Mr. Wedgwood Benn, he said :

There are no two kinds of Dominion Status as some people "seem to think"

and that when India got Dominion Status it would be

"of the full status of equality with the other British Commonwealths."[4]

But even Lord Halifax himself told the Joint Select Committee, on 18th July, 1933, that the "much discussed Declaration" which he, as Lord Irwin, the Viceroy, had made in 1929

"dealt entirely with the realm of ultimate purpose. It made no commitments whatever as to date."

Does that still stand ? Can we give no kind of indication of when we anticipate, with goodwill on both sides, that India may take her

2. *Minutes of Evidence*, No. 41, p. 1842.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 1860.
4. *Hansard*, Vol. 352, No. 188, Col. 1634. 26 Oct. 1939.

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equal place with the other members of the British Commonwealth of Nations? Or do we still think that it cannot come to pass "in any period which human beings ought to take into account" and is merely in the "realm of ultimate purpose"?

These are vital questions for India.

Lord Rankeillour added to this by telling the Committee in regard to Lord Irwin's Declaration and its effect:

"Those were the words of the Viceroy. They can be over-ruled by Parliament."

This point was also emphasised by the Chairman of the Conservative M.Ps' India Committee, Sir John Wardlaw-Milne, M.P., speaking in the House of Commons in December, 1934 when the Report of the Joint Select Committee of both Houses of Parliament was under discussion, in these words:

"No pledge given by any Secretary of State or any Viceroy has any legal bearing on the matter at all. The only thing that Parliament is really bound by is the Act of 1919."

In the House of Lords debate Lord Rankeillour went even further. Speaking there, on 13th December 1934, he said:

"No statement by a Viceroy, no statement by any representative of the Sovereign, no statement by the Prime Minister, indeed no statement by the Sovereign himself, can bind Parliament against its judgment."

Although this may be true in a strictly legal sense, it is, as Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru retorted, "very poor statesmanship to say so and to act on it."

Another member of the present Government, Sir John Simon, speaking in the House of Commons on 28th March, 1933, admitted that we had given pledges to India.

"There is no question at all that this country is pledged, as clearly as we can be pledged, in honour and in policy: and that pledge is undoubtedly to pursue in the Indian Empire a road which will lead to responsible government."

But, referring to that pledge, Sir John Simon continued:

"We have given it and we are bound, *within our discretion and judgment, in all honesty to have the courage to do our best to fulfil it.*"[5] (Italics mine)

Of course, the obvious comment is that by inserting these qualifying words "within our discretion and judgment" Sir John Simon unilaterally took away from the Pledge any real binding character. The consent or concurrence of those to whom the pledge was given was never asked for this radical alteration of its terms. Does this unilateral qualification still stand?

There was much force in the arguments in the Memorandum submitted to the Joint Select Committee by H. H. the Aga Khan and the other British Indian delegates wherein they said that Indian public opinion

"has been profoundly disturbed by the attempts made during the last two or three years to qualify the repeated pledges given by responsible Ministers on behalf of His Majesty's Government. Since it is apparently contended that only a definite statement in an Act of Parliament would be binding on future Parliaments, and that even the solemn declaration made by His Majesty the King-Emperor on a formal occasion is not authoritative, we feel that a declaration in the Preamble (of the 1935 Act) is essential in order to remove present grave misgivings and avoid future misunderstandings."

This was refused by Sir Samuel Hoare, who was then Secretary of State for India, and is now a member of the War Cabinet. The Preamble of the 1919 Act stands with its statement that the British Parliament alone is the judge of India's fitness for further constitutional progress or whether, in Mr. Baldwin's words, the next step is to be retrogression or progression.

Nowhere in the present Government of India Act (1935) is there any mention of Dominion Status. There is no Preamble to the Act. It has been made abundantly clear to Indians that no statement of any Viceroy, Prime Minister or even the King-Emperor himself can over-rule the words of an Act of Parliament. Even a debate in Parliament does not carry the matter further. The only thing to do, therefore, if the British Government really mean what they say about Dominion Status for India is to pass an amending Act—which can be done quickly as war legislation—removing the present grave misgivings and "to avoid future misunderstandings", as the British Indian delegates asked, deleting the words in the Preamble of the 1919 Act which Indians have always rightly regarded as an insult to them, and stating specifically that Dominion Status is the aim which it is intended to reach as quickly as possible with the assistance and goodwill of Indians of all races, creeds and classes.

5. *Hansard*, Vol. 276, No. 59, Col. 887, 28th March, 1933.

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His Highness the Maharaja Joodha Shumshere Jung Bahadur Rana,
G.C.L.H., G.C.L., G.C.S.I., G.C.S.S.M.L., G.C.I.E.
Prime Minister and Supreme Commander-in-Chief of Nepal

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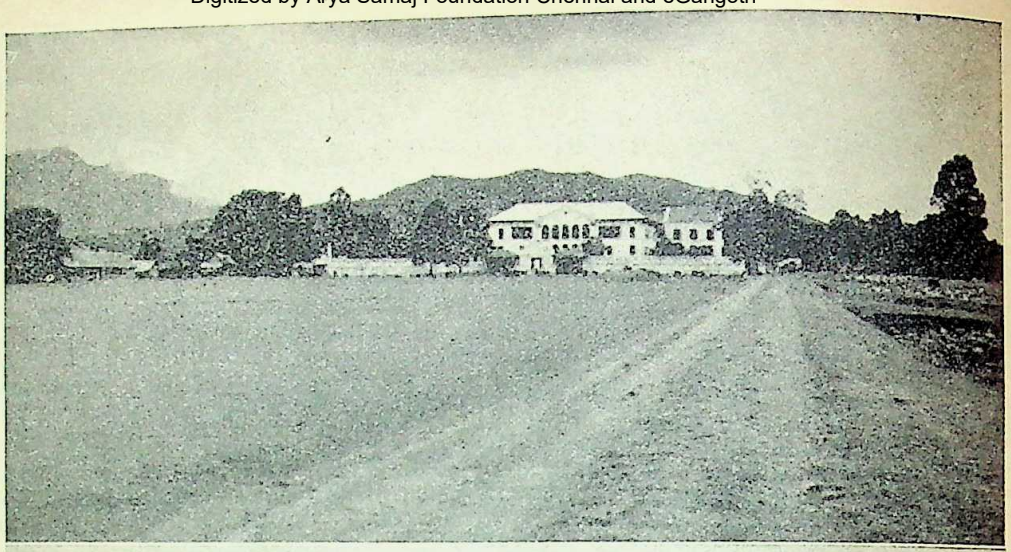

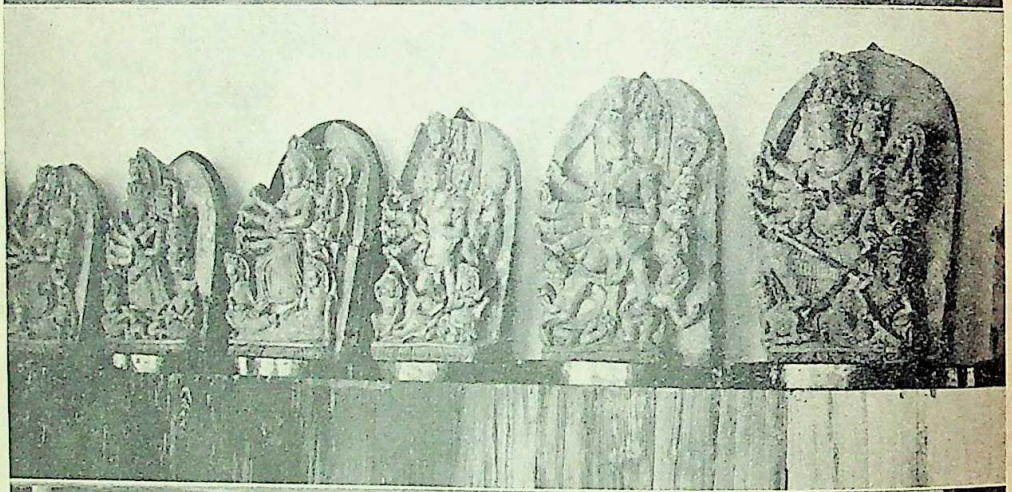

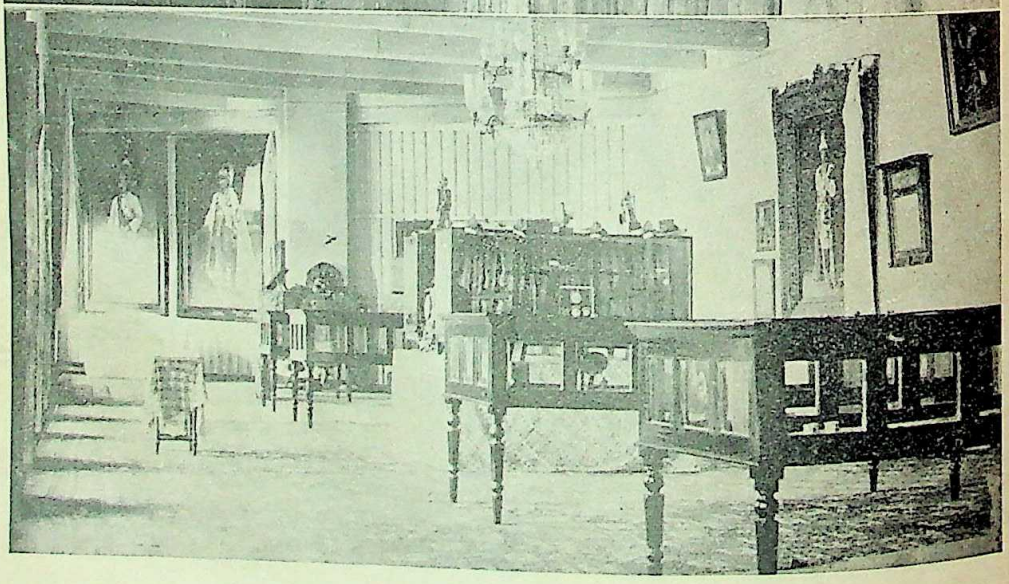

[Photo : S. N. Sen

Top : The Nepal Museum

[Photo : Balkrishna

Bottom : "Central Hall"

Middle : Different emanations of the Devi as described in the Markandeya Chandi [Photo : Balkrishna]

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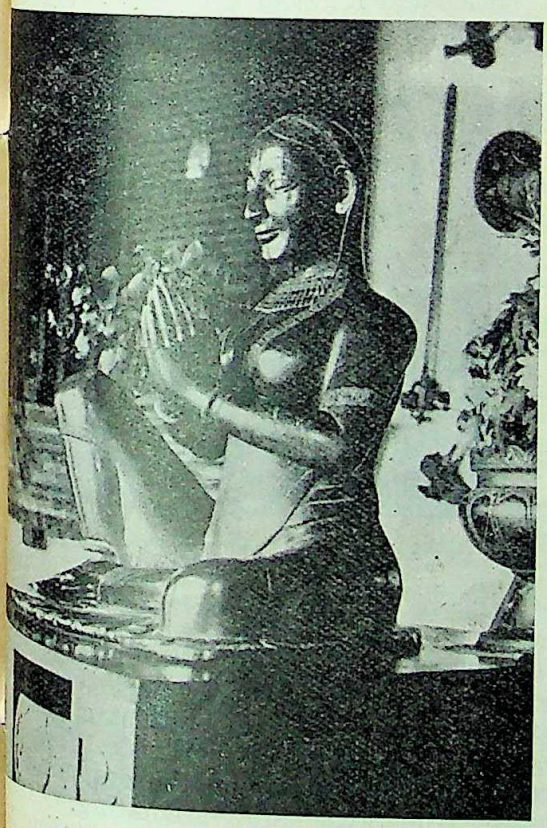
THE NEPAL MUSEUM

By SIVA NARAYANA SEN

Keeper, Nepal Museum

Conder's *Modern Traveller*, after relating death of the aged Nanda by poison (given his minister Sacatara), he proceeds :

"The crime did not, however, go unpunished; Saca- and all his sons, except one, were put to death; and cure himself against hostile claimants to the crown, hanwa gave orders for the massacre of all his half- ers, the children of Nanda by different mothers. dragupta alone escaped, and fled to the court of teswara, 'Lord of the Mountains' or King of Nepal; om he offered one-half of his Kingdom if he would him in taking the field against his enemy. In nction with his powerful ally aided by a body of auxiliaries, Chandragupta defeated Upadhanwa, great slaughter, under the walls of his capital, the ch himself being among the slain, and took posses- of the throne of his father. His promise to

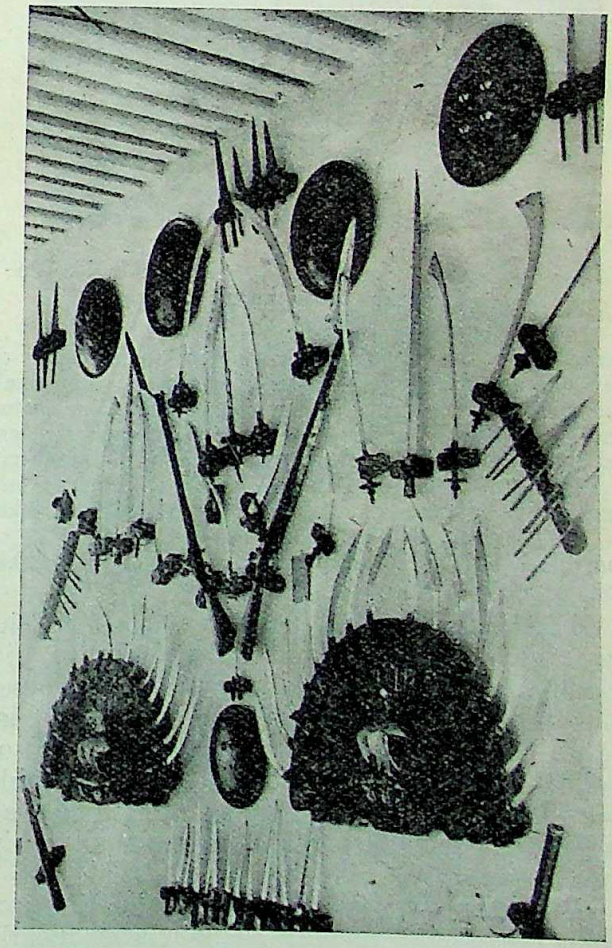


[Photo : Balkrishna
Queen Tripura Sundari Devi

swara was now disregarded. He retained a large f Yavanas or Greeks in his pay, and, fortifying his set his enemies at defiance." (Vol. vii, page 123).

In Walsh's *The Coinage of Nepal*, in the beginning (*Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, July, 1908, pp. 676-677), the learned author notes :

"These early coins are large copper pieces of varying weight, but with the exception of coins No. 1 (197 grains) and No. 6 (249 grains), they approximate to a standard of 1¼ panas, or 180 grains, the weight of the pana being 144 grains. As noted by Sir A. Cunningham and Professor Rapson, they bear a resemblance to the second class of Yaudheya coins which is probably due to a common origin from the coins of the Kusanas. Their



[Photo : Balkrishna
Personal arms of King Prithvi Narayana Sha

symbols of the standing humped bull and the standing lion with its tail curled over its back are also found on the Rajanya coins of the second or first century B.C. The standing bull and standing lion on two of those coins

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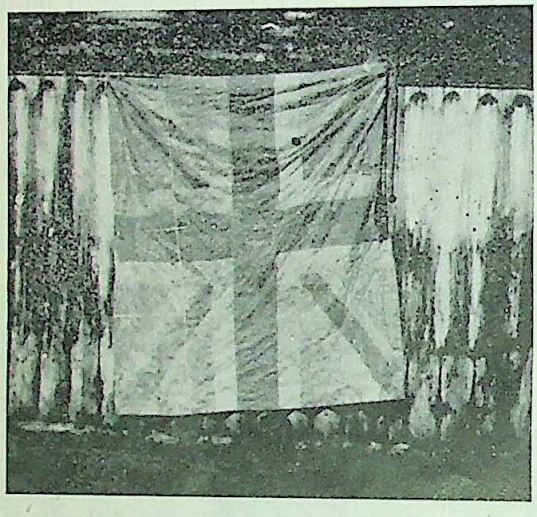
are exactly the same as on the Nepal coins. The conclusion that the Nepal coinage was derived from that of the Kusanas is borne out by the fact that Kusana coins have been dug up in the neighbourhood of Kathmandu, which would seem to show that these coins were either current in Nepal in early times, being brought by merchants, or were brought by pilgrims. I have two coins of Wema Kadphises (85-120 A.D.) and one of Kanishka (120-150 A.D.), which were dug up at Kathmandu, which were sent me by Colonel Pears when resident in Nepal. The seated figure of a deity on a lotus seat, and also the seated figure of a deity or a King on a throne with one leg hanging down, were also probably



[Photo : S. N. Sen
A flag taken from the mutineers

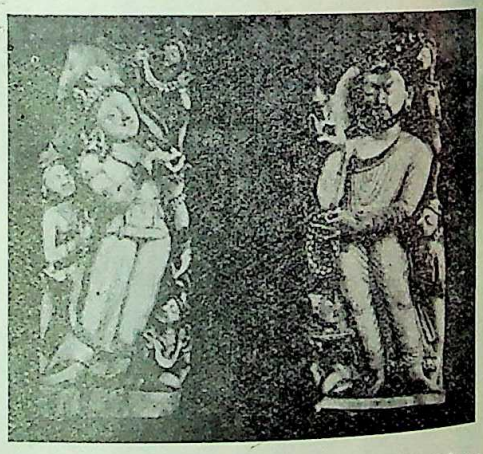
copied from the Kusana coinage. In some coins of Huvishka the seated figure is so like that on Mananka's coin as to at once suggest the connection. The seated figure of the deity or king with one leg hanging down, and the trident on long straight shaft with battle-axe to left, as on coins of Pasupati, also have their prototypes in the Kusana coins of Kadphises II and of Huvishka, in the humped bull standing by itself in coins of Kadphises I, and the elephant in coins of Huvishka, though with a rider on its back."

Fresh evidenec has come to light establishing the dominion of the Kushanas in Champaran. A hoard of sixty pieces of copper coins of early Kushanas was dug out at Radhia, the village which is marked by a pillar of Asoka. It becomes, therefore, very probable that the early Kushanas ruled also in Nepal. Early stone monuments are in line with early Gupta Art.

Buddhism was introduced by the Emperor Asoka into Nepal amongst a population nearly wholly non-Aryan—the Kirātas. Saivism, the orthodox caste system, and Aryan population in appreciable numbers and as a dominant factor were introduced by the Lichchhavi dynasty for the first time, in the third century of the Christian Era, and the process continued on. Nepal is intimately connected with Bihar and Bengal. But Nepal is so secluded and cut off from Bihar and Bengal along with the rest of Northern India that the Indian knows more of distant lands than of Nepal, which is his ancient colony and which has been a part of his Indian Empire for centuries and where one of his most sacred shrines is enthroned—the Pasupatinath of the Hindus.

Kirāta Dynasty was the first to rule in Nepal (590 B.C. to 110 A.D.). Two Gupta Dynasties reigned here. The coins establish their connection with the Imperial Guptas. Thakuri Kings contributed a lot in shaping the culture of the land. Malla dynasty continued until the Gorkha conquest. Gorkha Dynasty was founded by Prithvi Narayana Sha's conquest of the country in 1768 A.D., and continues to the present time.

Nepal alone among Asiatic powers has never suffered either the galling triumph of the Moslem or the commercial results of Christian expansion. She is the only independent Hindu kingdom on earth's surface. Nepal is full of antiquities and relics of the past, dowered with wealth and peopled from both the northern and



[Photo : Balkrishna

Miniature ivory figurines of king and queen

southern civilisations of Asia. The strange blending in Nepal shrines of the cults of Buddhism and Hinduism without clash or conscious inconsistency is remarkable. The magnificence of her scenery and the crowning glory of the Himalayas are fascinating. Her art and architecture are highly appealing to the connoisseur.

During the reign of the late Maharaja Sir Chandra, who first began introducing reforms into Nepal, the necessity for making a collection of archaeological, anthropological and

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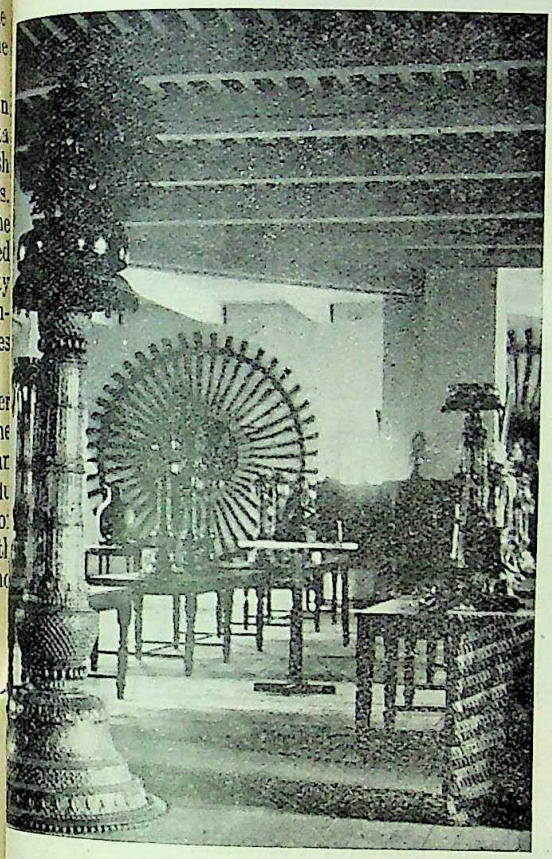
stic materials from the territory and house in the *Chauni Silkhana* (the old armoury) re one of the finest arms collection was ing to be cared for, was first impressed n the government by Lt. Genl. Sir Kaiser mshere Jung Bahadur Rana (now Southern-



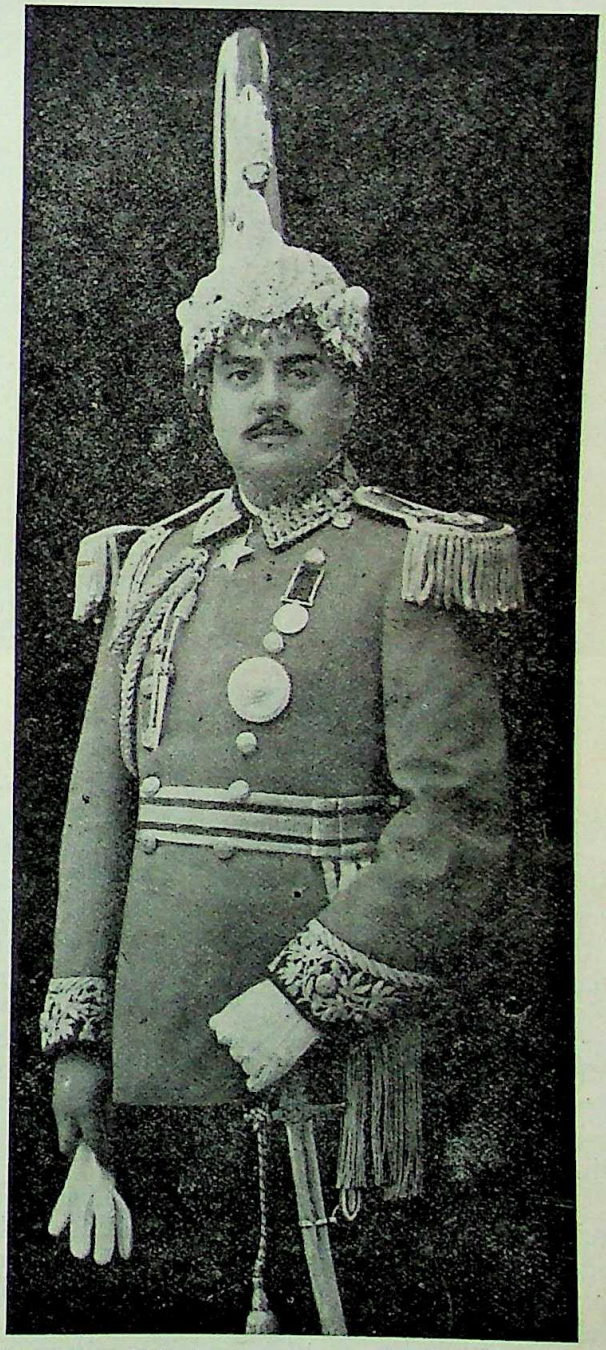
[Photo : Balkrishna
Brass work exhibits

manding-General, at present on leave in A.). He is the third son of the late Maha- Sir Chandra.

It will be convenient to begin with a brief y of the past history of the present Nepal um. It may be said to have originated the Arsenal. The classical building at ti, on the western side of the river mati, has a beautiful setting against the background. This was built by General sen Thapa in the year 1819 A.D., to house rsenal. The late Maharaja Sir Chandra the northern and southern wings in 1926. al Bhimsen Thapa became Prime Minis- Nepal on 10th April, 1806. He com- suicide in prison, 29th July, 1839 after been removed from office in 1837.

he building occupies a rectangular site, et wide and 300 feet long, a few hundred south of the famous Swayambhu Temple. This three-storied building runs north and south facing a wide stretch of land which has been kept reserved for the target practice of the Nepalese army.

In the year 1926, since General Sir Kaiser took charge of the building with a view to organising a national museum for Nepal, the old *Chauni Silkhānā* assumed the name of



Major-General Mrigendra Shumshere Jung Bahadur Rana, M.A., Present Director-General of the Museum

'Silkhana Museum.' The people, however, know it better by its popular name—Chauni Silkhana —even today.

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[Photo : Samar S. S. J. B. R.

Newari ornaments of gold and silver

General Sir Kaiser—the first Director-General of this institution—began the collection of pots and pans and varieties of miscellaneous art and cultural objects which have now formed the nucleus of various sections within the museum. In these sections, Nepal's creation of multiform beauties of design and colour, her ways of dealing with her fellows, her co-operation and dissensions; her ideals and lofty aspirations, her inevitable blunders and disappointments; in short, all her gropings, disheartening failures and unbelievable triumphs are recalled.

Civilisation depends upon the discoveries and inventions man has been able to make, together with the incalculable effects these have had upon his daily conduct, thoughts and feelings. The Nepal Museum is making an effort to illustrate faithfully the culture and civilisation of the land.

With the beginning of the present regime of His Highness the Maharaja Joodha Shumshere Jung Bahadur Rana, Nepal is having new institutions and radical changes in the spheres of politics, economics, and society. The noble Maharaja wants his country to be at pa with other independent countries of the world and to glorify the Hindu culture. He ha taken up the cause of Nepal in right earnes and the harmonious co-operation of his truste and able lieutenants with his national aspira tions, has brought into Nepal a new impetu for the nation to keep pace with the march o progress.

Maharaja Joodha was quick to realis the value and importance of the nation museum properly organised and made neces sary provisions for the same.

In 1938, the said 'Chauni Silkhana assumed the name of the Nepal Museum an its doors were opened to the public on 12 February, 1938. Before this, visitors wer allowed to see and examine the materials wit in the arsenal, with permission from th palace.

The writer of this article, took charge o the museum on 23rd August, 1938.

His Highness is taking a keen interest i

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[Photo : Samar S. S. J. B. R.
Pahari ornaments of silver, glass beads, coral beads and gold

museum and his sympathy and blessings great assets of the same.

A museum has definite ambitions and aims erving a city in many ways. To be success- is policy must be clearly defined from the mencement. Kathmandu can be helped in ducational and industrial life by an active ing museum, and the purposes of the nt establishment will be threefold:—

(1) Exhibitory: intended for the general ral instruction of an enquiring public; by g advantage of the teaching potentialities pecial exhibits, by displaying them so that visitor can assimilate all that they to teach, by adopting the method of Japanese (which is being imitated in pe and America today), who do not use treasures as permanent ornaments but upon them periodically for display, by ing the exhibits constantly and arranging to stimulate interest, placing no object hibition which is not capable of attracting instructing; and by means of "step by exhibits to illustrate Nepal industries.

(2) The second purpose is of equal importance: the Museum will be a store-house for the safeguarding of objects for particular investigation, which will be readily available at all times, in the same manner as reference books in a library. In this way it is hoped that the museum will become a centre for new ideas and inspirations for the advancement of knowledge. Its aim is to be useful; it will welcome the manufacturer, the designer, the artist, and student, as well as the ethnologist, the archaeologist, the naturalist, and any other enquirer, whatever may be his aim. It is not only impossible but undesirable that all the material in a museum should be placed on exhibition, although it should be readily available for those who seek it.

(3) The third function is what may be termed extra-mural:

(*a*) By giving frequent lectures and demonstrations to adults and school children, for by such means many citizens may be induced to take a live interest in some branch of art or natural science.

(*b*) Circulating loan collections to

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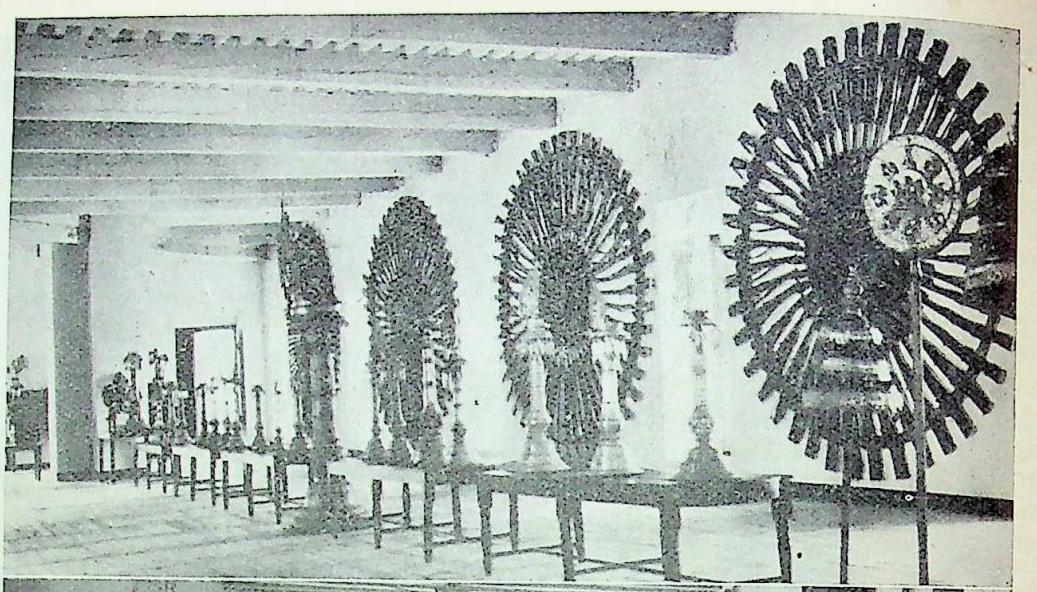

[Photo : S. N. Sen

Top : Brass and copper work

[Photo : Balkrishna

Middle : A view of the arms gallery

Bottom : Nine flags captured by the Gurkha soldiers from the forces of the East India Company

[Photo : S. N. Sen]

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schools, in order to train the children into the "museum habit" and to give every child an opportunity of developing his natural creative powers. Having a desire to visit a museum, a child on leaving school, is not left without that stimulation which helps to lay the foundation for more serious study in after life. In the proposed new building a children's section will be provided.

A museum should have iving interest, responsive the needs of a commercial industrial community, a e where the citizens will guided and encouraged. object of art exhibits is reate a fine taste and a of the beautiful, for hetics are part of the real erience of life, although do not attempt to define t beauty is. The desire o bring knowledge to the st and craftsman; with eshment and enrichment mind and soul to others, the ability to see a thing see it truly is usually an uired accomplishment.

While it is the wish to mote interest in culture art among all classes, a eum would be incomplete out exhibits to illustrate subjects of natural science. y give a beneficial train- to those persons who te to them their leisure, matter what their calling be. By the study of ce men acquire a sense rder and method, develop power of observation, and stimulated to healthy cise; a spirit of enquiry scientific method of deal- with problems is created. must acquire something hat habit of mind which study of natural science : the art of seeing, the of knowing what we see, the art of com- g, of perceiving true likenesses and true ences, and so of classifying and arranging you see, the art of connecting facts together in your own mind in chains of cause and effect, and that accurately, patiently, calmly, without prejudice, vanity, or temper.

The opening of the Museum is a landmark in the cultural, educational and artistic life of Nepal. It must live and grow alongside the commercial, educational and industrial art future of Nepal, playing its part in its way to help all citizens. It is a truism to say that a museum lives more by what it gives than by what it receives.

Commanding-General Sir Kaiser Shumshere Jung Bahadur Rana, First Director-General of the Museum

The collections in the Museum have, of late months, quite outgrown the space accommodation which the building affords. The collection is entirely of a territorial character.

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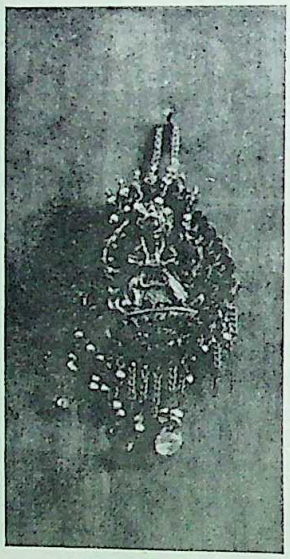
The urgent need for extension is known to and has been appreciated by His Highness the Maharaja, and hopes are entertained that a new building planned and equipped on the most up-to-date lines will shortly be erected, for which plans have already been drawn up, estimated and the requisite amount sanctioned.

The Museum is visited daily by quite a good number of visitors, mostly resident.

On entering the building the visitor is first attracted to the life-size, seated, bronze cast of Queen Tripura Sundari Devi (p. 665). She



[Photo : Balkrishna

An ear ornament made of gold, ruby, pearl and emerald. The figure is of 18 armed Bhagavati, cut out from a ruby. Weighs about 4 tolas. 16th century. Recently acquired by the museum at a heavy price

was the Queen consort of the King Rana Bahadur Sha (1777 to 1799). After the death of her husband, Queen Tripura succeeded to the regency and maintained it for the next twenty-eight years. This is a solid bronze cast weighing about 500 lbs.

To the right of the ground-floor corridor beautiful terracotta icons are exhibited. A group of different emanations of the Devi as described in Mārkandeya Chandi is shown in the plate. These were collected by the keeper of the museum from Bhatgaon along with other icons. After the gallery of iconography the visitor comes to the ethnographical section where our aim is to present to the public first a technological collection illustrating how the various articles are made; ethnological exhibits showing the method of making pots, etc., etc., found in the country. These will be supplemented by photographs of the actual processes, later on.

The archaeology of the country, hitherto a practically unknown field, is being developed. The collection of sculptures, bronze, silver, terra-cotta and like objects is greatly increasing day by day, and work has been undertaken by the Museum on drawing up a report on the 'Archaeological sites' of Nepal. To begin with, the valley is being explored first.

In the first-floor we come across almost a complete series of oriental arms and the evolution of military costumes of the Nepalese Army. Amidst the exhibits there are interesting objects like Tibetan leather-guns, guns manufactured in Nepal, etc. (p. 670). Personal arms of King Prithvi Narayana Sha are shown in the illustration (p. 665). The oldest piece in this gallery is the sword which belonged, in 1550,

[Photo : Balkrishna

Devil dancers

to Drabya Sha, the original leader of the Gurkhas into their Nepalese fastness. A non-resident visitor will probably receive a start when he is shown into a long narrow room, along the centre of which are ranged nine regimental colours, all of which are those of

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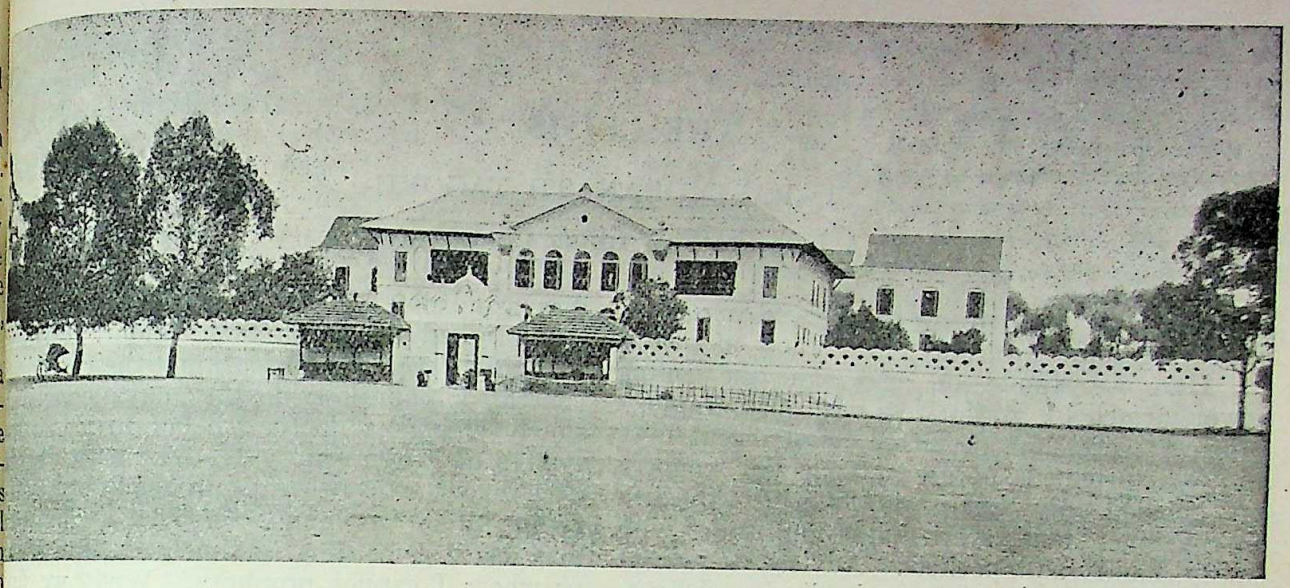

Nepal Museum

ments belonging to the forces of the East ia Company. It may be said at once that e represent—though in 1815 the success of Gurkhas might well have led to the capture wo or three British flags—only the victories he Nepalese troops against the rebel regi- ts of 1857 (see pp. 660 and 670).

To the left of the Central corridor is a n designated "Natural History Section." the right of the same corridor is another n designated "Joodha Gallery", where r trophies of His Highness the Maharaja dha Shumshere Jung Bahadur Rana will be bited.

Second Floor. There are here exhibited figures of Buddha, ancient swords and ers, ivory carvings (p. 666), brass and er works (pp. 667 and 670), wood carv- specimens of local jewellery (pp. 668 and all objects of antiquity, and some several red years old (p. 672). In the central of this floor, we come across a nearly com- series of coins of Nepal. Most of these have been collected during the current Exhibited in this room are also the alese orders and medals. Two cases con- all these. A collection of oil-paintings and r-colours, mostly protraits of the Nepal onalities, have been preserved in this cen- hall.

Lately one of the most valuable historical ments of the modern period in Nepal, in gold, weighing about 30 tolas, has been ted for the Museum through the kind gift His Excellency, General Lingha Shum- Jung Bahadur Rana (at present, ese Minister-Plenipotentiary to the Court of St. James). These medals were awarded to General Mathbar Singh Thapa by King Surendra Vikrama Sha (1847—1881). By these medals the then King transferred the sole power of administration to the Prime Minister. Since then the Prime Ministers are responsible for Law and Order in the country. General Mathbar Singh became Prime Minister on 28th November, 1843. He was killed by Jung Bahadur on 18th May, 1845.

A room on this floor containing masks and dresses of devil dancers and other dancers (p. 672) and flag paintings calls for special remark. A case containing technique and materials for flag painting stands at the centre of the room.

As yet the museum is in its infancy. Most of the exhibits are not under glass, all being arranged mostly on tables. Owing to the necessity of keeping perishable materials under glass, the collections are not yet exhibited in any very satisfactory or systematic manner, but are grouped in rooms under the heads, Iconography, Ethnography, Arms, Agriculture, Game heads, etc., etc., etc.

It is intended that by the next year this shall have been materially altered. It is our aim to interest the people of Kathmandu and also those residing elsewhere in the territory in the museum as a cultural and educational centre. Heretofore the prevailing conception of the purpose of a museum was that of a repository for "any old junk and native curios". This idea, I am glad to say, is at last disappearing, and Kathmandu seems to be taking a more intelligent interest in its museum.

Kathmandu.
10th November, 1939.

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THE CRISIS *

By RABINDRANATH TAGORE

A letter to Dr. Amiya Chakravarty

They ask me to write on the present situation, indicating some way out, but I know of none.

Here we stand: on one side the ruling power, armed in its fortress with all paraphernalia of repression, protected by stringent laws and red-turbaned hordes. That the country can be held only thus is their faith. Crowded, on the other hand, are helpless multitudes with empty hands and pockets. Advised to accept non-violence as the panacea leading to deliverance and permanent security, they cannot yet entirely pin their faith to it. Because, nowhere in the world is this principle being practised, for good or worse. To save man from such a violent beast as man, violent means are needed: this teaching is being followed up everywhere by adequate preparation and accumulation of material. Where men are debarred from all education, they are also prevented from acquiring this particular form of it. Such people must for ever be recognised as game for man-hunters. Hedged in on all sides they are denied even the right to escape like deer; in Reserve Forests they live, belonging to royal sportsmen.

I remember the story: some credulous lady had asked Voltaire whether flocks of sheep could be slaughtered by magic words. Madam, he replied, that can certainly be done, but some arsenic is also necessary. Deadly administration of arsenic is so widely prevalent that neither those who are being killed nor the killers are able to discern any other path.

Violent worship, propitiating the gods by sacrificial blood, has continued from man's barbarous past up to this day. Through love alone is worship, great teachers have sometimes proclaimed, but the world has taken this to be true on the spiritual, not on the practical plane. In spheres of life where results can be ignored such teaching signifies, but where results are needed—so runs popular conscience—the gods have to be won over by sanguinary offerings. Behind this lies a patient's faith in bitter, pungent medicines; medicines, indeed, he is convinced, tasting the lacerating drops. So in world-wide political pharmacies virulent remedies are being piled up. Virile tonics, blood-red force advertised in their colour. Physicians with high records of death to their credit are venerated; countless deaths may, conceivably, slowly change a doctor's belief in a particular system of treatment. Death's institutes have been opened everywhere; millions of students are being killed to supply lessons,—perhaps man may learn something final from this, but when or where I cannot prophesy. What we find is that lessons go on endlessly, more and more loudly repeated in the class-room they seem never to terminate. Such being the case, I would prefer silence, not knowing what answers to give to path-seekers.

The unprotected ruins, in which we live on the ancient high road, have offered no resistance to invaders down the centuries; armies have marched from outside, and traders; they have jumped on our backs, entered our store-room. We are left with bent spines and only remnants in our larders. Therefore, we too cannot boast that we have learnt our lessons; our ancient systems have not, it has to be confessed, helped us in passing the test of history with any merit. Even then we are alive today, some people proudly declare. But there are kinds of living which are merely delayed death. Such is our condition. To the chief disciples or professors of violence I say this, for long have we seen the nature of their success, to a great measure we ourselves have borne its burden: are they now at the summit of their victory? Have they passed the test of humanity? Engaged in violent rivalry, whose triumph today do they crave? The triumph of violence. This power can never reach peace till utter destruction is complete. Not only is it destroying man's livelihood but poisoning his heart; his noblest treasures are being bombed and razed to dust. Of ourselves we have ample reason to be ashamed, but this tossing on the swing of endless catastrophe that we see today,—whose shame is it?

Violent power uses man's weakness as footstool, it crushes the soil of helpless humanity to raise its own crop. Thus its trade prospers. In this trade, the powerful have, for a long

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me, acquired bulk and extended their domain influence. They have suppressed large num-rs of men putting them under heavy yoke—e know how. Power calculates on a long ge lest any of its victims show signs of ength, and preserves unremitting vigilance. sometimes, exhausted by the weight and pensiveness of a giant machinery of man-ughter it seeks to lessen the load for a while, th a start the great mistake is discovered. preserve full faith in its glory, violent power s now realised the unlimited need of weapons massacre. History offers no parallel to the ful watchfulness of violence with its deadly s spread in sea, land and air; the civilised vers of the West advance in military forma-n raising innumerable arches of homicidal tory. None dares stop lest some one else al a march upon it.

In 1930 I went to Germany. That the tors had most certainly won was still being bed into the minds of the victims in diverse ys. On the tablet of historical memory they re trying to perpetuate humiliation in black The defeated countries with their limbs up and divided, were made to remember ir crippled condition. Grosser stupidity m the point of view of political self-interest not be conceived. But this mentality befits te force—it must enjoy its ego-lust. Mer-ss vindictiveness blinds its judgment and se of right. It was proved that victory does pacify the violent anger of the victor; its agery becomes more inflamed. I was then ught into contact with the youth of Ger-y, my whole mind was attracted to them. y were determined to lead their country ards a noble fulfilment. No anger was e, nor hatred, but the urge of new creation. th's triumph over barbarism depends on fulfilment, but the power of violence which arbaric prevents people from their natural tion and delights in insulting man's anity. It was this power which at last g youthful Germany into a violent reaction made it take to its own savage ways. In centre of Europe was created a huge rchy of violence.

Blind power has spread an acquies-inertia all over our land, in Europe the e power creates hard aggressive inertia. Picture limned in pale lines will not strike eye, but the incessant tussle of violence in pe has today become crudely manifest. who reaps the harvest of one war, we have does not forget to sow the seeds of her.

Today war has come in full flood, the whirl-wind of destruction has struck numerous sails of violent Nations. Some side or other will get temporary results which it will call victory. After that will proceed the cultivation of thorns to inflict wounds on humanity. That is why I say, whether of this or the other side, whose victory could I desire? Victory in any case would mean the triumph of violence.

I am not a politician. Our political leaders imagine that if we assisted the ruling power in this war, we might gain some reward. To render such assistance would be in the nature of a bar-gain. It could not be an act of friendship; long years have passed but the occasion for cultivating such relations has not arisen. We have not felt that the rulers trusted us, but encountered hard glances of suspicion. Ter-mination of the war will not record the triumph of friendliness but of might. Might would regard the expression of gratitude as a burden, the sense of responsibility and modesty result-ing from such acknowledgement would be extremely irksome for it. After the last war India experienced this. Just when the moment arrived for settling accounts, whipping, caning, jails, fines, troops and punitive police also came thick and fast.

The spectacle provided by a country which is ruled by force is mournfully familiar to us. Doubtless that spectacle is familiar also to the power whose royal umbrella casts its shadow all over the land. Millions are suffering from semi-starvation, illiteracy, lack of medical help; drinking water is polluted or dried up; where communications are badly needed, roads and waterways are non-existent. Persons seated on high pedestals might plead cultivated ignorance of such facts; if so, such ignorance, we shall know, is symptomatic of the rule of force. What our country lacks, I have mentioned; but what is very much there, is the communal prob-lem. Originating in weakness, it thrives on low vitality, and this condition becomes chronic where all responsibility is taken away. The machinery for administration, fed with oil and coal, thrives under the ruler's own protection; those who are being administered, however, con-tinue to go short of food and dress. The machine must live, unharmed.

Countries, benevolently governed by their own people, offer a contrast to our conditions. Numerous ranks of the unemployed are main-tained by the State; sacrificing a nation's vitali-ty by allowing starvation, would be intolerable to a political system which is not based on mere force, but on co-operation. In the realm of

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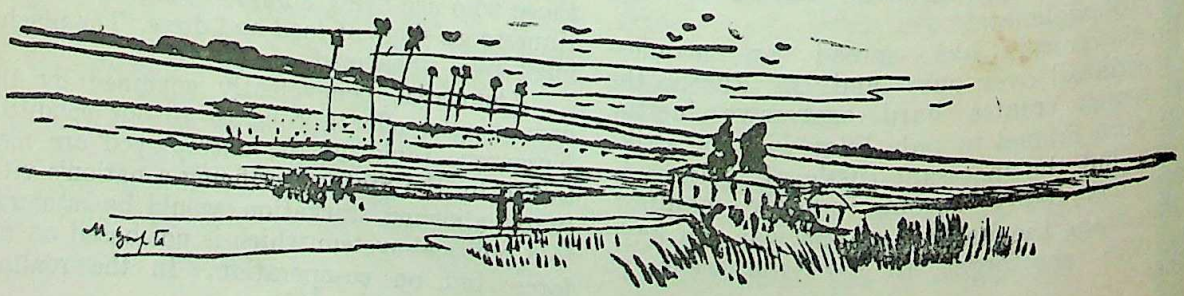
physical and mental needs, in knowledge and action, all sorts of beneficence abound; slightest want would attract comment in such countries. Where, due to the miserly nature of the rulers, friendly relations with the people are brushed aside, perseverance is devoted to making political control complete. But, power in its blind aggressiveness does not realise that cruel, barren, humiliating relationship between man and man can never last; the time comes when the inner heat becomes unbearable and fetters are broken asunder. How truth will effect the change from force to friendliness, I cannot specify : but that the powers, arrogant with victory, will feel less inclined to offer us concessions is not difficult for me to guess. Authority, feeling safe, will discover itself to be firmly fixed for ever.

Earl Baldwin, in a lecture delivered in America, has tried to explain that the democratic form of government, which is British, is far superior in high idealism to the totalitarian form which belongs to Germany. The root difference between totalitarianism and democracy is that democracy recognises the dignity and individual liberty which man, as the son of God, can claim. According to him, the all-uniting divine dispensation that lies behind democracy is, in days of crisis, a better support than all external urgencies.

In political discussions, politicians do not usually refer to divine dispensations. Because, in establishing divine law they would have to do so in time and place, and on a world-wide basis. If a particular system belongs to divine order then such a system is not for England alone, we too have an equal place in it. Being human, and sons of God, we too can claim respect for our dignity and freedom in a righteous system. If such things are denied to us in the political realm, then it is not right, at least, to take God's name in decrying totalitarian politics. Political principles can be confined to one's own nation, but God's purpose cannot be confined. Regarding his nation's ideals, Earl Baldwin says, "these ideals require men of their own free will to co-operate with God himself in the raising of mankind." The idea of co-operation with God may naturally arise when goodwill is dominant within one's own racial sphere; but it cannot be at all natural, when ruling other races by force, to think of joining God himself in raising men. In fact, we have got proof to the contrary. We do not feel any enthusiasm, therefore, when our rulers profess devotion to democratic principles in talking to their relations; but it hurts our ears when they invoke God's name in this connection.

The question remains : which way lies our goal. The path that big nations are insanely pursuing is undoubtedly closed to us. It is doubtful where even the mighty ones will reach in their race. This only can be said, mysterious are the ways of history. Even the sorrows of the weak have been known to prick a hole in the ship of the powerful. In history, wars and struggles are not the only opportunities; the despair of the betrayed also attracts favourable occasions—from where they might come I cannot say just now. It is because we cannot clearly indicate this, that the sudden advent will one day overwhelm the mighty powers. It is those unfortunate people for whom the friendly road is closed by thorns and the road of war also obstructed, who cast their eyes with intense longing on the unexpected ways of Providence. But we are not reassured when those who force down other races in the spheres of politics, and go on increasing machinery for manslaughter in war, take the excuse of God's name on their lips. Taking God's own name we shall say that though we may seem, from outside, to be helpless, yet we are not helpless. In the world of men where we live, disinterested humanity which recognizes us as its own will, from somewhere, come and join our side. What, otherwise, is the meaning of Providence ?



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STUDY OF HISTORY

By GOPE GUR-BAX

LARGE gathering of distinguished scholars n all parts of India is expected at the eenth session of the Indian Historical ords Commission which will be held in cutta on December 13th and 14th next. His ellency the Governor of Bengal will open public meeting of the Commission.

The Historical Records Commission dates k to 1860, but the first body was short-d. The present Commission was brought existence in 1919 and has till now held 15 lic meetings. Although the Commission been in existence for well-nigh a score of s, few people know or care to learn the ct with which it has been created, the ns it employs to further this end and the ess, if any, that has crowned its efforts.

The object of the Commission as its name f suggests is to further the study of history, indeed, by the publishing of text-books or training of schoolmasters, but by stimulat- historical research and by finding out and loguing all materials that may one day e useful in writing a fuller history of India. Government of India early realised the ortance of the records in their custody as material for history and the necessity of ing them accessible to scholars. The ancy of all this will certainly not be rent to one who cannot realise the tical value of a study of history.

It is not easy to define history. It means record of the life of societies of men, of the ges which those societies have gone ugh, of the ideas which have determined actions of those societies and of the mate- conditions which have helped or hindered r development. It is a kind of knowledge ch is useful to man in daily life. "The and scope of all history being" as Sir ter Raleigh says, "to teach us by example imes past such wisdom as may guide our es and actions."

The scope of history has gradually widened it has come to include every aspect of the of humanity. The growth of nations, re- s among the most engrossing themes of historian; but now he casts his net wider includes the whole record of civilization. influence of nature, the pressure of economic factors, the origin of ideas, the contribution of art and science, religion and philosophy, literature and law, the material conditions of life, the fortunes of the masses,—such problems now claim his attention in an equal degree. He must see life steadily and see it whole.

We search the past records of mankind, in order that we may learn wisdom for the present and hope for the future.

Progress has recently been made in modern historical research by limiting aims, by increasing objectivity and by abandoning vain speculation. The results are already remarkable. We have now economic history, political history, military history, administrative history, and various others. There are persons who believe in the spiritual interpretation of history. Says G. O. Unwin:

> "I hold that the central and ultimate object of history is the development of the inward possessions and experiences of men, through religion, art, literature, science, music, philosophy, but above all, through the deepening and widening of ordinary social communications."

There is no utilitarian value in knowledge of the past. There is no way of scientifically deducing universal laws about the action of human beings in the mass. In short the value of history is not scientific. Its true value is educational. It can educate the minds of men by causing them to reflect on the past. In the words of Lord Acton:

> "If the past has been an obstacle and a burden, knowledge of the past is the safest and surest emancipation."

A two-fold task lies before the historian. One-half of his leisure is the discovery of truth and the other half its presentation. The historian finds out what the life of a given society was by means of the records it has left behind it. These records are of many kinds: a temple and a tomb, a picture and a monument are just as much records as documents and in some cases these are the only records we have. The historian has to state the truth as it appears to him. He has to combine his facts and to construct something out of them.

That which compells the historian to scorn

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delights and live laborious days is the ardour of his own curiosity to know what really happened long ago in that land of mystery which we call the past. To peer into the magic mirror and see fresh figures there every day is a burning desire that consumes and satisfies him all his life, that carries him each morning, eager as a lover, to the library and muniment room. It haunts like a passion of almost terrible potency because it is poetic. The dead were and are not. Yet they were once as real as we, and we shall to-morrow be shadows like them. In man's first astonishment over that unchanging mystery can be traced the origins of poetry, philosophy and religion. From it too is derived in modern times this peculiar call of spirit, the style of intellectual curiosity that we name the historical sense.

"It is the fact about the past that is poetic; just because it gathers round it all the inscrutable mystery of life and death and time. Let the science and research of the historian find the fact and let his imagination and art make clear its significance,"

rightly observes G. M. Trevelyan in *The Present Position of History*.

To imagine the past correctly we must picture it in its minutest details. The document is a means and not an end; the researcher's thread must find its place one day in the historian's papestry; the brick maker is well enough, but the edifice of history calls for an architect as well—an architect who, as Professor Trevelyan says, "must quarry his own stones and build with his own hands."

The relation between historical knowledge and the life of modern society is too close to make it credible that the study of the past will even be allowed to become the monopoly of a select coterie of pedants. And this means that the layman and the specialist must in the long run find and maintain contact. Some modern historians have treated technicalities in English, it is a distinction to have written and a pleasure to read. And that needless to remark, is only another way of saying that they have written what the plain man can understand.

The conversion of public opinion to commonsense make us hope that one day history will prevail over public opinion.

It is of the first importance to the nation and to the world that every citizen should study history and study it intelligently. There can be no peace now, we realise, but a common peace in all the world; no prosperity but a general prosperity. But there can be no common peace and prosperity without common historical ideas. Without such ideas to hold them together in harmonious co-operation, with nothing but narrow selfish and conflicting nationalist traditions, races and peoples are bound to drift towards conflict and destruction. Our internal politics and our economic and social ideas are profoundly vitiated at present by wrong and fantastic ideas of the origin and historical relationship of social classes. "A sense of history as the common adventure of all mankind," observes Wells, "is as necessary for peace within as it is for peace between the nations." It is important, then, to have in every nation students of history to supply true history; therefore, there must be facilities for such students in universities and great libraries, and they must be employed by the State to work at the mass of material that luckily exists for the study of national history. Research ought not to be starved. Libraries ought to be supplied for other than popular recreation, and universities ought not to be considered as mere stepping-stones in the material success of our sons. Research workers ought to be enabled to study and give us their results. We need not be afraid that their results lack practical use. Such men are not expensive; they only need the wages of going on; but among them there have been and there will be men whom India may be proud of.

Many private persons specially representatives of Historical families possess documents of first rate importance, sometimes unique in their nature for the reconstruction of India's past annals; and rightly Sir Jadunath Sarkar, our eminent historian, observes:

"Unless these resources are made known and made available to scholars it would be as impossible to write the true and full history of India as it would be to write the History of England without using the papers in possession of the Cecil and Walsingham, Buckingham and Grenville families."

It is here that the Indian Historical Records Commission comes in. Its object is to hunt for and to catalogue all historical records and to print and publish those of importance. Such materials luckily are not lacking. But all are not to be found in Government Record Offices, although the Imperial Records Department has in its custody a huge quantity of records occupying a shelf-space of 46,000 running feet.

The present writer has had occasion to visit Sind as a delegate of the Kamshet Historical Conference, in order to examine the

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sibility of fully tapping its private sources material. As he has tried to point out in his er to be read at the forthcoming meeting of Commission, a great many of these ancient valuable manuscripts are thrown away or damaged owing to the ignorance of their owners. The nation has lost much, but the loss ought not to be more. The owners of the manuscripts ought to be taught the priceless-ness of their heritage.

NEW LIGHT ON AN OLD PROBLEM

The Origin of the Buddha Image *

By Professor SUNITY KUMAR CHATTERJI, M.A., D.Litt.

One of the most vexed problems in Indian Art Iconography is the origin of the Buddha Image. is connected with both the question of the influence ellenistic art on the indigenous art of India and that of the development of ancient Indian—hinical, Buddhist, and Jain—iconography in al. The thesis of Foucher that the Buddha Image ated in India through the foreign Hellenistic and ana influence in the early centuries of the Christian as so long been in favour among European students dian art, as a sort of "official" theory which its allegiance to the European sense of iority identifying itself with the spirit of ancient e and with its achievements. But Dr. Coomara-y first questioned this thesis as a historian of nd since Dr. Coomaraswamy's brilliant article on *Origin of the Buddha Image* (*Art Bulletin*, IX, 1927), the problem has taken a different orienta-No one would now seriously question the indi-s Indian origin of the Buddha Image in the face e documents and arguments put forward by Dr. araswamy. European students of Indian Art, are slowly accepting the view that the typical as well as the standing figure of the Buddha atti-had its origin within the tradition of Indian Art, the beginnings of this tradition can certainly be to the pre-Aryan culture of the Panjab and , as figures on Mohen-jo-Daro seals would testify. does not, of course, diminish the importance of Hellenistic Art of Gandhara in influencing the Art rindia, China, Korea and Japan, and we cannot ook Hellenistic elements in the Art of Mathura of the subsequent ages within India itself. The point is that the Buddha figure, one of the most icant and most characteristic symbols in religious ht and religious art, like the idea of Yogic medita-is of Indian origin.

This matter being first established, the question presents itself next, naturally enough, is how is it that in the history of Buddhist Art in India, the figure of the Buddha is conspicuous by its absence in the oldest remains of this art which are left to us. There is deliberate omission of the Buddha figure in Bharhut and Sanchi and in Bodh Gaya, where we have considerable remains of the oldest *historical* art of India. Here the existing monuments which give us merely the sequence in formal representation must be supplemented by the texts, particularly contemporary ones, which both give the theory and testify as to the practice. Dr. Coomaraswamy himself has given brilliant instances of both texts and actual art-remains support-ing each other in the unfolding of ancient religion and culture, art and iconography in India. In the present work Mr. Gangoly, too, has followed this method, with some positive results of very great importance in the evolution of Indian religion and art.

Mr. Gangoly has quoted a significant passage from the Pali canon—the *Brahmajala-sutta* of the *Digha-nikaya* (I, 73) which lays down that while during his life-time the Buddha was visible, after his death he is no longer visible : "on the dissolution of his body, beyond the end of his life, neither gods nor men shall see him." (*Kayassa bheda uddham jivita-pariyadana na dakkhinti deva-manussa*). Mr. Gangoly thinks that this passage, in an indirect manner, lays down an injunction against the representation of the Buddha in art, since with the dissolution of his body no one can see him, and he passes, according to the orthodox com-mentator to the Pali canon, Buddhaghosa, into "the non-apprehensible state" (*appannattika-bhavam*), the faithful should not attempt to depict his portrait in painting or sculpture. Hence the sculptors of Bharhut and Sanchi in the 2nd century B.C. never sought to portray him at all—they simply indicated his presence by symbols like the two foot-prints. This usage, or tradition continued down to at least the 3rd century A.D., as Mr. Gangoly has shown from some Amaravati and Nagarjunikonda sculptures.

But personal devotion to the Buddha, which made his disciples offer flower and garlands to him even during his life-time, was a sentiment which could not be checked; and there was lack of neither apologists for this kind of personal devotion to the Buddha nor incidents in the life of the Master who himself had to acquiesce in this kind of intense personal love for him among some of his disciples, although on the whole he disapproved of these things. In this way, the cult of devotion to the Buddha through his relics and through images gradually developed, which comletely ignored

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* *The Antiquity of the Buddha Image* : The Cult the Buddha : By Ordhendra Coomar Gangoly. rated with a Photogravure Frontispiece and Ten ings. To be had of Messrs. Luzac & Co., 41, Russell Street, London, and A. N. Gangoly, d Post Office Street, Calcutta. Price Rupees six annas eight. (Foreign : Six shillings, or One r and Fifty cents).

The late Sister Nivedita also questioned it—s before Dr. Coomaraswamy did so.—Ed., *M. R.*

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the mentality behind the aniconism of early Buddhist Art. Relic worship was the first stage in the evolution of the cult of the Buddha figure, and relic worship had received an impetus from the beginning—it was in fact one of the oldest cults of India coming down from pre-Aryan times. The aniconism of the extreme section of the early Buddhists, which had some thing of the Wahhabi and the Puritan in it, gradually, had to yield to a religion of personal devotion in which relics and images were bound to have an important place.

So, as Mr. Gangoly has shown by quoting early Buddhist texts, the cult of the Buddha Image gradually became established. Probably, it was by 50 B.C. that it received the sanction of the Buddhist hierarchy when authoritative canonical texts were made to recommend Buddha-worship through images. The *Mahavastu* is one such text. Others followed and the oldest Buddha images belong to the 1st century B.C. and 1st century A.D.

Religion and dogma change, and with them the ideals and methods of the art which serve them. The aniconic ideal and method of Buddhist Art thus changed to the iconic within a couple of centuries. Nagasena, the Buddhist teacher, who discoursed on Buddhism before the Indo-Greek King Menander in the 2nd century B.C. (c. 150 B.C.), "commented on the absurdity of the worship of the Bowls or the Robe of the Buddha, not to speak of the worship of His Image." So the worship of the Buddha Image would appear to have come in as early as the 2nd century B.C., if the passage concerned in the *Milinda-panha* giving the conversation between Nagasena and Menander is genuine.

In Mr. Gangoly's paper we have thus a very plausible suggestion made about the circumstances which brought about the advent of the Buddha Image in Indian Art. It was the result of an inner urge, the outward expression of a religious craving, which took help of the age-old art-forms which were evolved on the soil of India, as Dr. Coomaraswamy demonstrate and not something exotic, the gift of the foreign Greek to the Indian religion they adopted.

Dr. Benimadhab Barua in his *Bharhut*, (Bk. III pp. 70, 76, Calcutta, 1937) has given an explanation o the absence of the Buddha Image at Bharhut an Sanchi from the point of view of the Buddhist philoso phy of art. The Buddha idea, as some of the texts i the Pali canon declare, is *lokottara, i.e.*, Supramundane it is even beyond the formless (*arupatita*), even beyon the formless divinity (*arupa-brahmatita*). Therefor it cannot and should not be represented in huma terms. This ideal has been followed by the artists o Bharhut and Sanchi and if they put down a couple o foot-prints for the Buddha, it is just a concession t the limitations of art, in which these symbols a unavoidable to narrate the story. But although th Buddha idea is formless, the attributes of the Buddha- his personality, his dress, etc.—can be imagined an actually depicted by art, although such imaginings an depictions are *avatthuka,* without any material o positive basis, and *manamattaka,* purely a mental pro cess. So an image of the Buddha from this point o view has no historical value, it is only a formal artisti expression of an idea; for after the Buddha entere *nirvana*, all the physical attributes of his person passe away for ever. This is the proper interpretation, as D Barua tells me, of the *Brahmajalasutta* passage quote by Mr. Gangoly. From this aspect, namely, that Buddha Image is just a play of the imagination, Bu dhist Images can have a justification from Buddhi philosophy. But this is of course a matter for abstra speculation, which might have had something to d with the advent of the Buddha Image. The historic sequence presented by the extant remains of art an by the sacred texts is clear, and convincing: an herein, Mr. Gangoly has contributed something positi in the unravelling of the problem of the Buddha Ima and its origin.

TO THE YOUTH OF INDIA

By DAVID IAN MACDONALD

Can you not vision, oh youth, a day
When you will come into your own ?
A day when dreams will be realised
And rough ore be transmuted into gold ?

When the weary peasant will raise his eyes
Aloft to the burning summer skies,
See a single cloud and take new hope
To grasp his plough with a firmer grip ?

This vision encourages weary feet
For enthusiasm can grow old.
Knowledge is difficult to acquire
And men are indifferent and cold.
But the flaming brand of light is
yours, oh youth,
Lead the way and never tire.
Though the dust and struggle prove great
Lead on, oh youth, in high endeavour.

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HAS THERE BEEN EXAGGERATION IN THE NUMBER OF MOHAMMEDAN INFANTS AT THE BENGAL CENSUS OF 1931 ?

By AMAL CHANDRA GHATAK, M.A.

URING the last fifty years (1881-1931) the Iohammedans have increased by 51·2 per ent; while the Hindus have by 22·9 per cent nly. This broad fact throws a heavy cloud darkness upon many of the exaggerations mmitted by, or in the interests of the ohammedans and scares away closer scrutiny.

There are reasons to suppose that the Iohammedans have exaggerated the number infants, *i.e.*, those aged 0-1, at the time of e last Census in 1931.

The respective numbers of the Hindu and e Mohammedan infants enumerated at the st three censuses are given below:

ar of Census.	Number of Infants, aged 0-1. Hindu.	Mohammedan.
1911	638,972	784,223
1921	597,981	769,068
1931	694,095	967,563

That the number of Mohammedan infants ill be greater than those among the Hindus to be expected, for the total number of the Iohammedans is greater than that of the indus. To eliminate the effect of the greater mber of the Mohammedans, we show in the ble below the proportion of Mohammedan ants and of *all* Mohammedans to Hindus le by side.

ar of Census.	Proportion of— Mohammedan Infants to 100 Hindu Infants.	Mohammedans to 100 Hindus.
1911	122·7	115·9
1921	128·6	122·5
1931	139·4	125·2

It will be seen that among the Mohamedans, the proportion of infants is *greater* an their proportion in the population. Conde that for social and other causes there is a *lative excess* of infants among the Mohamedans; then this relative excess would be *nstant*. Let us see what we actually find at e last three censuses.

ar of Census.	Relative Excess of Infants.
1911	6·8 per cent.
1921	6·1 „ „
1931	14·1 „ „

The relative excess in 1911 and in 1921 was about 6·5 per cent; and may be said to be constant. In 1921 although there were lesser number of infants among both the Hindus and the Mohammedans than in 1911, as a result of the death of many mothers during the Influenza epidemics of 1918 and 1919, the relative excess was much the same as in 1911. But in 1931 the relative excess jumped to 14·1, something *more than twice* the relative excess found either in 1911 or in 1921. The census figures for infants in 1931 must be, to say the least, considered extremely doubtful.

In the decade 1911-1921, the actual difference between the increase calculated from the returns of vital occurrences, *i.e.*, the births and deaths registered, and the increase actually recorded at the census of 1921 over that of 1911, was less than 530,000 compared on the present occasion, 1921-1931, with a discrepancy of almost 1,830,000. In the decade ending in 1921 the vital statistics failed to account for *41 per cent* of the actual increase recorded. On the present occasion they fail to account for *54 per cent* of the recorded increase. Two conclusions are possible:—(*i*) that the census returns are inaccurate, or (*ii*) that the vital statistics are incomplete. The Census Superintendent of 1931 says :

> "The result is clearly due to incomplete returns of births whether or not accompanied also by incomplete returns of death." (See Bengal Census Report, 1931, Pt. I., p. 10).

But then we have to suppose that in spite of the strenuous efforts of the Bengal Public Health Department during the whole of the decade 1921-1931, the registration of births and deaths became *less* accurate by 32 per cent than that during the previous decade ! Especially as the efforts of the Public Health Department were continuous and steady, while the census enumeration was casual. The registration of births and deaths is incomplete no doubt; but at the same time the census enumeration in 1931 was also inaccurate.

The number of births (exclusive of still-

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births) registered during the years 1929 and 1930 in the undermentioned districts were :

District.	Year.	Male.	Female.	Total.
Midnapore	1929	44,950	42,701	87,651
	1930	38,208	36,017	74,225
Mymensingh	1929	61,627	56,292	117,919
	1930	60,944	55,246	116,190

(See Bengal Public Health Reports 1929, and 1930 Annual Form No. I).

In both the years, as a test of the accuracy of the registration of vital occurrences a certain number of births and deaths was verified by the Vaccination Inspection Staff. The results are tabulated below :

BIRTHS.

District.	Year.	Number Examined.	Number of Omissions Detected.	Percentage of Omissions.
Midnapore	1929	1,844	88	4·77
	1930	3,314	60	1·81
Mymensingh	1929	2,576	48	1·86
	1930	17,373	140	0·80

It will be seen from the above that there was progressive increase in the accuracy of registration; and that the order of inaccuracy was about 5 per cent. It will also be seen that the registration is far more complete in Mymensingh than in Midnapore. Again in 1930 about one-tenth of the births were verified in Mymensingh; and the omissions found to be less than 1 per cent.

Those who were born in 1929 and in 1930 may be expected to be enumerated at the time of the census (26th February, 1931) in the age-categories of 0-1, and 1-2. From the Bengal Census Report, 1931, Pt. II, Tables, pp. 40 & 51, we find the respective numbers to be:

District.	Age.	Male.	Female.	Total.
Midnapore	0-1	37,428	38,465	75,893
	1-2	30,725	33,031	63,756
Mymensingh	0-1	93,061	94,095	187,156
	1-2	67,810	72,974	140,784

Allowing for omissions to register, and infantile deaths, the number of births registered cover the census enumeration for Midnapore. But even allowing for omissions to register, and *assuming that there were no deaths among infants*, the number of births registered in Mymensingh is far less than the census enumeration. This can only be due to exaggeration in the number of infants; especially as there has been no large scale immigration into Mymensingh.

We have chosen Midnapore and Mymensingh as examples, as they are the two largest districts in Bengal, one with a population of 28 lakhs, and the other with 51 lakhs. In Midnapore, the proportion of the Hindus is 89·1 per cent; while in Mymensingh the proportion of the Mohammedans is 76·6 per cent. Thus they are representative of Hindu shyness to record vital occurrences, and Mohammedan love of exaggeration.

We are strengthened in our conclusion by the following considerations. The respective numbers of married females of the reproductive age-period 15-40 in 1921 were 32 lakhs 53 thousand among the Hindus; and 44 lakhs 32 thousand among the Mohammedans. From the respective numbers of infants in 1921, we get 184 infants per 1,000 married females of the reproductive age-period among the Hindus and 173 infants per 1,000 among the Mohammedans. In 1931 the respective numbers of married females of the reproductive age-period 15-40, were 39 lakhs 68 thousand among the Hindus; and 49 lakhs 73 thousand among the Mohammedans. From the number of infants as given in the census of 1931, we get 175 infants per 1,000 married females among the Hindus; and 194 infants per 1,000 among the Mohammedans.

The proportion of infants among the Hindus has decreased from 184 to 175—a decrease of 4·9 per cent—not unlikely in view of the hard economic conditions leading to separation between the husband and the wife, the husband earning money at a considerable distance from home; and the increasing prevalence of birth-control among the middle classes.

But in the case of the Mohammedans the proportion of infants has increased from 173 to 194—an increase of 12·1 per cent. Economic conditions were equally hard for both the communities. To what then is this increase due ?

Nothing is easier than to exaggerate the number of infants. The enumerator makes a preliminary census about two months in advance, and fills in all the necessary details. This is occasionally checked by the Charge Superintendents. When the enumerator comes for the final enumeration, it is very easy to say that an infant has been born during the intervening period; the fictitious child will be recorded as the enumerator is too busy to check the truth or otherwise of the assertion made. The fictitious child is enumerated, increases the total of the *halka*, and is passed on to the Charge Superintendent. He too counts him and sends him to the District Office; and so he increases the Provincial total.

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THE ENIGMA OF THE SOVIET-GERMAN PACT

By A. M. BOSE

ALL the many problems which have been ted by the present war, none seems to be e baffling, more difficult to estimate at its value than the pact of Neutrality that has concluded between Nazi Germany and et Russia. What are its full implications? t are the real intentions of Stalin in coming n understanding with Germany? Did he de Poland in order to call a halt to Hitler's h further East and thus cut off the abun- supplies of corn and petroleum from his , or is he on the contrary prepared to col- rate with Hitler and really help him to these s? Is he in mighty fear of Hitler as zky is again telling the world, or is he tening Hitler and hopes to bring about ownfall? Will he be satisfied with the tion of Poland or has he more ambitious ? Did he since long have a secret under- ing with Hitler as asserted by the red ral Kiriwizki or did he suddenly turn to him se the Western Powers did not offer him complete security against Nazi aggression h he demanded? These and many other ions rise to one's mind as one tries to der this problem arising out of the Soviet- an Pact dispassionately.

Of one thing we may be sure. Stalin may changed his means to suit altered circum- es, but he has not changed by an iota his te aim. And that aim is to bring about mmunistic revolution in Germany. To that aim, Stalin will make use of any s that appears handy to him. And the of events up to date in Central Europe he Baltic Provinces proves beyond any that Stalin has outmanœuvred Hitler all the line. Could there be a greater irony tory than that Hitler, the author of *Mein* should liquidate almost overnight the st of German Culture in the East, the of centuries? The haste with which is acquiring strategic bases—naval and —along the Baltic coast, shows that he ot trust Hitler and is throwing out defen- nes in order to counter successfully any German aggression. That he has thereby ticulously respected the sovereign rights smaller neighbouring countries is unfor- ly true. It would however be wrong to suppose that the U. S. S. R. is going the way of Tsarist Russia and intends to conquer these countries. Russia has genuine fear of Germany and Leningrad was dangerously exposed to attack by a Foreign Power dominating the Eastern Baltic.

In Poland Soviet Russia did something which at first seems a bit baffling. She has voluntarily retired 200 Kilometers east of the original demarcation line that was previously settled between Germany and Russia, and on the face of it, it looks like a triumph for Germany. But through this self-imposed moderation Soviet diplomacy has only shewn its far-sightedness. Russia has occupied only that part of Poland which is inhabited by white Russians and Ukrainians, races that are near kins to the Russians, and has left to the Germans the unenviable task of absorbing the Poles if they can. In the event of victory for the Western Powers, it would be far more difficult for Soviet Russia to keep her conquests, if she had annexed lands inhabited by Poles; her voluntary renunciation which seems like a German victory, shows only that in Moscow one reckons with the possibility of a victory for the Democratic Powers.

The temptation to force Rumania who surely to the great chagrin of the Germans has Russians as neighbours along the former Polish frontier—to cede Bessarabia, is indeed very strong for Russia. But it seems very likely that Russia will for the present renounce her claims on Bessarabia, in order not to force England to come to the help of Rumania and bring upon herself the enmity of the Western Powers. But Russia may perhaps round up her conquest of parts of Poland by annexing Ruthenia or "Carpatho-Ukraine", that piece of mountainous country that was forcibly taken away by Hungary from Czecho-Slovakia, after the September crisis last year. This seems possible. For this little country is culturally very close to Russia, and has for the first time acquired a common frontier with her great 'Slavonic Mother.' And she fought bravely but desperately against the invading Hungarian army last October. That Germany, with her present pre-occupations will come to the rescue

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of Hungary, in case Russia annexes Ruthenia, is very unlikely.

That South-Eastern Europe is frightened by the re-emergence of the Russian gaint is only too natural. Hungary has hastened to renew diplomatic relations with Moscow; and Yugoslavia, till recently decidedly anti-Russian in her foreign policy, is now normalising her relations with the U. S. S. R. But one should not exaggerate the dangers threatening Eastern Europe from the side of Russia. For one thing, peace on a firm basis has not yet been established between Russia and Japan; and further Russia does not want to fight, at least for the present. What she wants, she will try to get without fighting. Thanks to Hitler, she has realised many of her cherished political objectives, without firing a shot. In return for these solid gains, why should she not within certain well-defined limits and for strictly limited objectives express her solidarity with the Third Reich? Russia has no interest in helping the Western Powers to become too strong. She may therefore to a limited extent help Germany with raw materials, so that she does not capitulate too soon, before the time is ripe for a general upheaval, when both sides have exhausted themselves in war of mutual destruction. With her tongue in her cheek she may invoke the Goddess of Peace and together with Germany throw the odium for the continuation of the War on the Democracies, but in secret she will desire for the war to continue, so that the ground may be prepared for the spread of that world revolution, for which she has been all along working.

INDIA AND RURAL RECONSTRUCTION

Planning A Model Village

By Dr. R. H. GRACEFIELD, H.S.L., F.R.D.L. (U. S. A.)

Chief among the topics of national reconstruction is that of rural upliftment which has so far received no appreciable revival by the statesman, the educationist and the nationalist. Agriculture which is the chief industry of the villager is still a decade behind the current calendar year. Agriculture on which over 350 million souls survive, needs an extemporised reform and as an initial measure, free grants of lands to villagers are absolutely essential, in order that a farmer may be promoted to the status of a land-owner. Free periodical advice on technical matters, and exchange of confidence are bound to result in rapid practical progress. Reduction of land-taxes, free grants of useful seeds and plants, such as fruits and avenue plants are factors whose utility cannot be over exaggerated. Up-to-date implements and horses should be introduced in all agricultural farms in order to minimise the labour and time which in turn increase the quantity and quality of the output, resulting in the steady and early revival of the industry.

Industrialisation of the rural areas is the next momentous topic calling for reform. The impoverished economic state of the peasant can be fought down by the introduction of the hand-loom and the power-loom on a moderate scale and free practical tuition to the juvenile villager as Mahatma Gandhi observes. Weaving, dyeing and printing of cotton fabrics followed by periodical inspection by textile demonstrators will hitch the wagon to a star, in the solution of rural unemployment, with the simultaneous rise in the economic state of the industrialist.

Municipal reconstruction is the third feature needing attention. Remodelling of roads is of urgent value in consideration of the busy traffic conducted through the hamlet avenues throughout the day. The dust-storm arising after the passing of buses and cattle and the amount of dust inhaled by the villager suffice to suffocate him in no time. The rural roads require immediate tarring. Removal of huts and construction of small model-houses on a hygienic plan should be taken up by the Municipal authorities and Health Instructors should be posted to visit the hamlets every day to see that the people wash their clothes and bathe at least once a week. Directions should be given to cook the food hygienically in sterilised vessels and that none should be allowed to partake of the food before cleaning the teeth. Periodical Health-Inoculation service is essential for the hamlets and is important for the fact that whenever epidemics enter

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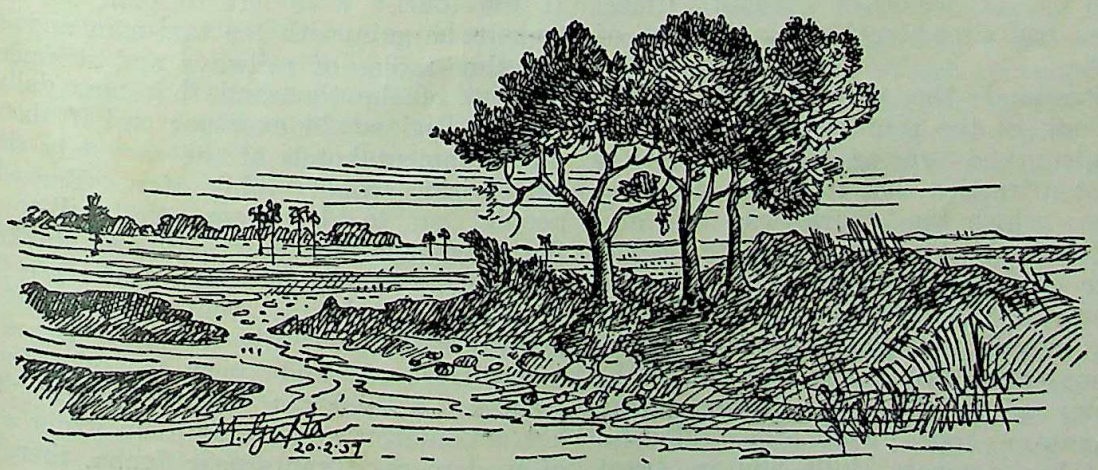
villages, the rural areas will be well-nigh rted as is illustrated by the statistics cted from the Department of Health in a. The constructin of lavatories away the dwelling houses will result in the ention of night soil or the excreta from ing the banks of the village ponds and s and the construction of cattle-sheds at a onable distance from the retiring chambers s an especial emphasis, in view of insuring gienic sleep. As drinking water is in most s obtained from the polluted ponds it is rtant to fit up underground pipes for the ly of pure pipe-water or at least the intro- ion of the system of filtration and boiling he pool-water will minimise the great n of unfiltered water.

Rural electrification is also a vital reform e brought about by the statesman. Villages so dark and so dense after sunset that ing is visible by the inhabitants who return e from far-off towns, through beaten ks, carrying heavy provisions, so much so any venomous animal is bound to be pled at the risk of human life.

Commercialisation of the hamlets will e of great aid both to the rural communi- and the townsman as it will result in the omic prosperity of the State. If moderate ngements are effected to establish petty s and provisions made accessible within municipal boundaries, much benefit can nsured. In this capacity the villager who thing more than a farmer, develops the ty of trading and comes into closer com- ial negotiations with the townsman, which ndoubtedly a form of rudimentary com- ial education. The revenue that a nercial hamlet contributes to the State any times more than a purely agricultural ge.

A literary campaign is the most essential step in the path of rural renaissance. At least free primary education is to be made compulsory for all villages without exception and to materialise this measure, the establishment of primary schools and the appointment of instructors are necessary. Short educational films on rural reconstruction can be taken and exhibited periodically which will easily attract all people towards education, on account of their novel pictorial appeal. Facilities should be provided to the ignored class to come into closer contact with the civilised world. It is the job of the teaching townsman to study the psychology of the taught and direct their energies in a profession or art by which daily bread can be earned more easily and to achieve this ideal there can be no stronger weapon than the introduction of compulsory primary education, which will enable the villager to represent his grievances in normal intelligible language without waste of time.

The villager who, through reconstruction is becoming an educated citizen, feels the necessity of some form of scientific physical exertion. The manual labourer in the fields, at the hand-loom or the power loom, requires mental relaxation and entertainment. A model village should have a recreation club on rudimentary lines. A football field will prove an excellent place for the cultivation of team-spirit. Apart from these recreational programmes, a primary physical culture course is important which every villager should be compelled to undergo. In the early introduction of these salutary reforms, the India Government will be responsible for having brought about national efficiency, by extemporising the solution of this momentous topic of the country.



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TOURIST TRADE

By J. N. SINHA

One of the most neglected institutions in India is that of trade in tourist traffic. India is a vast country and objects of the highest scenic and educative value exist from end to end, yet there is little facility of touring. True, there has been gradual expansion of the railway and in more recent times the motor car has roused many a sleepy hamlet. But that organisation, quite a commonplace in most other parts of the world, which, in the words of Stevenson, will make you "go, not to go anywhere, but to go" is yet in the embryonic stage. You reach Calcutta quite comfortably, but the task is yours to find out what to see in Calcutta and how to see it. It is almost impossible for a tourist of modest money and time to do the sight-seeing properly. And when it comes to seeing Kashmir, for example, the tourist's difficulties overwhelm him. The typical tourist is a spoilt child. He does not like to be bothered with having to do things for himself. By his own standards he has a lot of money too and is prepared to pay for service. He will go if he is taken. He will go again if he is looked after. But he will not cook the pudding.

Travelling is universally recognised as the better part of education. There are countless people who are waiting to travel if facilities are provided. Travel, further, is a great means of circulation of money and thereby of the increase of the country's wealth. Yet there need not be a charitable institution to aid the building up or expansion of tourist traffic. Big business has elsewhere been built out of tourist traffic.

In Switzerland the tourist traffic is the principal plank of the country's revenues. Its scenic grandeur and bracing climate doubtless have a great attraction, but it is the ease and facility with which the tourist can live and move about there that really makes him come. The number of finely kept-up hotels is legion —in the towns every other building seems to be a hotel, in villages almost every house. Beautiful motor roads thread in and out of the mighty Alpine gorges, funicular railways run up the mountain tops, while the colourful comfort of lake steamers lulls you in sweet enchantment. The different forms of transport are co-ordinated. The tourist agency takes your affairs into its own hands and you are taken through trips planned with care and imagination within a very reasonable compass of time and money. The word is yours—the tourist agency does the rest. All hill-tops or little vantage spots have been developed through conveniences of transport and halt into tourist pilgrimages—such places indeed as, but for the comfort with which you reach them and the care you receive throughout, you would not have dreamt of going to. To Mt. Rigi, for instance, the tourist is taken, starting from Lucerne at a convenient hour in the afternoon, first in a lake steamer through delightful surroundings, followed by a thrilling ascent up the hill-top. Right at the hill-top are hotels to make you feel at home from home. There are arrangements for snow sports but little else to see except that the top commands a grand panoramic view of the countryside—all hill-tops will do so. You well-nigh begin to wonder what you came for when the mountain railway calls you for descent; and you are taken back to Lucerne amidst the welcome scintillations of the myriads of twinkling lights at their toilet in the mirror of the lake. When you lie in bed you review the day's outing and though the objective may have disappointed you, the sum total satisfies you and you think the money and time have been well spent—it was good to go. If the tourist were left to plan out his own trip, to bargain with the taxi-man and look up the time-tables of railways and steamers only ten out of the thousand that now daily flock to Mt. Rigi would ever go; and if there were no convenient hotels at the top, only the rare enterprising would think of it. For what do people go to Uetliberg, the hill-top near Zürich, except that they are just taken there by obliging transport agencies and are looked after? One day I went to see the much spoken-of Rhine Falls at the extreme north of Switzerland and near the German Swiss frontier. I think the Jonha Falls of Ranchi are not inferior—only that there is not a bunch of modern restaurants near Jonha, there is not

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fine promenade round it, no railway bridge ossing it, no publicity, and no commercialisa- on. Parts of Chota Nagpur are as beautiful Switzerland, and Kashmir is no second. ut there is the difference in development.

Hotels and restaurants are a major indus- of Switzerland. In one year it brings in a venue of over 32 crore rupees. It finds ployment for countless persons. The trans- rt trade benefits proportionately. The tourists y various articles and thus the other trades a fillip. What a vast wealth pours into itzerland from all over the world! Yet, the tourist agencies, private or govern- ntal, withdraw their facilities, let them come less imaginative, let there be no organi- ion or planning of sight-seeing excursions, d this stream of wealth will quickly dry out.

From Dublin and Belfast (in Ireland) oughout the summer months smart cosy tor coaches radiate every day to all direc- ns taking tourists for sight-seeing. They erally start about 9 a.m. and return about m. (it is daylight till after 8 p.m.). Each has its own planned itinerary. There are ny itineraries to choose from. Some buses e more than one day when they go on tant round trips. Every bus has a trained ductor who will keep on explaining the ects of interest *en route* and by humorous es characteristic of the Irish he will keep passengers in fine humour throughout. He arrange for lunch and tea at convenient es and the entire itinerary turns out to be a chological perfection. The passenger has ing to think of except the scenes around Yet the charge is so little compared with it would be if the trip were independent- planned. There is also a city sight-seeing plying in Dublin. For a small charge you taken round and an experienced guide s and explains every object of interest.

From Glasgow and Edinburgh similarly es go daily to all parts of the famed tish Highlands. The bus companies supply s and descriptive pamphlets free of charge. roofs of buses slide in and the large glass dows contact you with Nature. To afford tection against chill breeze in the High- s the bus company provides passengers blankets. The itineraries are well planned. angements for lunch, tea and rest are quate. In certain cases there are co-ordi- d services of bus, lake steamer and rail- The longer trips take three or four days. such trips the tourist agency charges an ive rate for transport and board and lodging at convenient hotels. In fact from the moment you leave home and till the moment of your return you are entirely in the capable hands of the tourist agency and there is no care or anxiety whatsoever to spoil your holiday. Little wonder that a ceaseless flow of tourist traffic is maintained all the summer in the Highlands. And these Highlands are wild, very sparsely inhabited, of long distances. Unaided by these facilities few other than the determined and equipped tourist would think of going.

In Japan the touring facilities have gone a step further. In this respect Japan has copied Switzerland but characteristically excelled her. There is an official Japan Tourist Bureau with offices in all cities and towns. Offices are also located in the buildings of important railway stations. In addition, almost every municipality has its own tourist bureau. All these bureaus supply beautifully coloured maps of the places of interest (printed in Japanese and English) and descriptive pamphlets. You go to any tourist bureau and it will arrange your hotel accommodation, advise you about suitable hotels in other towns, give you complete information about places to see, the timings of buses and trains, will sell or buy you your tickets for the sight-seeing bus or for your railway journeys—in fact you place yourself in its hands and its officials will do every thing for you. They are courteous and prompt and anxious to help the tourist in all possible ways. All this of course without charge or obligation. In all important towns there are city sight-seeing buses which run daily and take you round the town and show and explain the places of note in the neighbourhood.

In Tokyo, for instance, a sight-seeing bus starts daily at 9 a.m. and completes its circuit by 6 p.m. On the day that I was availing myself of it two buses started, as there were more passengers than usual. We each had a map of the city and suburb showing the places of interest and the route of the bus. The conductor, a young girl bedecked with a smile of the suckling's arching lips, continuously talked explaining the objects *en route*. We halted at the more important places. In front of the Yashima Shrine a group photograph was taken of the passengers in the two buses. Lunch was arranged by the conductor at a small restaurant in the romantic surroundings of a temple on a hillock. At about 4 p.m. we were received at the bus company's office where O-cha (Japanese tea) was served to us with great hospitality. Copies of the group photo-

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graph, duly mounted and finished, were available for about four annas each and we all bought our copies. Courtesy and care received throughout the trip was of the highest degree.

In the folds of the Fuji Mountains motor roads and mountain railways have been built for the sole purpose of taking tourists round the enchanting views. From Miyanoshita sight-seeing buses travel regularly in several directions. I took one of the shorter trips that could be done within the day. Ticket was available at the Fujiya Hotel. The first part of the journey was done in mountain tramway. The second in cable railway ascending almost vertically up the hill. The third in motor bus to a volcanic hill top, Ojigoku. The bus left us there to do the sight-seeing, to buy picture post-cards or get ourselves photographed, and went back. In half an hour another bus came and took us down-hill to the Lake Hakone steamer. The lake is set in a bewitching landscape and as the small steamer shyly sought its way through the still blue waters it appeared almost conscious of trespassing into the preserves of the gods! In half an hour we arrived at the village of Moto Hakone. We visited shrines and ate lunch at a pretty Japanese restaurant. After two hours a bus took us back to Miyanoshita along a different road. The entire journey both ways could be done in a bus but the different forms of transport are co-ordinated just to provide thrill for the tourists. If only for the pleasure of such a picturesque and varied journey one would go. The charge is very small and one composite ticket is sold for the entire trip.

In Penang a cable railway has been built up a hill nearby. At the top are a comfortable hotel and restaurants. Hundreds of persons go up the top, look at the scene around, take refreshments and come down. The cable railway provides no utility service. Nor at the hill-top is there anything special to see or do. But merely because there is so much thrill and convenience in going up and down that hill it has become a pilgrimage of the passengers all the steamers that call at the port Penang. The cable railway has become source of great financial profit. Thus is dustry created, and an industry that mercy "blesseth him who gives and him takes".

The need of developing tourist traffic India, specially at this period of acute ployment, is paramount. Its possibilities the way of finding employment are unlimit Chota Nagpur, that little-known beauty sp offers a large field. Let some enterprising dividual or group put into form the roads fr Ranchi to Hundru and Jonha Falls, let th be sight-seeing buses doing a round trip ev day, let there be small restaurants at the t places, let somebody sell picture-postcards the beautiful scenes about—and see what nu bers go. At present the roads are bad there is no means of going except by speci hiring taxis or whole buses. Let there planned excursions from Darjeeling and Sh long. Let Kashmir develop a tourist bur on the lines of Japan. Let educated yo men in Calcutta (to quote the opinion of eminent journalist) train themselves up taxi-drivers *cum* guide-lecturers. They make a substantial income by taking round American and other tourists, for whom satisfactory sight-seeing arrangement ex Regular sight-seeing buses will become popular and paying.

The railways sometimes run conduc special trains. This is a move in the r direction but it needs expansion and impro ment. The innovation of "Travel-as-y like" tickets over certain railways goes so way, but the tourist is still left with most his worries. Let there be agencies to treat tourist as paying guest, let them undertake show him round and look after him, and th will be a ceaseless flow of tourist traffic life blood through the countryside.

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Book Reviews

Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in THE MODERN REVIEW. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.—Editor, THE MODERN REVIEW.

ENGLISH

WORLD ECONOMIC SURVEY, 1938-39 : *League Nations. 247 pages, in wrappers 6/- or $1.50; bound cloth 7/6 or $2.00.*

The League of Nations World Economic Survey, 3-39, was completed on the eve of the outbreak of tilities in Europe. It covers events up to the inning of August, 1939, and thus presents a picture he world economic situation up to the date of the inning of hostilities. During the first months of , the world was making a rapid recovery from the or depression with which it had been threatened in first half of 1938. This rapid reversal of economic litions may be ascribed in part to financial measures n in the United States of America and in other ntries in order to stimulate the lagging demand for ds and services. But in the main it was due to in- sed expenditure on armaments and war prepara- s.

This issue—the eighth in the series—includes a ber of special studies. One chapter for example, evoted to a study of the economic effects of recent ges in the trends of population.

A second chapter studies the problems of public nce, and examines the extent to which the costs of rmament have eaten into the national incomes of ous countries

The concluding chapter, entitled *The Economic cts of War Rearmament and Territorial Changes* marises the main theme of the volume. Economic uction in Spain and China and the reduction in standard of living in Japan as a result of war; economic effects of the territorial expansion of many; and the greatly increased intervention of State in economic affairs for the purposes of onal defence;—these are the main subjects of the ter. In various other chapters the growing im- ance of political tension and of rearmament is hasised in their effects on economic activity, on d trade, on hours of work and the demand for our, on budgetary and monetary policies, and on mercial relations between the nations.

The place which India occupies in world economy be roughly guessed from the space occupied in index by the entries relating to India compared that which the entries relating to Germany, n, etc., occupy. India occupies one-fourth of a n, Germany two columns, Japan a column and , etc.

SILVER JUBILEE COMMEMORATION VOLUME OF THE SARVAJANIK SOCIETY, SURAT : *Published by the Society. Crown 4to., pp. 172. Numerous illustrations. Price Rs. 2. It is a sumptuously got-up volume, printed on thick tinted paper.*

The volume gives a readable account of the progress of the Society which is the first and greatest of its kind in Gujarat. It conducts at present two Colleges, three High Schools, one High School for Girls, three Middle Schools, one Industrial School and one Drawing & Design Class. The constitution of the Society is similar to the constitution of the famous Deccan Education Society, Poona, and the Society depends entirely on public funds and the self-denying work both of the professors and public men. That is why the work and influence of men like Mr. C. G. Shah, founder of the Society, of Diwan Bahadur C. M. Gandhi and of principal N. M. Shah have figured prominently in the story of the Society. The book gives a faithful picture of one important feature and aspect of the cultural life of Gujarat during the last three decades and more.

X.

RE-THINKING CHRISTIANITY IN INDIA : *By a number of Writers. Published by A. N. Sudarisanam. Hogarth Press, Mount Road, Madras. Pages 267 with appendix 54 pages. Price Rs. 2-8.*

A group of Christians in Madras urged by the noble impulse of co-ordinating Christian ideals to Indian thought and traditions have written these essays on the occasion of the World Missionary Conference held at Tambaran, near Madras, at the end of 1938. From the very beginning of the expansion of Christianity, whenever people, convinced of sin, sacked refuge in the saving message of the Gospel, after submitting their intelligence and understanding to the new revelation and after surrendering their wills to the Divine Purpose, a further and a great task of relating the New Life to the Old Life had to be tackled. For Christianity presented itself to the world as a New Life, a new way of living. Was the Jew to give up all his customs and ways of living, or should he be selective and retain some and discard others? And if selection was to be applied what should be the principle of selection? And when Christianity came into contact with the Greek world, with the "wise men" of Greece and Asia Minor, how were the philosophers to adapt themselves to the demands of the New Life?

The fundamental issue was the same everywhere and remains the same today. Doctor Moffatt, in his Commentary on the first Epistle of Paul to the

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Christians at Corinth well summaries the issue in the following pregnant words: "Paul had learned (from accounts brought to him by friends from Corinth) that there was what he considered a dangerous friendliness between the Church and the world, a tendency on the part of some members to make the break with pagan society as indefinite as possible and to ignore the distinctiveness of Christianity in practice if not in principle. The Church was in the world, as it had to be, but the world was in the church, as it ought not to be" (page XV).

The Corinthians, on the one hand, prided themselves on bearing the Apostle and his teaching in mind and on maintaining the traditions which he had passed on to them. But "were not his rules about unworldliness really too stringent," and the reactions to the social order and to the Greek way of living were not they unnecessarily severe? As we are in the world, should not a compromise be effected?

This book of essays shows fundamentally similar anxiety: How much of the modern Indian spirit can be assimilated or co-ordinated with the Christian Gospel? The writers are, one and all, extremely anxious about the result. They feel, on the one hand, as convinced Christians should feel, that the Spirit of Christ is a Universal Spirit. And on the other, Christianity, in India, presents too many evidences of western culture and civilization. Is it not natural that this group of thinking people should desire a clearer definition and demarcation between what is essentially Christian and universal and should be preserved, at all costs, in every country and under varying conditions, and the national, local and regional expression which should be expected to take different forms in different countries?

To what extent has the Tambaran Conference answered the challenge of these Christian Writers? Successive years can alone show how far the challenge has been answered.

P. G. Bridge

EARLY BUDDHIST JURISPRUDENCE (Studies in Indian History of the Indian Historical Research Institute, St. Xavier's College, Bombay No. 13): *By Miss Durga N. Bhagvat, M.A. Publishers: Oriental Book Agency, Poona.*

This book consists of a short introduction and nine chapters dealing with early monachism, analysis of the Vinaya laws, origin and nature of the Vinaya laws, evolution of the Vinaya laws, promulgaton of the Vinaya laws, jurisprudence under the Vinaya, Patimokkha and the fortnightly meetings, the administration of the Vinaya in the Samgha and woman under the Vinaya. Besides, the book under review contains a bibliography and an index, with two maps and two illustrations. The title of the book is ambitious, and the correct title would have been *Early Vinaya Rules.* The authoress has classified the subject under different heads for the convenience of the readers, but I do not think that there is much more improvement of the treatment than that found in the previous books on the subject. Her notes on *Pacittiya, Parajika, Samghadisesa, Nisaggiya-Pacittiya dhamma, Adhikaranaisamathadhamma,* etc., do not throw much light. The book is useful to beginners who want to get an idea of the Vinaya rules. There are some misprints in pp. 16, 77, etc. In p. 105, foot-note 1, 'Rhys Davids and Aung, Expositor, p. 27' should be 'Mrs. Rhys Davids and Maung Tin, Expositor, p. 27.' The Atthasalini, known as the Expositor, has been translated into English for the P. T. S. by Maung Tin and revisel by Mrs. Rhys Davids. In the bibliography the omission of Spence Hardy's *Eastern Monachism* and *Manual of Buddhism* is regrettable.

B. C. Law

BASIC AND THE TEACHING OF ENGLISH IN INDIA: *By Adolph Myers, Basic Representative in India, Honorary Adviser to the Council of National Education in Burma. Published for the Orthological Institute, Cambridge. By The Times of India Press, Bombay, 1938.*

Anyone fighting against the innumerable odds of teaching English in India will welcome this book. Even the most convinced opponent of Basic English will find in these pages a solution to the manifold difficulties that stand in the way of a sound approach to the teaching of English language and literature in India and elsewhere in the East. Only if the Lecturer in English in an Indian High-School or University realises the importance of word-selection and the relationship of thought and language, will he be able to work out for himself an intelligent method of teaching. Both in theory and practice Mr. Adolph Myers lays a scientific foundation for such a method. His book should be highy appreciated by all those engaged in the teaching profession in India.

A. Aronson

SEX FRIENDSHIP AND MARRIAGE: *By K. C. and G. F. Barnes. George Allen & Unwin. Price 6s. net.*

It is a sane book seeking to fulfil the dual purpose of supplying dependable text-book to those who give sex instruction and offering a scientific guide-book to the young who are liable to have the higher values upset by their natural curiosity. For the more experienced ones the authors have a few important things to say, among which the following is a good sample. "There are many people within progressive movements whose revolutionary feelings are an expression, not of an objective realization of the necessity of socialism, but of failure to straighten out their personal muddles." I endorse the remark with the caveat that these personal muddles are themselves the result of certain objective social conditions. Probably another may be added to the above, *viz.*, that the resolution of "muddles" may be effected in a type of persons from which it is idle to expect any progressive endeavour.

THE SAMGRAHA-CUDA-MANI OF GOVINDA AND THE BAHATTARA-MELA-KARTA OF VENKATA-KAVI: *Edited by Pandit S. Subrahmanya Sastri, F.T.S. with a critical introduction in English by T. R. Srinivasa Iyengar. Published by the Adyar Library, Madras.*

We are deeply indebted to the editor and the publisher of this classical treatise on Hindu music. The author of Samgraha-Cuda-Mani is one Govinda. The author of Samgraha-Cuda-Mani is one Govinda, who is called Govinda-Acharya to distinguish him from the great Govinda-Dikshit. The world knows nothing about this man except as a Rama-bhakta. His work is replete with evidences of his wide learning as well as of his ability to strike a new path. In Govinda's system the Sudhha-Svaras bear the ratio of 1, 16|15, 9|8, 4|3, 3|2, 8|5, 27|16 and 2, and the Meladhikara

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72, *i.e.*, 6×6 for each of the two Madhyamas. vinda also composed illustrative gitas for each of above and of 294 Ragas of his time, classed by him Janya-s. The Bahattara-mela-Karta of Venkata-u, a Marhati court-poet of Tanjore is given as an endix. This brings out the essential features of Govinda's system in another cognate style *viz.*, the vani.

We commend this book to all genuine lovers of sic.

DHURJATI PRASAD MUKERJI

POONA AFFAIRS, 1797-1801 ((PALMER'S EMBASSY) NG POONA RESIDENCY CORRESPONDENCE, VOL 6. *ted by G. S. Sardesai (Government Central Press, mbay). Pp. xxxviii+692 and one illustration. ce Rs. 7-12.*

We have again to thank the Bombay Government its enlightened liberality and Rao Bahadur Sardesai, *doyen* of Maratha historians, for his scholarship honorary labours in making this large mass of inal historical materials available to the scholarly ld in so excellent an edition and at such a low e. After the long eventful and highly important assy of Sir Charles Malet at Poona (1786-1797), e a period of lull, with the easy-going pacific eral William Palmer in his chair. But the calm not to endure long; an electric force had been oduced into Indian politics by the arrival of the erialistic Wellesley as Governor-General (17 May, 8) and a rapid transformation of the map of India owed; the Nizam was neutralized and purged of the ch virus, Tipu Sultan was annihilated, and the very of the Maratha empire was to be turned into an lish vassal. To this last, Peshwa Baji Rao II long cted, and Palmer was temperamentally unfit to oeuvre or hustle him into a subsidiary alliance, Malet and Elphinstone respectively could have e. For this Palmer received Wellesley's censure he himself meekly admitted that he was unfit for a task. (See letter No. 350A). After his departure the Poona Residency things quickly headed on the fatal Treaty of Bassein where Maratha eignty met with a self-sought death (1802).

But the enthralling interest of this volume lies in first-hand and intimate revelations of the musings, ings, faction, intrigues and doings (very little of last !) in the decadent Court of the last of the was. The picture left before our mind's eye after through the confidential contemporary reports hese things is that of a poor deer fascinated and lyzed by the steady gaze of a boa constrictor ing inert by irremovable in front of it.

These English records will be invaluable in correct-and supplementing the evidence in the Marathi nage of which a good deal has been printed by vade, Khare and Parasnis.

Some of the section headings are tell-tale; *e.g.*, h of Nana Fadnis, Baji Rao and Sindhia at their end,—Troubles all round, plots to depose Baji Rao, We see vividly why the Chitpavan Raj fell. civil war between Holkar and Sindhia and the Maratha War of Wellesley are now close ahead and we look forward with equal interest to their ation. Public libraries, learned societies and rsities, and even research workers on this period, to lose no time in equipping themselves with this precious volume—and its predecessor, *Malet's Embassy* (Priced Rs. 7-12-0).

BRAJENDRA NATH BANERJEE

INDIAN ECONOMICS: *By K. P. Sipahi Malani, M.A. and H. R. Soni, M.A., D.Sc. (London). Published by Nanda Kishore and Bros., Benares. Pages xix+729. Price Rs. 7-8.*

As the sub-title of the book which "is intended primarily for the Indian student," indicates, it is a general survey of Indian Economic Problems. In justification of their "adding one more to the many existing books on Indian Economics," the authors have said that their "reason for doing so is that there does not exist at present a satisfactory book in one volume which deals with all the problems in a simple and straightforward fashion." There is undoubtedly some point in what they have said. "Too many details," the authors have rightly observed, "confound the main issue for the young student; and a piling up of quotations from different authorities, without arriving at any definte conclusion, does not help him to grasp the issue." The authors "have only considered the Indian economic problems from the point of view of planned economy, which alone presents an integral solution." Their treatment of the problems dealt with in the book is, it must be said, lucid, up-to-date and fairly exhaustive, and the book as a whole is certainly a very useful addition to the literature on the subject with which it deals.

The work, however, as the extract quoted below from it (p. 569) will indicate, is not free from statements of unscientific and misleading character:

"During the early British period the three Presidencies, and to some extent even the smaller provinces, were more or less independent of the Central Government in administrative matters, and this independence was reflected in the field of finance also. By the Act of 1833 the Presidency Governors were shorn of the greater part of their powers in the field of legislation . . . . ."

The authors should have specified the period they had in their minds, and should have been more accurate in what they stated in regard to the Act of 1833.

Such statements will only mislead the student for whom the book is primarily intended.

PROSPERITY AND DEPRESSION: A THEORETICAL ANALYSIS OF CYCLICAL MOVEMENTS. *By Gottfried Von Haberler. League of Nations, Geneva. Pages xv+363.*

Opinions may honestly differ amongst publicists and others as to the utility of the League of Nations as a political institution—as a machinery for the settlement of international disputes, and as an agency for the maintenance of the world's peace and order. But we do not think there should be any difference of opinion amongst those who have been closely following the activities of the League as to the great value of the work it has been doing for some years now by means of its various publications of economic and financial character through the agency of its Economic Intelligence Service. The work under review is one such publication. It owes its origin to a resolution adopted by the Assembly of the League of Nations in September, 1930, by which it was decided that an attempt should be made to co-ordinate the analytical work then being done on the problem of the recurrence

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of periods of economic depression. This volume is the first fruit of that resolution, and is "planned as but part of a greater whole." It "confines itself to the task of analysing existing theories of the business cycle and deriving therefrom a synthetic account of the nature and possible causes of economic fluctuations." Its author is an economist of international reputation and has executed the task which was entrusted to him in a very scholarly manner. He has divided the book into two parts. In the first part he has attempted a systematic analysis of the existing theories in regard to the business cycle : such as monetary theories, over-investment theories, under-consumption theories, harvest theories, psychological theories, etc. He has gathered together these various "hypotheses of explanation," tested their logical consistency and their compatibility with one another and with accepted economic principles. In the second part he has tried to evolve order out of the chaos of conflicting views and to weave from them a general synthesis which can command the assent of more than one school of thought.

In the final chapter the author has dealt with the international aspects of business cycles and incidentally also with the theory of international trade.

The work is undoubtedly a very valuable contribution to the knowledge of the subject with which it deals, and should therefore, be carefully studied by every serious student of Economic History and Thought.

D. N. BANERJEE

THE WORLD AND BEAUTY : *By Hemendra Lal Roy, B.A. Published by Bharati Bhavan, 11, College Square, Calcutta. Price Re. 1.*

The book, the author says, is a sequel to his Problems of Hindustani Music. The artist attempts to express through dialogues his outlook on life by relating the world to beauty. In this book the artist discusses with a friend such topics as the material world, the world of life, man and his ethics and religion. The author has touched upon a variety of subjects, but the discussions are very limited and not conclusive. However, the treatment is interesting and the style is simple and elegant. The get-up and the printing are satisfactory.

EDUCATION—A GLORIOUS MESS OF MAGNIFICENT MISADVENTURE : *By P. Shankunny, M.A., L.T. Published by the Author. Price Re. 1.*

The author is an exprienced educationist and has spent nearly thirty years in the sphere of education. Hence his opinions on education are worth consideration, and we are glad to find that the author has tackled the subject from an interesting standpoint. Various and varying are the pamphlets published on education, but the present publication differs from all of them in many respects. We agree with the author's conclusion that "natural education is the only education worth having." We are sure that the book will have a good circulation.

SUKUMAR RANJAN DAS

THE PRAIRIE PROVINCE OF ILLINOIS : *By Edith Muriel Poggi. Illinois Studies in the Social Sciences, Vol. xix, No. 3. Price $1.00. 1934. Pp. 124+ 43 illustrations.*

The first part of the study consists of several chapters on the physical setting of the prairie province; the scond part deals with the agricultural and mineral industries as major human adjustments; while the third part is an interpretation of the geographic and economic conditions influencing settlement and development.

The author tells us how the prairie province was originally avoided by early settlers, who confined themselves to the neighbourhood of waterways and forest lands. But with the expansion of railroads, they began to appreciate the value of prairies as agricultural land. Special types of ploughs were invented to deal with the sticky soil, the land was drained; and thus through human ingenuity and organization, the opportunities offered by climate, topography and geological features were properly utilized, until this portion of Illinois came to be regarded as one of the richest agricultural portions of America. The history of the near past shows how the character of farming has been undergoing modification through the expansion of the commercial spirit. We are also told how the cities have been playing an essential part in this transformation.

The author has utilized a mass of detailed information made available through the labours of the geological and agricultural departments of the State as well as of the University of Illinois. She has thus succeeded in producing a distinctly valuable piece of work in human geography.

CALCUTTA STREET GUIDE : *Edited by A. Sanyal, 33, Guru Prisad Chaudhury Lane, Calcutta. Price As. 3 only. September. 1939. Pp. 68.*

This booklet will prove distinctly serviceable to commercial and professional people as it embodies the latest information regarding the streets of the City.

NIRMAL KUMAR BOSE

OMEN OF THE FALLING STARS OR A MAID OF IRAN : *By M. Demetrius in collaboration with J. G. Demetrius. Published by J. G. Demetrius, 15, Clive Row, Calcutta. Price Rs. 2-4.*

The most striking thing in the book is the piety of 'The Maid of Iran,' (the authoress) and no less striking is her unswerving faith in God. At the same time, the reader cannot but be impressed by her love for every man and thing around her. The historical references in course of the journey are interesting. The book is sure to give strength to the sufferer.

J. C. BHATTACHARYYA

SANSKRIT

NAVYASMRITI-PRASNOTTAR-VIVEKAH : *By Pandit Ashutosh Kavya-Vyakaran-Smriti-tirtha. Published by P. C. Chakravarty and Brothers, 74, Bechu Chatterjee Street, Calcutta. Parts I and II. Price eight and ten annas, respectively.*

The author, who is an eminent orthodox Sanskrit scholar of Bengal has been a veteran teacher of a well known *Chatuspati* in Khulna for over four decades and a half. The book written in Sanskrit in the form of questions and answers based on the prescribed text books of Navyasmriti is meant for the candidates of the Adya and Madhya examinations of the said subject. The questions of the Government examinations on Navyasmriti for the last three years with their appropriate answers in Sanskrit are also appended. The third part on the Upadhi examination will shortly be forthcoming. Had the book been printed in Devanagari

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racters instead of Bengali ones, it would have been interest also to non-Bengali Pandits. It will be imsely useful to the students of Navyasmriti.

SWAMI JAGADISWARANANDA

BENGALI

PATHER SANCHAY : *By Rabindranath Tagore. Visva-bharati Bookshop, 210, Cornwallis Street, cutta. Crown 8vo., pp. iv+86. Paper cover. e eight annas.*

This book is a collection of letters written mostly ng the author's voyages to and fro and sojourn England and America, occupying about a year and lf some twenty-seven years ago. It is stated in publisher's preface that the letters appear in this in a somewhat altered form. Only the five letters e appendix appear as letters; the body of the book ists of fifteen epistles appearing in the form of les or essays. They are all characterised by the 's thoughtfulness and idealism, with occasional of humour. The first letter was written just e the voyage. One is devoted to the city of bay. Another touches upon the actual embarka- The next is entitled "Water & Land." The ner in which he sailed and life in it are described nother letter. Then we find him in London. In eding letters we find ourselves in the living nce of Sir William Rothenstein, H. G. Wells, ord Brooke, the poet Yeats, etc. One letter is a picture of an English village and its pastor. Two e letters were evidently written during the return ge. The article relating to "Music," besides being esting and instructive, ought to make all lovers dian music think 'furiously,' as the phrase goes.

AINIK BANGALI [49TH BENGALI REGIMENT] *1920. By Subedar M. B. Sinha. M. C. Sarkar & Ltd., 14, College Square, Calcutta. Price Re. 1-8. 158. Half-cloth. There are fifteen illustrations. printing and general get-up of the book are ctory.*

his book describes the recruiting, training, achieve- and experiences of the 49th Bengali Regiment the last great war, after which it was disbanded. author, who was one of those privates in the ent who rose to be non-commissioned officers, in a cogent plea in this attractively written book ecruiting Bengalis again and giving them a place standing army.

he book should be read not only by Bengalis lso by all those other Indians who are at present ally excluded from the army, though they all axes for its maintenance and though their fellow- cials of former generations fought as privates officers in the Indian army.

D.

ANGIT SAMGRAHA : *Selection made by Swami hwarananda and Swami Vedananda. Published ami Jyotirupananda, Ramkrishna Mission Vidya- Baidyanath-Deoghar; with an introduction by Sj. Kumar Roy. Pp. 464. Cloth Bound, Gold let- Price Re. 1-12 only.*

is a collection of the choicest songs from the sitions of more than a hundred different inspired songsters. Music in this country has a place in life. It does not only evoke emotionalism. It is a finer way of moving spirituality. Plato has banished some form of music from the ideal state, but in India music has been essentially associated with spirituality, for it has been possible for her to conceive the subtle sound currents which can play upon the delicate fibres of our being opening the higher reaches of consciousness beyond the imageries even of poetry. Rabindranath places music above poetry, symphony above music. The delicate vibrations of the symphony carry us into the otherwise inaccessible subtle heights of being—music reaches its highest expression in the ethereal waves of the symphony which ultimately pass on to the Mystery of Silence. The finest music takes its expression through the rhythm and cadence of Mantras which has its origin, according to the Hindu Mysticism in Pasyanti and Para Vak.

Seen thiswise, a wide distribution of such collection of songs is desirable, as it presents before the reader, not only fine imageries, but subtle expressions of delicate feelings set in the harmony and cadence of sounds. The inspired feelings have their natural expression in the rhythm of music. Music is the natural outlet of our deepest thoughts.

This collection acquaints us with the richness of thought and spirit. The collection includes varieties of songs. The book opens with the Vedic-mantra and ends with national songs. Besides it contains songs on Gods, Goddesses, inspired spiritual teachers and preceptors, and on the Supreme High.

The book presents a festivity of songs, old and new. Some of them are really inspiring even as poems. A list of best compositions on the wake of the neo-revival of the national and the spiritual life in Bengal finds its place in the book. Some of the compositions of Vivekananda, Rabindranath, Rajanikanta Sen, Nishikanta are sure to be enjoyed.

Another good feature of the book is that it avoids all racialism and collects songs from all devotional sects, including Christianity and Buddhism. This is in accord with the Catholic spirit of the Ramkrishna Mission. The book opens with an instructive introduction from the pen of Dilip Kumar Roy and the review may be closed with his pregnant sentence, 'this book contains flowers of variegated colours, and if their scent is not always subtle and delicate, still it is certain that their joyousness emanates from His blessings who is the being of beings, the mind of minds, the voice of voices, the vital breath of breaths, the eye of the eyes.'

This book will be welcome by all.

MAHENDRA NATH SARKAR

ABALYA TAPASWINI BANGALI MAYE : *By Sm. Suraja Devi. Published by the Sreegooroo Library, 204, Cornwallis Street, Calcutta. Pp. 24+224. Price Re. 1-8 only.*

The biography of a saintly character is always inspiring. Sannyasini Gouri Puri Devi, better known as Mother Gouri, was a disciple of Sri Ramakrishna Paramahamsa. Devoted to *Brahmacharya* from her early youth, she dedicated her life to God and to the welfare of the people of her country. In later life she established the "Saradeswari Ashram"—an educational institution for women and home for helpless Hindu girls. The authoress, a disciple of Gouri Puri Matajee, during the course of her long stay with her, gathered, from her talks and from other sources, materials for this bio-

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graphy. The details of her saintly life and *sadhana* are incorporated in the book. The style is lucid, the get-up and printing good and the book is profusely illustrated.

S.

MARATHI

SMRITI-STHAL : *Edited by V. N. Deshpande. Published by the Saraswati Prakasan, Jeotamol, Berar.*

This book is an important addition to the published Mahanubhav literature of old Marathi. It gives glimpses of the prose style of the 14th century Marathi, and also throws valuable light on the contemporary literature and society. The editing has been done very ably, with notes and index.

C. V. APTE

HINDI

JIWAN JYOTI : *By Pandit Chamupati, M.A. Edited by Swami Vedananda (Dayananda) Teerth. Published by the Editor at Guru Dutt Bhavan, Lahore. Price Re. 1-8.*

The book (a posthumous publication) consists of individual commentaries, in fact sermons, on the mantras of the Agniparva of Samveda. The writer was a well-known Arya Samajist scholar and missionary. Therefore the religious sentiment predominates, so much so that sometimes no vital connection between the mantra and the commentary is discernible. Yet, there is sincerity, and even poetry, in the author's words.

APARAJITA : *By Anchal. (With an introduction by Nandadulare Vajpeyi). Published by Chhatra-Hitkari Pustakmala, Daragunj, Allahabad. Price Rs. 2.*

This is a collection of the author's recent poems. They are all worth reading; and some, for instance Pravasagan, Kiran, Bhulana-na-mujh-ku-priyatam, deserve special mention. Restlessness and passion are prominent traits in Anchal's poetry and these qualities are made impressive by his sincerity. The poet has also made some welcome experiments with language and form. Nevertheless, a lamentable lack of restraint, and a failure to make his metaphors speak, have forced a sense of futility on his lyrics.

JATIBHED-KA-UCHCHED : *By Dr. B. R. Ambedkar, M.A., Ph.D., D.Sc. Published by Jat-Pat Torak Mandal, Lahore. Price As. 4.*

Here is an address which Dr. Ambedkar, the famous reformist leader, intended to deliver from the presidential chair of the Jat-Pat-Torak-Mandal Conference in 1936. The Mandal has done well to publish it. After analysing the political and social aspects of the country in a very concrete manner the author argues that a static attitude towards social problems in the hope that they had better be tackled after achieving Swaraj, is fraught with grave dangers.

BALRAJ SAHNI

GUJARATI

GRAM MATA ANE BIJAN KAVYO : *Edited by N. J. Trivedi, M.A. Published by Jivanlal Amarshi Mehta, Ahmedabad and Bombay. Printed at the Navprabhat Printing Press, Ahmedabad. (1938). Thick Card Board. Pp. 179. Price As. 13 with a coloured likeness of Kalapi.*

Sursinhji, the Thakore Saheb of Lathi, who died young at the age of twenty-six years, wrote under the poetic name of "Kalapi." The present book presents a well-selected collection of his poems, edited with notes by Mr. Trivedi. He has contributed a short but informative sketch of the Prince's life—domestic and literary. Kalapi's name has long since been inscribed on the roll of the best poets of Gujarat, so nothing requires to be said on that point. Mr. Trivedi has edited the book with great care and literary acumen.

SAMVADO : *By the late Vyomesh Chandra Pathakji, M.A., LL.B. Edited by his wife and printed at the Surat City Printing Press, Surat. (1938). Cloth Cover. Pp. 103. Price Re. 1.*

The humor of these dialogues is of a piece with Vehemi (the suspicious one). It has here assumed the form of dialogues, some of which have been acted. They furnish also pleasant light reading as some of our social customs are sarcastically handled here.

YOGI KON ? : *By Shriyut Divyanand. Printed at the Navprabhat Printing Press, Ahmedabad. (1938). Cloth Cover. Pp. 171. Price Re. 1-4.*

In this drama the writer has tried to paint pictures of the different emotions and responses of the human heart, the feelings of a loving wife, of a devoted husband, the chastity of woman, ungratefulness of a friend, disappointments of a newly married couple and many such sentiments and at the end the question is put, who is the Yogi out of all these ? It is an intriguing question well presented.

SUVAS CHANDRA : *By Shrimati Ushadevi Dalal. Printed at the Surya Prakash Printing Press, Ahmedabad. (1939). Cloth cover. Pp. 316. Price Rs. 2-8.*

Sarat Chandra Chatterji's Bengali novel, *Vipradas*, is translated into Gujarati under this name. As the ascetic like Vipradas' scent (Suvas) hovers around the plot the lady translator has given her book this name. The translator's mother-tongue being Bengali and not Gujarati, she has grasped the full spirit of the original text and reproduced it ably well in Gujarati.

PATANG PURAN : *By Hiralal Rasikdas Kapadia. Printed at the Pratap Printing Press, Surat. (1938). Illustrat d Paper Cover. Pp. 55. Price As. 10.*

In Gujarat Surat is mad after the sport of kite-(Patang) flying and Mr. Kapadia, a native of the place, has brought together in this book everything about Kite and Kite-flying and given it the dignified name of a Puran, *i.e.*, a tale received by a Rishi. It is the first work of its kind in Gujarati and shows an amount of ungrudging labor and research on a subject dear to the heart of a sport-loving Surati.

MHARI JIVAN SMRITI TATHA NANDHPOTHI : *Published by Dr. Mrs. Pushpalata R. Pandya. Printed at the Aditya Printing Press, Ahmedabad. (1938). Thick Card Board. Pp. 296. Price Rs. 2.*

The late Mrs. Kanubehen Dave, the mother of Dr. Mrs. Pushpalata, died in the prime of her life but even then she had by her literary writings made herself known as a thoughtful writer. Her autobiography and diary, which are reproduced in this book furnish very

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structive reading and embody thoughts of far reaching importance. The daughter has indeed done her duty by her mother well in thus preserving her good work.

PRACHIN BHARAT VARSHA, PART IV : *By Dr. Tribhovandas L. Shah, Baroda. Printed at the Aditya Printing Press, Ahmedabad. (1938). Cloth bound. Pp. 384+32. Price Rs. 6.*

Part IV of this voluminous work is of a piece with its predecessors, so far as research and sifting of materials is concerned. The writer's conclusions are still being controverted and he has tried to answer some of his critics in this volume. It is taken up with the Shedi, Gardbhil and Kushan dynasties. Illustrations, Maps, Indexes, are provided to help the student. Whether historical veracity established in the end or not from what the compiler states, his assiduity and research work cannot but be admired.

RAS KAUMUDI : *By Muljibhai P. Shah. Printed at the Atmaram Printing Press, Baroda. (1938). Thick Board. Pp. 100. Price Re. 1.*

Mr. Shah has specialised himself in writing Ras Garbas, which have proved popular. The book under review contains fifty one songs, on various topics, including such subjects as village life, dream fairies, etc. The preface which traces the history of Garbas is well written.

K. M. J.

HIND SVARAJ—PART I : *By Isvarlal Bimabala. Deshbandhu Karyyalay. 180, Kelapith, Surat. Price As. 3.*

A pamphlet of 82 pp. consisting of articles most of which had appeared in the *Deshbandhu*. It considers marriages between the Indians and the English which would promote energy, so essential for our struggle. A "wonderful scheme" indeed !

JAPANANI KELAVANI : *Translated by J. J. Modi, B.A. Published by the Pustakalay Sahayak Sahakari Mandal, Ltd., Baroda. Price annas eight only.*

This was prompted by Sj. Motibhai N. Amin, who was interested in the commercial activity of Japan and her educational policy. "A General Survey of Education in Japan" issued by the Government of Japan has served as the original of the book. An excellent storehouse for the lay public made accessible in Gujarati.

KAKANATU KANGO : *By Chandrabhai K. Bhatta. 'Chalo vicariye' Karyyolay. Ellis Bridge, Ahmedabad. Price annas five and six pies only.*

The story of the exploitation of Congo by Belgium told in a dramatic and highly interesting manner. Specially suggestive is the illustrated cover.

P. R. SEN

BOOKS RECEIVED

THE BHAGAVAD-GITA OR THE LORD'S SONG (WITH THE TEXT IN DEVANAGARI AND AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION) : *By Annie Besant. Eleventh Edition. Published by G. A. Natesan & Co., Madras. Price As. 4.*

TREATMENT AND PREVENTION OF POISON GAS : *Indian Medical Association, 12, Samvaya Mansions, Calcutta. Pp. vii+71 and chart. Price As. 8.*

HOMEWARD : *By Manuel C. Rodrigues, Bombay. Pp. 35. Price Re. 1.*

A book of poems.

ERRATUM

The Modern Review for October, 1939, pages 451-52: The price of the book, *The Rise and Fall of Muhammad Bin Tughlaq* by Dr. Mahdi Husain, Lecturer, Agra College and published by Luzac and Co., 46, Great Russel Street, London, W.C.1, is—European edition Rs. 10 and Indian edition Rs. 8-2 or 12sh. only.

Key to the Frontispiece

King Herod ordered a "massacre of the innocents" after the birth of Jesus, as he had heard that a new King of the Jews was born. The frontispiece (the original is in the Museum of San Marco, Florence) shows the flight of Joseph and Mary with the infant Jesus to save him from the hands of Herod.

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A VISIT TO BATAS'

By Dr. AMIYA CHAKRAVARTY, M.A., D.Phil. (Oxon)

Passing along the unmetalled road with impoverished hovels on both sides, our car at last jerked into a glimpse of cool compounds, and rows of clear-cut modern buildings. Frankly, I approached Batanagar with some diffidence. Efficiency and superior business organisation, I knew, would be there; even employment on a large scale under humane conditions. But what was the total outcome, from India's view of investment from abroad, not only of huge capital but of scientific talent which would buy up raw materials, sell them in return at high commodity prices and, generally speaking, confront unorganised Indian industries with western technique perfected by organised enterprise? Such questions are fundamental and would arise wherever weaker peoples who have never had any chance to master modern applied science are faced overnight with immeasurably superior financial and technical resources with which they could not possibly compete.

As I went, visiting departments which hummed with activity, I realised that the rhythm of incredibly clever machinery dexterously manipulated by Indian hands had answered the second half of my query. Careful questioning and study of facts collected in reports have convinced me that Batas have opened a new range of industrial possibilities in India and are training up a large number of our peoples to explore it. Secrecy with regard to operations and the employment of regimented robots for mass-production were not Batas' policy; in fact, Indians were being sent by them to Europe for requisite training and skilled operatives learnt the whole process of shoe-manufacture. They were turning out some machinery parts under proper guidance. Indian materials were being used for Indian manufacture. The proprietors and workers enjoyed partnership in the same industry and trained initiative is being released in widening circles.

We know how rapidly the standard of shoe-production and the general level of courteous, efficient salesmanship and management of attractive shoe-shops have gone up; even in a city like Calcutta, the effect of Bata's pioneering is unmistakable and beneficent. I am not merely referring to emporiums in fashionable streets but also to sundry shops of sandals and slippers in localities that defied a comfortable room and a well-lit shop-window. We have to thank Batas for having penetrated bazaars without lowering their own standard; so far we had a choice mainly between haughty extortionate foreign shops and the unkempt stalls in the market. In remote North-West Frontier towns I found Bata shops successfully influencing their local rivals.

Powerful capitalist combines, relentlessly buying up human raw material and ruining competition are to be resisted, their impact on Indian industries would be, especially if they were backed by political power, disastrous. But Batas could not be accused of aiming at suppression of indigenous enterprise which, in any case, they could not achieve. On the contrary they have stimulated our industries by proving how much can be done, here and now, without waiting for favourable opportunities.

Adverse social and economic conditions indeed, have to yield to planned endeavour; communal feeling, and anti-social habits can hardly flourish in community life run on a co-operative basis. All-round raising of level makes for healthy adjustments. In the campus, club-rooms, playing fields and workers' buildings of Batanagar I sensed an atmosphere of friendliness; new residences for the employees are being erected and these, when completed, will bring different grades of workers and employers nearer to each other. Indian business magnates, one hopes, will emulate Bata's admirable plan; instead of parading smoke-belching chimneys and herded slums, factory areas can easily become attractive settlements and help neighbouring villages. Batas have started free schools and gymnasiums and are adding new ones; we saw a fully equipped hospital and first-aid centre; in the office headquarters we were shown how the welfare of each individual worker was being followed up not merely from the productive but the human point of view. There is every reason to hope that Batanagar will also turn its attention to its immediate neighbourhood, for none of us can ignore zonal responsibilities when circumstances have thrown us into a suburbia where poverty and paralysed living seem to cry to an unanswering destiny.

This brings me to my initial question. Dividends, I am assured, do not flow out of the country which has largely produced them, but are made to circulate in India. This would improve and extend employment; welfare activities not restricted to the business area have already been provided for.

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THAKKAR BAPA—THE FATHER OF THE HARIJANS

By RANGILDAS KAPADIA

E TWENTY-NINTH of the current month (of vember, 1939) offers us a festive occasion n India will be celebrating the 71st birth- of a great Sewak—the *Sewak* of the *Hari-* and of all the oppressed and down-trodden; n thousands all over India will be ing their homage to one whose life a life of dedication, a beacon-light hundreds of aspirants desiring to serve the social field. On that day Thakkar a (a name lovingly given to Sjt. itlal Vithaldas Thakkar by his numerous irers), the *Father of the Harijans* and the completes three score and ten years of his ll life and enters upon his seventy first. few men is given such a long span of life that too a life of such devoted service and lness. Thakkar Bapa's work has really ed a new life into the dead bones of the —the aborigines on the borderline of rat and the erstwhile untouchables, now r know as Harijans. He is really the celess Gem of Gujarat", as Sardar Patel him in an appeal to the public to celebrate ccasion in a fitting manner. He inspires llowers with his own zeal and weans them the pursuit of selfish ends to utter dedi- to a great cause.

Mahatma Gandhi once wrote of him:

> I envy this 'Priest of the Untouchables.' We are qual in age but what my physical being craves for, r Bapa's does not. I was flattering myself on my y to bear the strain of travel in Andhra Desh, I mewhat pitying myself also. Meanwhile, I received tter pounding my vanity to atoms. What was my y in motor cars when compared to his camel-rides deserts of Sindh? I cannot exchange my poor car for Thakkar Bapa's wooden Hodda on Camel ..I am referring to this letter with a view to show ue service is. We must take a leaf from Thakkar life-book if we want to prove that BHILS and other communities are our kith and kin. Thakkar akes delight in living with the disabled and the e; he is not happy when not with them. Wander- ther and thither is his respite, it is the worship of ds, it is his food."

have not the files of *Young India* with me am giving only a gist from memory of Mahatmaji said. This quotation shows in esteem Mahatmaji holds this untiring t of the people.

Salvation Army officer once said, "I have come across two great men in Gujarat, one Mahatma Gandhi and the other, Mr. A. V. Thakkar". Those who have been the happy witnesses of the commendable work being done for the uplift of the Bhils and other aborigines of Gujarat will readily fall in with this opinion.

Leaving aside Mahatma Gandhi, there is hardly anyone in Gujarat today whose incessant services, whose ever-smiling countenance

A. V. Thakkar

are ever so familiar to the educated and the illiterate, to the city-folks and the rustic alike as those of Thakkar Bapa.

Seven decades ago, he was born in a Lohana family in the year 1869. The boy Amritlal had his schooling in Bhavnagar. He had his higher education also in the Samaldas College at Bhavnagar.

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Amritlal was sent to an Engineering College for his training as an Engineer. He passed his examination in the year 1892-93, and served as an Engineer in some Kathiawar states, on Uganda Railway in Africa and J. P. Railway in Kathiawar till 1914. He was drawing a fat salary—even in the Bombay Municipal service as a Road Engineer. But young Thakkar had no desire for power or position, for silver or gold. Many stories are current of his spirit of sacrifice while in the service of the Bombay Municipality. He always delighted in living a poor man's life rather than rolling in wealth. When he returned home from Uganda in Africa, he is said to have had hardly sufficient funds for a return passage.

A Gujarati and particularly a Kathiawari is known for his business acumen. But the life of this servant of mankind provides a contradiction to this universal belief. While in service with the Bombay Municipality, Thakkar won the hearts of all those who came in contact with him by his sincerity and by his readiness to be serviceable to all round him. His services to the untouchables and Mahars in the service under him then are highly praised even to this day and are fondly remembered.

His service-loving soul was evidently not satisfied with this random service, it was craving for incessant work in higher fields. The call at last came,—it was a higher call. The letter he addressed to his brothers on his joining the Servant of India Society was touching and gives a glimpse of the great servant in the making. He said, "I have resigned from service to join the Servants of India Society and in doing so, I have responded to the call of conscience". His gospel of service is set out in the following words :

> "It is my considered opinion that INDIA needs such social workers as would be prepared to give their life to the cause. Welfare work cannot be efficiently carried on by people who desire to do it in their leisure hours or at their convenience. Our country cannot make any marked progress unless life-workers are coming forth. Sincere workers would not have to face monetary difficulties. For the strings of the purses of the rich are always untied for them. People heap money at the feet of a person like Gokhale, it is only sincere workers that he does not get in sufficient numbers."

It was during his early years of service in Bombay that he helped the late Vithalbahi Patel in framing his Bill for Primary and Compulsory Education. Thakkar Bapa's arduous labours in collecting material, facts and figures for Sjt. Vithalbahi Patel went a great way to ensure the successful passage of that Bill in the then Bombay Legislative Council. He proved an ardent educationist; and as such evinced a keen interest in the educational progress of the province.

Bhil Seva Mandal, an association started with the object of ameliorating the condition of the aborigines of Panch Mahals socially, economically and politically, is a living monument to Sjt. Thakkar. He is the foremost amongst workers who set themselves to work amongst the Raniparaj and the Bhils. He has gathered around him a band of selfless workers whose spirit of sacrifice and service can compare only with their love and adoration for this "Father of the Bhils". In the desolate and barren plains of Panch Mahals, he has brought into being by his magic touch a net-work of Ashrams, schools and boarding houses, and dispensaries where hundreds of Bhil children receive their education, and thousands of adults get their medical needs. The workers of the Bhil Seva Mandal have suffered untold hardships. They have turned the illiterate Bhils into a clean, tidy race that now go round with their heads erect and readily help these workers in the task of their social and economic redemption. Once soaked in liquor, these Bhils have now gone 'dry' as a result of the patient efforts of Thakkar Bapa and his co-workers.

It was in 1921-23 that the Panch Mahals was faced with a dire famine ravaging the whole district. The cry of distress of the Bhils reached Thakkar in Bombay and Thakkar made up his mind. His place was not in Bombay but amongst the starving Bhils. Messrs. Indulal Yagnik and Sukhdev Trivedi had already started relief work when Thakkar reached there. He was much moved by the horrible sights he witnessed. This was a turning point in his life. He made the decision of his life. The credit for starting what is now a magnificent structure known as Bhil Seva Mandal goes to these two enthusiasts, Yagnik and Trivedi, though Thakkar reared up the infant given in his charge to a healthy, full-grown manhood. It is now a great "temple of Service", the magnificence of which cannot be measured in terms of rupees, annas and pies. These masses have an abiding confidence in Thakkar Bapa, whose one confident belief is that no good work ever suffers for want of funds.

The tattered, dilapidated hut—a place hardly fit for the habitation of animals, much less for human habitation, shown to me as the birth-place of this grand organisation, is still before my eyes. A Thakkar or an Indulal alone can have the fortitude and patience to

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months in a hovel like this frequented by deadly serpents and scorpions.

What is the key to Thakkar Bapa's success? Like Gandhiji Thakkar is a strict disciplinarian and a hard task-master. He exacts work from people who surround him 'rather mercilessly', but then he himself works as hard as any of them. While merciless in the exaction of work, he has an abounding love for his adherents. I have never known Bapa losing his temper or getting cross with these workers even when he is given cause for greatest provocation. He has no family ties—his world is the world of his workers whom he loves with the love of a father. That is then the key to his success.

Sjt. Thakkar, though essentially a social and welfare worker, does not run away from 'hazardous' politics. I recall to my mind an incident in those early years. Like the Bhils of the Panch Mahals, the Kaliparaj in Surat district now known as Raniparaj, a new nomenclature given them by Mahatma Gandhi, meaning the inhabitants of the jungle—were suffering from similar disabilities. They were more or less 'serfs' absolutely in the grip of money-lenders and Zamindars. A few workers of Navsari organised an association for the uplift of this community. During the years 1921-23 splendid work of social amelioration was done amongst these aborigines, Dr. Sumant Mehta being the guiding spirit. They were addicted to drink, and their hard-earned money flowed into the coffers of the Baroda State. Their addiction meant for Baroda an excise revenue to the tune of two millions. Raniparaj going 'dry' meant a serious cut on this fat revenue. The Baroda officialdom was touched to the quick and the Collector of the district, got panicky. The situation reached a climax when the head of the Baroda bureaucracy, acting on the advice of his 'man on the spot', passed orders banning meetings in the district even for such innocent purpose as temperance work. Thakkar, as was to be expected, had thrown himself whole-heartedly into this work. Official stupidity at times comes to the rescue of the people and in this case it paved the way for the workers. We in the executive committee of the Kaliparaj Mandal of which Thakkar and Dr. Sumant were the two moving spirits resolved to 'civilly resist' the ban. Thakkar Bapa was sure of his ground and to set doubts at rest he moved the resolution himself. The Baroda official stiffness ultimately yielded, the Collector was transferred and the ban was withdrawn.

Thakkar Bapa, though drowned in social work, is no less a political enthusiast. When the call of his motherland came, he agreed to preside over the Mahuva session of the Bhavnagar Praja Parishad and the Porbunder session of the Kathiawar Rajkiya Parishad. He also had a hand in the formation of what is now an All-India organisation, the All-India States' People's Conference, and ever evinces a keen interest in its work.

He always tries to keep pace with the times. In 1930 when the country launched upon the memorable Satyagraha campaign, Bapa was naturally not at ease in his work. His heart was with the Congress. What about the Bhil Seva Mandal, was the one question facing him. Most of his workers had left him to court imprisonment. Meanwhile, once when he was watching from a distance picketing in Dohad, he was arrested. Mr. Deodhar, the President of the Servant of India Society, ran to Dohad to persuade Thakkar Bapa to put up a legal defence. But 'no', said Thakkar, "that is not the Congress creed". He would not defend himself and became an august prisoner of the Sabarmati Prison in company with hundreds of his compatriots.

Thakkar Bapa has many things in common with Gandhiji. I am conscious that Bapa would be cross with me for thus bracketting him with the 'greatest living man of the world'. Mahatmaji once said that if he had not been dragged into politics, he would have devoted himself solely to the service of the Harijans. And true, if left to himself, he would have been engaged in what Thakkar Bapa in his stead is doing today. Both of them possess a rare insight—the traditional insight of a Kathiawari—into things. Both of them have sat at the feet of and derived their inspiration from the same Guru, the late Mr. Gokhale, an embodiment of service. Both of them have immense love for children who gather round them just as they would round their parents, with joy. And I would not expose myself to ridicule by hazarding a comparison between Thakkar Bapa and Mahatmaji. I am simply trying to mention some points of similarity between the two, the qualities that are required of men who desire to raise the fallen and the down-trodden. Their world is the world of these unhappy people, the world of the poor and the disdained.

Thakkar Bapa's work of abiding value was also the famine and flood relief in Muttra and Orissa. When Orissa was overtaken by devastating floods, Thakkar Bapa organised relief work which was perfect to a point. His services

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are lovingly remembered in that province even to this day. In 1918-19 he undertook the onerous task of supplying clothing and grain to the labourers in distress of the Tata Steel Works at Jamshedpur.

Thakkar Bapa played a dominant roll in framing what is now known as the Poona Pact.

Of the Poona Pact was born the All-India Harijan Sevak Sangh. Thakkar Bapa readily undertook to organise it and place himself entirely at its disposal. He practically severed his connection with the Bhil Seva Mandal, leaving the young shoulders of his trusted lieutenant, Shrikant, to bear the burden—though his remains still the guiding hand and directing brain,—and devoted himself since then entirely to the service of the Harijans. In doing so, he has known no rest, he has travelled far and wide over the vast country to serve those whom others disdain to serve. He has laboured over preparations of valuable schemes for Harijan uplift, placed before the Congress Governments of U. P., C. P., Orissa and Bihar, and was invited by some of those governments to serve on various committees appointed by them.

When back from his Behar earthquake relief work, Thakkar Bapa had an attack of rheumatic fever. He was afraid it was the end of his career of service. A feeling of nervous despondency had crept on him and he wrote to his colleagues and co-workers to announce his determination to retire from active life and do what little he could in a quiet corner. But that despondency was not to last long. The Harijan work has rejuvenated him. He feels younger than most of us his juniors by years.

Thakkar Bapa is a man of very simple habits and unassuming manners. Clad in snow-white Khaddar, with a short *dhoti* and a long coat, with grey hairs covered by a Gandhi cap almost looking like a rustic, he is yet a personality that inspires awe and demands our respect.

Thakkar Bapa is a wonderful organiser. He is particular about the minutest details and does not brook even the slightest disorder or inaccuracy. He accounts for every minute of his time. His diaries make a very instructive reading and are a mine of useful information. He had once in his earlier years to superintend a boarding house. On entering the house he found dirt lying about here and there. He quietly picked it up himself and threw it out. This seemingly insignificant act of his was enough to put the inmates to shame. It was a mute object-lesson and the hostel ever since was kept very clean. Such then is Thakkar Bapa.

Let us pray that the Almighty may give him a further span of thirty years more to serve the poor and the distressed, the forsaken and the neglected, so that we may celebrate his century—though he wrote to me in a letter to say, "No, I do not wish it".

November 18th, 1939.

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H. M. PERCIVAL

A Glimpse of a Great Life

By S. N. DUTT, M.A., B.L.

To us personally more weighty perhaps . . . your proverbial love for your pupils. To any this may seem to be of minor importance, t to us, sensitive Bengalis, this is every-ng. We crave for gentle treatment, we ve for sympathetic assurances, and those o give us these have us at their service . . ." with these words Dr. Syama Prasad ookerjee once paid a striking tribute to the at teacher of his great father—Professor rrington Hugh Melville Percival of revered mory, whose death anniversary falls on the eenth of November.

The present generation of the Bengali th know but little of this distinguished cher, eminent educationist, and scholar of ernational renown at whose sacred feet had hered for learning and enlightenment a axy of young men during the thirty years 80—1911) of his intimate connection with Presidency College, Calcutta. He was her a European nor an Englishman but his e as a writer of English and an editor of ks of the greatest English authors is second none in this or any other country. The professor was a native of Chittagong, an llectual giant of encyclopaedic knowledge very branch of art, literature and science ; a meteor he rose high from the far-flung ament of this eastern frontier covering in r years with his intellectual effulgence creative personality a very wide range of numerous pupils who have since become pillars of Modern Bengal.

Born of Anglo-Indian parents on the January, 1855, on Braddon Hills at ttagong, Percival received his early educa-in his native town. He won laurels in ost all examinations right from the begin-s of his student life, and proceeded to the ted Kingdom with the much-coveted hrist Scholarship joining the University ege, London, in 1873. Here up to the year he had a most remarkable career—he was he Honours division at Matriculation, had ours in Latin and English for the B.A. ee, and Honours in Classics and French at second examination. He was second in order of merit in M. A. Examination in Classics. Percival was a keen student of Philosophy of Mind and Logic, attended classes in Zoology, Geology, Botany and History, and obtained a certificate of merit from the Faculty of Medicine. He had been also in the Third Humanity Class, classes in Natural History, Moral Philosophy, Greek language and literature in the University of Edinburgh. His academic distinction which had hardly been equalled by any Indian up to that date or even afterwards simply amazed

H. M. Percival

distinguished Professors like Henry Morley, Blackie, Robertson, Cassel, Wayte, and others —all well-known teachers who wrote in glowing terms of this pupil.

Percival returned to India fully equipped with his academic attainments, and joined the Presidency College on the 19th January, 1880, as a professor of English, and on his own merits he was soon appointed in the Indian Education

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Service. For over thirty years at a stretch, Percival continued to be one of the foremost and most popular professor in the premier college of the province becoming its acting Principal in the year of his retirement (1911) wielding all the while an extraordinary sway with his severe integrity of life and character. He was a savant indeed !

A great classical scholar, Percival was a master equally of Latin, Greek and English language. Of his profound scholarship it has been said:

"In his moments of leisure, he used to talk (to students) about the tranquil wisdom of Thucydides, the priceless epigrams of Tacitus, and the stories of Herodotus that surpassed all fairy tales and yet were strangely and exquisitely true, and the systems of Plato and Aristotle which gave the finest mental training to any one. He knew French very well, and he had a working acquaintance with German. He was a great lover of Goethe. But his first and best love was Shakespeare.....Percival drew upon the cumulative resources of a vocabulary at once varied, cogent and precise. Those of us who sat at Mr. Percival's feet can never forget the inspiration of his teaching and with them it will remain for all time to come as an abiding experience once enjoyed but never to be repeated." (Sir C. C. Ghose's presidential address at the unveiling ceremony of Prof. Percival's portrait at the Presidency College, Jan. 15, 1932).

The versatility of his intellect and broadness of vision swept far horizons. Almost simultaneously he was seen contributing articles on or discussing abstruse subjects like interpretation of Tibetan words, evolution of Hindu Music, Bimetallism, position of Manufacturing Industries in India, and such others. He was engaged in the verification of the dates of the inscriptions for Memorial Tablets at the Government request, he advised on a correct Geography for Indian students, and he was also regarded as a living authority in his time on Indian History, as the late veteran Harinath Dey once remarked. The then Director-General of Education in India introduced Percival as an authority on Indian History to the Intelligence Branch of the Military Department for which he corrected the introductory to the Indian History for General Information Book for the young officers coming to India. More remarkable was his rich contribution of Anglo-Indian vocabulary to the "Standard Dictionary" of America as one of the most learned editors of this famous work.

Of his illustrious library of books Percival made a gift to the Punjab University forming what has been labelled the "Percival Collection." This is a historic addition to the University Library at Lahore. He faithfully served the Calcutta University in different branches of its administration and examinations for years together, and even while in London he represented the University in the Congress of Universities of the British Empire held there in 1926, and the next year in the Triennial Conference on Imperial Education convened by the League of the Empire.

Sir Asutosh Mookerjee who regarded Professor Percival as foremost among the teachers of his youth, naturally urged upon the old master, shortly after inauguration of the Post-Graduate Classes in the Calcutta University, to return to India and take up a considerable portion of the M.A. course in English for which he was the only worthy scholar. The old man, however, had not stirred out of his retirement possibly owing to reasons of health.

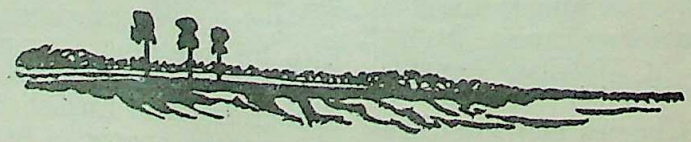
Percival was an idol of his pupils. On his abiding love and affection for his pupils, the following extract from his letter (written to Prof. P. C. Ghose in September, 1931) would be an interesting reading:

"Twenty years more or less have gone since I saw my old pupils, with the eyes of the body; but this length of time and these 7,000 miles of distance have not prevented my seeing them in my mind's eyes, whenever something brought to memory College days, and one or other of them; and this led from one to another and to others and to thoughts of the great bond that keeps together through long time and long distance, a teacher who has done his best, and pupils who felt that he had done so."

Even up to the last days of his life he had been regularly replying to hundreds of queries on literature and art coming from his beloved ex-pupils scattered over the country in different walks of life. The divine love for his boys swayed him till the end of his life. It was amidst the sweet frolics of Mullers children of the Ladbroke Gardens that Professor Percival quietly passed away in the early hours on November fifteenth, 1931. Almost the last words that he uttered before the bright lips closed for ever were—

"O Bless the Darlings !"

November 10, 1939.



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COMMENT AND CRITICISM

Plight of Indians in Ceylon

An article appearing in the October issue of *The odern Review,* on the Plight of Indians in Ceylon Dr. Nata Rajan. Director of the Political Infor- tion Bureau at Delhi, has caused me a good deal surprise and pain: surprise because of the complete k of a correct appreciation of the Ceylonese point view even by one from whom such an appreciation ld have been expected as a matter of course and row because of the violent tone of the article and contempt with which Ceylon is referred to as "this y island"—a tone little calculated to promote good ing between Ceylon and India.

Thanks to the work done by Polak, Lokamanya k and Mahatmaji the treatment afforded to Indians South Africa was widely published and even at that e shocked the whole civilized world and created ngst us a feeling of profound sympathy for the ians in South Africa. Ever since then South ca has been associated, not only in the minds of ians but also in our own, with the worst type of al consciousness and discrimination. To compare attitude adopted by Ceylon in what has been d its "policy of Repatriation" with that of South ca is therefore unjust to Ceylon, unwarranted by facts of the case and mischievous in that it is nd to create among Indians, an unnecessary feeling hostility towards Ceylon.

I entirely agree with Dr. Nata Rajan when he that the repatriation of so many Indians or luntary retirement" as it is called in Ceylon is h and unfair to the Indians and that a policy of ual substitution could have been adopted with ter mutual advantages. But to say that this sure was intended as an insult or to injure the respect and national honour of a great nation is st. The truth is that it was nothing more than wn in the hands of politicians used for their own onal profit. Indian readers must know that the es in Ceylon are politically uneducated and there- easily swayed by some petty slogan or catchword out their attempting to think out its consequences. On the other hand, I find it extremely difficult to how Dr. Nata Rajan could have been wrongly in- ed on so many important particulars. For in- ce, he says that the Ceylon Government is prepared spend Rs. 2,50,00,000 on its repatriation policy, reas the Ceylon State Council has voted only 5,00,000. While admitting that a sum of 5,00,000 is extremely large when compared with the ual revenue of Ceylon, one must admit, however, there is a vast difference between 5 lakhs and millions.

To prove that immigration does not bring about ployment Dr. Nata Rajan quotes Mr. Norman ll who says that the employment of A tends to e employment for B, in order to satisfy the needs . This is a sound and proved economic fact. But s carry the argument one step further and reach logical conclusion. If A be the number of non- nals employed, B the nationals who are employed atisfying the needs of A and C the number of nationals who are unemployed, then if we substitute C for A all our nationals will be employed, while a number of non-nationals will be unemployed. Obviously these have to be assisted back to the country of their origin in order that they might not be a burden to the country. This is exactly what is happening in Ceylon and we are merely claiming the right to care for our nationals first and then for others. Indians who have been fighting for so long for the right of self-determination, cannot deny this right to Ceylon. However, as I said before the method of giving expression to this right could have been more just.

Dr. Nata Rajan also claims that the franchise has been denied to Indians in Ceylon. All those who have been in residence in the country for more than five years have the right to vote and Indians in Ceylon have exercised this right to very good purpose; so much so that in the Ceylon State Council today are two elected Indian Members. In the first elected State Council under the Donoughmore Constitution there was an Indian as a Minister of State. Now, all the Ministers are Sinhalese and not only Indians but also the Ceylon Tamils have no representative on the Board of Ministers. This is due to the fact that the Sinhalese in the words of the Hon'ble Mr. D. B. Jayatilaka, the Minister for Home Affairs, "were determined to show the Donoughmore Commissioners that they could form a Pan-Sinhalese Ministry". Whatever may be said against this policy it cannot be regarded as discriminating against the Indians alone. Indians too have not been deprived of the Municipal Franchise and the Deputy Mayor of Colombo is an Indian who was elected against a Sinhalese rival by a Council consisting of a majority of Sinhalese.

Estate labour, both Indian and Ceylonese, has been excluded from the Village Tribunals. But the Village Tribunals are organizations particularly designed to conduct the affairs of a village, settle minor disputes and to take such measures as are necessary for the general improvement of the village. An Indian settled or living in whatever capacity in any village possesses the same rights as any other Ceylonese. It is only estate labour that is deprived of this right because they are recognised as belonging to a separate economic and social unit of the estate.

As further evidence of discriminatory measures against Indians Dr. Natarajan states that the rice merchants have been compelled to hold large stocks of rice in reserve without any compensation being paid to them for deterioration of quality and loss due to fluctuations of price. This is obviously untrue. The importers are being paid 50 cents per bag to cover any loss that might accrue to them as a result of this measure which has been necessitated by war conditions. It is unfortunate that all the rice merchants happen to be Indians thus enabling Dr. Nata Rajan to exploit a perfectly innocent measure taken to safeguard the people of Ceylon. As for the other discriminatory measures I do not need to say that none of them are discriminatory and were not intended to injure the pride and national honour of India and we can only hope that Mother India will not attempt to injure ours. Both Indians and Ceylonese are living in perfect har-

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mony in Ceylon with an amount of mutual respect and recognition of each other's greatness, necessary for the establishment of good relations.

Pandit Nehru's stirring farewell message is still ringing in our ears. Thinking people in Ceylon realise that our destiny lies not with the British Empire but with India, and we can envisage a time when Ceylon will be a free and independent member of a free and independent Federated States of India. When Pandit Nehru visited Ceylon certain reactionaries accused him of using the "big stick." No one can associate the "big stick" or for that matter any other stick, with a character of such outstanding nobility and meekness as Nehrujee. But Dr. Nata Rajan's reminder to "this petty island of the power and might of a world state like India" savours of the "big stick policy" so obnoxious to us all, and is not calculated to promote any identity of interests between India and Ceylon. Let us hope that saner counsels will prevail at the forthcoming Trade Talks between India and Ceylon and that the good relations existing between the two countries will be re-established in preparation for a closer union of the two.

A. VYTHIALINGAM

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Reconstruction of India's National Future

There is a contradiction in the argument contained in Swami Nikhilananda's article on the "Reconstruction of India's National Future" in *The Modern Review* for September, 1939 (pp. 320-3). He says that "the Indian National Congress in its wild enthusiasm to create Hindu-Muslim Unity seems to have forgotten the very soul of India, which represents an ideal that has kept Indian life and culture alive from time out of mind" (p. 320). He continues later on that "the social life of the Hindus reflects their spiritual ideal" (p. 321) and proceeds to describe the stages of a Hindu's life, Brahmachari, Grihastha, Vanaprastha and Sannyasa and concludes this part of his paper by saying that "the Hindu thinkers have evolved four ideals to be sought by each man with his own efforts (Purushartha). These four ideals are Dharma, Artha, Kama and Moksha. "This in short," says the Swami, "is the true spirit of the Hindu culture that has been evolved through the labour and efforts of centuries" (p. 322).

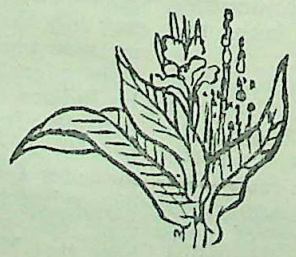
In the last but two paragraphs of his article he says that "every country has an ideal, and the people inhabiting the country must be loyal to it, otherwise anarchy and confusion reign," and cites the example of the United States of America which "contain people from many nations of Europe whose respective ideals are subordinated to the American ideal," and says that "every American irrespective of his origin is loyal to Americanism." Proceeding further he describes "Americanism as abiding faith in the correctness and justice of the principles of the Declaration of Independence, the constitution of the United States and the Bill of Rights" (p. 323).

Now by his own showing Americanism is a political ideal while the ideal towards the fulfilment of which "all efforts should be made and all energies harnessed" is spiritual and social, evolved by the Hindu thinkers.

What the analogy from America proves is that the people from different races and with different traditions and faiths can and do subordinate their several political consciousnesses to one all-embracing political ideal which ensures to each individual "free speech, free press and freedom to worship God." It is such a catholic ideal on which the national future of India needs must be reconstructed if the Mussalmans are also to be allowed to take their share in the national life of the country. They have so far remained and are likely to remain in the future unimpressed by a purely Hindu ideal, however excellent that may be from the point of view and for the needs of the Hindus. If you want to know why, the reply is supplied by Shri Shri Prakasa, M.L.A. in his article on "Hinduism: What may it be ?" in the *Indian Review* for September, 1939. Speaking of the "philosophic concepts that form the bases of the ancient faith of our country" he says "these two philosophic concepts—almost the cardinal doctrines of the faith—are 'Karma' (resultant action and 'Punarjanma' (rebirth) connoting that an individual gets what he deserves on the strength of his past actions and he gets life after life repeatedly in order to be enabled to rise higher and higher." He adds, "this is Hinduism in a nutshell." Now, these philosophical concepts are not accepted by Islam. I state this as a fact and do not do so to kick up the dust of controversy. My object in writing this brief note is to say that it will be easier for Mussalmans to accept nationalism as the basis of co-operation if its scope is confined to its political concepts alone as in America, unless, of course, by National the Swami means Hindu, but I take it that this is not so as he talks of Mussalmans in his article and hopes for their co-operation.

AHMAD SHAFI

Lahore.



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BURMA GOVERNMENT'S LAND PURCHASE SCHEME

By P. M. ISAAC

HE PROBLEM of agricultural land alienation is t confined to Burma alone. All agricultural ntries, in fact, have had similar experiences, ugh the same problem might have appeared ferently in different countries. In Burma, agrarian problem is by no means a new . It has been in existence for the last fifty ixty years but only recently has it assumed at importance. The depression years accented the cultivators' difficulties and made r plight extremely difficult and complex. ge tracts of argicultural lands passed into hands of non-agricultural money-lenders ng 1930 to 1934.

The economic condition of the peasant ivators became so bad that Dr. Ba Maw's lition Government when in power initiated important pieces of legislation. One of n ensures to the cultivator-tenant, so long e paid a fair rent, security of tenure and ents eviction. The second Act known as Land Alienation Act, prevents the passing nds from agricultural owners to non-agrirists.

The Chettiar capital which even now is the stay of Burma's agricultural finance was ly invested in Burma since 1907, the year hich there was a world-wide financial crisis nating in the U. S. A. Small agricultural owners found it difficult to repay the loans they were recalled resulting in the forere of agricultural holdings. During the ession years of 1930 to 1934 not only did otal agricultural credit dwindle down but al land-owners lost their lands to their tors. The accusation that the creditors anxious to foreclose lands on non-payment ans has been found to be untrue. Much st their will, many creditors became landrs. The fact that a large percentage of the agricultural landowners was non-Burmans non-resident landlords militated against grricultural money-lenders.

U Saw, the present Forest Minister to the rnment of Burma, introduced during the st Session of the House of Representatives l to empower the Government to purchase on payment of a *reasonable* price with a to distributing them to bona-fide landless ators. The whole scheme, according to U Saw, would cost about Rs. 30 crores. Distribution of lands purchased under this scheme will be done on a co-operative basis. To be more explicit, lands will be sold to a society composed of thirty or forty bonafide cultivators as members, at the same price as paid by the Government. The society will be jointly responsible for the repayment of the cost of land together with interest calculated at the rate of $3\frac{3}{4}\%$ per annum. A maximum period of twenty-five years will be given for the repayment of the total cost after which the land would become the cultivators' own. It is also proposed to spend about Rs. 2 crores in the first instance —this amount to come from surplus general revenues. The success or otherwise of this initial expenditure will decide what amount should be spent in succeeding years. Raising a loan or issuing debentures for the balance will also be considered if the scheme works out successfully.

Involving as it does, a tremendous amount of expenditure, and attempting to create peasant proprietorship by providing each landless cultivator with ten to twenty-five acres of land, this new scheme has given rise to a good deal of discussion. Divergent views have been expressed as to the soundness or otherwise of this venture. Some hail it with enthusiasm while others feel that it will not solve the root cause of the agrarian problem—the problem of agricultural indebtedness.

The Land and Agricultural Inquiry Committee in its report pointed out that it is uneconomic to have between the actual worker on the land and the State too large a class of persons with whom the State and the cultivator have to share the surplus produce of the land. The Committee drew pointed attention to the fact that the non-agriculturist landowner in Burma is frequently a resident of another country and it is not to the economic advantage of Burma that a large share of the profits of the land should have to be remitted year by year to another country. Furthermore, the report added that in a country like Burma where agriculture is the most important industry which gives livelihood to the bulk of the population, it is of advantage to the country as a whole that there should remain a large body of

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persons owning land and working it themselves and paying revenue direct to the State. It is desirable also on political grounds that the land in a country should be owned by the permanent residents who have a direct interest in the maintenance of law and order and in the stability of national institutions.

In Upper Burma the problem of land alienation is not prominent; but in Lower Burma the following figures indicate the relative position in 1926 and in 1937:

(In Million Acres)

Year.	Total occupied area.	Area occupied by Agriculturists.	Resident non-agriculturists.	Non-resident non-agriculturists.
1926	10·33	7·55	0·70	2·08
1937	11·20	5·90	0·98	4·32

This shows clearly the change that has taken place within eleven years in Lower Burma. The non-resident non-agriculturists ownership more than doubled within this period, while the total occupied area increased about one-twelfth. In Upper Burma however, the situation after eleven years was not so alarming as the following figures indicate:

(In Million Acres)

Year.	Total occupied area.	Area occupied by Agriculturists.	Resident non-agriculturists.	Non-resident non-agriculturists.
1926	7·93	7·24	0·31	0·38
1937	8·10	6·96	0·48	0·66

The two Acts mentioned above do not give complete relief to the agriculturists as most of them are landless and debt-ridden. Measures to provide each landless cultivator with ownership of agricultural land, therefore, are quite welcome especially when over 75 per cent of the population depend on this single occupation.

The new land purchase scheme which involves about Rs. 30 crores, therefore, needs careful examination before a final verdict is given for or against. The Chettiar community in Burma have been accused in the past of forcing the cultivators to give up their lands the moment default in payment of loans occurred. But the Chettiars have always upheld that they never had any interest in lands, money-lending being the prime motive of their business. Mr. A. M. M. Vellayan Chettiar, Member of the House of Representatives in Burma and the accredited leader of the Chettiars in a statement to the press in connection with U Saw's scheme said that the Chettiars would have little objection to the purchase of lands which are in their hands provided proper and adequate prices were paid. He further reminded that the scheme sounded too ambitious. The annual budgetary income of the Government of Burma is about Rs. 14 crores but the proposed scheme involves more than twice this amount. A commitment so huge, therefore, needs careful investigation and study.

It is problematical if all the existing rural problems could be solved by merely making a section of the rural population landowners. The most important factor for the welfare of the agriculturists is the ease with which rural credit could be obtained. Not only the purchase of land but the necessary finance to work the land must be forthcoming. Secondly, the cultivators must be assured of a good price for primary products. If the Government fail to provide these two, it will not be long before land purchased by Government and distributed among cultivators, again goes back to the Government.

In the event of adverse prices or world wide depression the landowners would find themselves unable to pay back the annuity amount and the interest, and consequently Government will virtually become a landlord. The Land and Agricultural Committee no doubt after careful examination, has said that between tenancy and ownership, the former is more advantageous inasmuch as there will not be any room for a recurrence of lands passing from the hands of the agriculturists to money lenders.

This view of the Committee is rather very short-sighted as the essential problem is to create a class of peasant proprietors and not to preserve a class of tenant cultivators.

The present land purchase scheme will not compel the non-agricultural landowners to sell their lands at the behest of the Government. Such a compulsion as far as the Chettiars are concerned is not necessary as they will be only too pleased to sell the lands at *reasonable* price. The word "reasonable" (which I have been purposely using in italics in this article) is rather very indefinite. It would therefore require a good deal of investigation and calculation before what a *reasonable* price agreed upon between both the parties would be. The amount staked against the security of land by agricultural financiers was based on the high value of land prevailing before the depression years. Since then, the value of land has fallen considerably and if the ruling prices are taken to be *reasonable* prices then surely the financiers will have to undergo loss of capital. An agree

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le formula to decide what a *reasonable* ice of a piece of land is, will be to take the erage price prevailing in a certain locality for particular type of land for several years.

Government also should take into con- eration that in case the agriculturists find it rd to work these lands, in return for the oney spent by the Government, it will be left th a lot of lands the administration of which l be still more difficult. The purchase and tribution of land will not solve the agricul- al problem, if the wider agrarian question— al indebtedness—is left in the background. Any scheme, if it is to succeed, must be so devised as to reduce the possibilities of increas- ing indebtedness. Otherwise, however laudable a scheme may be, it would in a very few years defeat the purpose for which it is introduced.

Though the Forest Minister was very anxious to have the Bill passed in the August Session, the members of the House, conscious of the importance of this piece of legislation, voted for referring the scheme to a Select Com- mittee. The report of the Select Committee is anxiously awaited by all those interested in the agrarian problems of this land.

MILLIONS FROM WASTE

How Women Can Help The Country ?

By Mrs. CHAMAN LAL
Delhi

A is notorious for economic ignorance and e of secondhand materials which yield ions of pounds in other countries. One may r with the politics of Germany and Japan, no one can deny that these two nations e developed a unique technique for the sation of waste materials, which are thrown the dustbin in our country. It is a well- n fact how Germany is rearing a few million on the kitchen waste economically preser- by house-wives, while in our country the waste rots in open dustbins for hours and in spreading disease.

In Japan I have witnessed how primary middle school boys raise millions of Yen year from waste materials such as old s, news-papers, magazines, cigarette paper collected from every house in spare hours g weekly holidays. Even England, one of richest countries in the world, is adopting measures in her own way and last year g my stay in England I often came across -posts like letter boxes, outside hospitals labelled requests to passers-by to throw ette paper in those boxes so that the sale eds may be utilised for helping the tal. Many other nations have in the last years adopted plans to utilise waste ials. Tokyo Municipality is saving quite e sum by turning city refuse into coal d other chemical needs.

While these elaborate plans must be left e hands of the newly formed Congress Planning Board, I can suggest a humble plan of utilisation of waste materials which can be worked out by Women's clubs and girls' schools in every city and town, which can boast of having a few public-spirited women.

The waste materials can easily be collected by forming an organisation of volunteers from primary and middle school boys and girls who would go round in batches once or twice a month and collect waste materials from homes. These waste materials should be turned into useful articles after thorough disinfection and the proceeds may be utilised for helping widows, orphans and the disabled people.

I give below a list of the used articles which are usefully worked out in girls' schools in Japan, most of these can be equally utilised by our sisters in India.

Wastes	Works
Old Straw hats	slippers; waste paper baskets; picture frames; etc.
Post-cards	paper boxes; waste paper baskets; flower baskets; coal holders; chop-stick-cases; sheets for vases; cushions, etc.
Over-coats	bags; slippers; etc.
Envelopes	the same reformed; the same turned inside out; etc.
Blank sheets or one-sided blank sheets of paper	memoranda, daily calenders, notebooks; etc.
Frontispieces of magazines	picture albums; covers of notebooks; decorations; etc.
Labels	decorations; etc.
Covers on boxes of cake	envelopes and the like.
Wrapper over packing boxes	lady's work boxes; etc.

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Cigarette paper cases ..	sheets for vases and the like; tags; etc.
Caramel-cases ..	pencil-stands; tags, labels; etc.
Wrappers ..	cords; paper strings, etc.
Blank portions in label sheets of stamps ..	means for binding broken sheets of glass and the like.
Tin foil ..	letter weights; decorations; etc.
Fine paper-cords ..	little baskets; braids; etc.
Boxes of cake ..	paper fans; etc.
Writing brushes ..	paste brushes; etc.
Air pillows ..	watch-ribbons; bags holding wet towels; crog-covers; etc.
Waste silk, cotton waste ..	braids; tapes; etc.
Record-pins ..	fish-scale strippers; etc.
Ties ..	purses; cushions; bed-covers; braids; bands; etc.
Socks and stockings ..	(repairing and reforming); dolls; shoe polisher; bath-mats; etc.
Scraps (from dress cutting) ..	bed-covers; cushions; table-cloths, sheets for vases; wall decorations; dolls; carpets; etc.
Curtains ..	cushions for summer; sheets for vases; table-cloths; etc.
Shirts; underwears ..	nickers and the like; drawers; etc.
Umbrella and its frames ..	cushions; bed-covers; table-covers; etc.

Many more items can be added according to the needs of various provinces and the results can be exchanged by different clubs and societies.

Woman Can Work Wonders

These are small things apparently but when organised on a large scale, they will bring surprising results. My travels abroad have convinced me that women can work wonders when properly organised and led by self-sacrificing and talented leaders of their sex. There is no dearth of talent and spirit of public service among my sisters and I am sure that in future years women will play a far more important role in the rejuvenation of India.

Millions of women volunteers are devoting their spare time and energy to the cause of social service in Japan. Women of China are working wonders. Women of England, America and several other western countries are taking full share in their national affairs.

Let the women of India play their proper role in bringing new life to India by quiet and solid constructive work.

COLLEGE EDUCATION

What it Might Be

By Dr. G. S. KRISHNAYYA, M.A., Ph.D.

A college is like a child's box of letters: out of it you can get almost anything you want. Here are a few things which you can find in college. If college is to mean all it can and should it is imperative that you should decide early what you want to get out of your stay and study in college and how you are going to manage it.

To start low in the scale—you may learn new fashions, to be ultra-stylish ludicrously so. The already heavy burden on family resources is often increased to insufferable limits to outfit these tailor-made gentlemen. The extraordinary expenditure on dress by college students has been deplored by more than one well-wisher of the country. Fortunately, there are still left a few sane youngsters who can depend on neatness, cleanliness and good taste to proclaim to the world their collegiate standing. "Costly thy apparel as thy purse can buy, but not expressed in fancy" is a piece of advice not less good for the lapse of centuries.

It is possible to find friends in a college. Some of the most unforgettable memories of college days turn round the discovery of kindred minds, the friends one has tested and found true. These friendships are permanent and precious possessions. But quite often you do not get the maximum benefit from this source and many have reason to ask to be delivered from their friends. The tremendous influence for good or for evil which friends exert should make one wary of one's association with the variety of students who come from almost everywhere. There is more truth than poetry in the challenge— "Tell me who your friends are and I'll tell who you are".

College Atmosphere

College life has its fascination for many. It can bring cultured interests and refined manners and a nobler plane of thought and action. It ought to—it is meant to. Or it may lead to mere gaiety, giddiness and good nature

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olourlessness. A corporation of learning which college is expected to be, should encourage a ommerce of ideas and the enrichment of life's alues. College training should visibly polish e mind but the gain in polish is often small comparison to the time it takes. It sometimes seems as though we have more pleasantinded students today than of old. "They ome", as Mrs. Browning would say, "and eat eir bread and cheese on the high altar." hey who make light of self-control, courtesy nd obedience to legitimate authority, are erely advocating the brazen satisfaction of tive impulses and brutal passions, and are kely to rob the citizens and rulers of torrow of the qualities which give beauty and eadth and balance of life.

This does not mean, however, that there ust be a funereal atmosphere in the colleges d that sack-cloth and ashes should become e regulation dress of our collegians—far from at. College days can be the happiest in one's e—rich, varied, buoyant. A well-planned ogramme of games and sports, of debates, amas and excursions, all backed up by organized student body and encouraged by an enthusiastic democratic staff, should a long way to make college life the lively, sorbing, delightful thing it ought to be. It in the give and take of this active life that ugh corners are knocked off and adjustability d agreeable manners are cultivated. Virtues e not known to grow in a social vacuum.

Mighty Minds of Old

There is another aspect which attracts some dents to college—intellectual nourishment. is is usually considered the *raison d'etre* for college, but the behaviour of most young ple would suggest that it existed for every er purpose but that. Taking into consideration the commonest of motives, the passing of next examination, it seems prudent for dents to take up their academic work iously. Better be, if necessary, an outcast d study than be cast out for not studying. t working just for a degree will make you, y likely, a degree-holder, but you want to a bigger and better man besides. There is a noble disregard of utility in the self-rewarding exercise of the mind. Says Dr. Johnson, "There is nothing so minute or inconsiderable that I would not rather know it than not". That demands extensive reading, critical thinking and association with the mighty minds, living and dead.

Men impressed with the unexplored bigness of every little subject cannot but be growing in reverence as they grow in knowledge. A graduate should leave his college bearing the caste mark of sweetness and light, plain living and high thinking, self-knowledge, self-reverence and self-control. It is now also that students should multiply 'interest pockets,' increase their sources of pleasure and prepare for the moonlight period of man's existence—the hours and days of leisure and retirement. Living is not less important than livelihood.

Master Spirits

Speaking about the inspiring companionship of books and men, the role of the teacher cannot be forgotten. A college is more than brick and mortar, more than apparatus and furniture, more even than students and Board Members. It is largely the presence of great minds and large hearts, men capable of true insight, generous enthusiasm, and whole-souled encouragement. The privilege of contact with such nobly infectious masters should be amongst the attractions of every college and conscious emphasis should be laid on the development of close and productive co-operation between the students and such teachers. Let us never forget that the chief business of college teachers and college taught is the giving and receiving of ideals and that the ideal is a burning and shining light, not now only, but for all time. The life and influence of such active and sympathetic instructors should prevent individuals from developing into intellectual Dreadnoughts that cannot be got out of the dock, men who have eaten of the lotos and forget to return. The best kind of scholar diffuses culture and taste without conscious effort. Now, the greatest thing that you can get from your college is the inspiration to learn, and having learned, to do. To the college that is at once an opportunity and a challenge.

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THE COURSE OF FLOGGING IN ENGLISH LAW

By ANIL KRISHNA SARKAR, M.A., B.L.

I

Whipping at the Cart's Tail

So far as the Europeans are concerned, the system of inflicting bodily blows has undoubtedly been derived from the Roman Law. The scourge held a prominent place in the Roman Code; and later nations have signified approval by introducing it in their legislative enactments. Flagellation under the various names of whipping, scourging and flogging, was a common punishment in ancient Europe. The Romans, however, carried the practice farther than any other nation. Flagellatic emblems were common in every Roman house; and the judges of that nation were surrounded with an array of whips, scourges and leather-straps in order to terrify offenders and bring them to a sense of duty. Soldiers were often so violently flogged that they fainted under the hands of the executioner. The excessive abuse of the lash ended at times in mutiny and riot, particularly because the number of blows were not determined by law, but left to the will of the arbitrary commanders.

The whip has prevailed in England also from time immemorial. It became in course of time a symbol of authority at which even bearded men trembled and was wielded with tyrannical power by the ancient rulers. When servants were all serfs or slaves, as during the Anglo-Saxon period, whipping was the common punishment for almost any and every offence. Indeed, it was no unusual thing at that time for servants to be scourged to death by order of their masters or mistresses.

In the "spacious times of great Elizabeth," the whipping-post was an established institution in every town and village in England. Taylor says:

> "In London and within a mile I ween,
> There are of gaols or prisons full eighteen,
> And sixty whipping-posts and stocks and cages."

It is evident that the people at that time were profoundly impressed with the efficacy of whipping as a judicial punishment.

Wrote an old writer :

> "I myself know a man who had proceeded so far as to lay his hand upon a silver spoon with a design to make it his own, but upon looking round and seeing a whipping-post in his way, he desisted from the theft."

The executioner's remuneration for inflicting a whipping was four pence per head. To prevent any disastrous consequence, the authorities occasionally used to spend something extra "for beare for her after she was whipped".

By Statute 39 Elizabeth Chap. 4, it was enacted that every vagabond etc. should be publicly whipped and sent from parish to parish where he or she was born. The Act was confirmed and enlarged in the first year of James I's reign, but repealed in the reign of Queen Anne.

In the time of Charles I flogging was a common sentence for such offences as came within the cognizance of the Star Chamber. Offenders were sentenced to be whipped in addition to hard labour or branding on the face with the letters F. A. (false accuser) and so on.

Towards the close of the 17th century, political offences were punished with severest whipping. Judge Jeffreys flourished about this time and became notorious for awarding cruel sentences. King Charles II said of him, "That man has no learning, no sense, no manners and more impudence than ten carted street-walkers". Thus when Jeffreys had a chance of sentencing a woman to be whipped at the cart's tail, he would say :

> "Hangman, I charge you to pay particular attention to this lady ! Scourage her soundly, man. Scourage her till her blood runs down ! It is Christmas, a cold time for madam to strip in ! See that you warm her shoulders thoroughly."

When passing judgment on a drunken tailor who fancied himself a prophet, Jeffreys roared, "Impudent rogue, thou shall have an easy, easy, easy punishment". One part of the "easy punishment" was the pillory in which the wretched fanatic was almost killed with brickbats.

In 1685 when Judge Jeffreys was Lord Chief Justice, Titus Oates underwent a whipping unprecedentedly severe. He was tried for perjury and given a frightful sentence. During the ambulant performance at the cart's tail from street to street, he was whipped with a whip of six thongs and received 2256 lashes amounting to 13,536 stripes. Whipping went on busily during Jeffreys' memorable and bloody campaign. When he could not convict prisoners of high treason, he sentenced them to be scourged for "misdemeanours" and indiscreet words.

Thieving as well as "vagabondism and sedition" were frequently punished with whipping at that time. For instance, Mary Lamb and Jane Peel, two servants, were respectively

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dicted for stealing a silver spoon, value 9 s., nd money and jewellery to the value of £30/- £40/- and tried at the Old Bailey in Decem- er, 1689. They were both found guilty to the alue of 10 d. Mary was ordered to be whipped om Newgate to Holborn Bars and Jane Peel om Newgate to Aldate. This restriction to e small sum of 10 d. saved thieves from being onvicted of a capital offence.

It was about this time (*i.e.* 1689) that the mous Bill of Rights came into being. It con- ins a declaration of the subjects' rights as ainst the Crown to the effect "that cruel nishment ought not to be effected"; never- eless, whipping continued.

The last public whipping through the eets of Glasgow by the hangman took place the 8th May, 1822. The culprit, who was tenced to be flogged at the cart's tail for isting and encouraging a riot, was brought t of the gaol and bound to the cart which was iting. Guards were placed in front and rear keep off the crowd and when all was ready, culprit's back was laid bare by the hang- n who gave him his 80 lashes with a formid- e cat-o'-nine-tails in four instalments, the soner all the time groaning and lamenting fate. "This example", reported a com- ntator, "had the most salutary effect: it ught the mob that there was a power over m after all; and there was an end of rioting."

The law for the whipping of women was in e till the 19th century. The public inflic- n was abolished by Statute 57 George III, p. 75 in 1817. Three years later women e also exempted from private whipping by Statute I George IV, Chap. 57. (1820).

II

Present Law

Whipping is even to this day one of the les of punishment at Common Law for cer- "misdemeanours". Although it has never n formally abolished, it is, however, seldom cted in modern times except under some utory authority.

The present statutory law in England horises whipping of adult males in addition or instead of any other punishment in the owing cases:

(*a*) Where the offender is convicted of g an "incorrigible rogue", *e.g.*, habitual ars etc. (*Vide* Section 10 of the Vagrancy 1834, 5 Geo. IV, Chap. 83).

(*b*) Where the accused is convicted of harging fire-arms or explosive substances the Sovereign. (*Vide* Section 2 of the son Act, 1842, 5 and 6 Vict., Chap. 51).

(*c*) Upon a conviction for robbery or assault with intent to rob whilst armed with an offensive weapon or instrument. (*Vide* Section 43 of Larceny Act, 1861, 24 and 25 Vict., Chap. 96).

(*d*) In the case of persons convicted of the offence to choke, suffocate or strangle any one or of using any means calculated to do so with intent to commit or to enable any other person to commit an indictable offence. (*Vide* Section 21 of Offences against the Person Act, 1861, 24 and 25 Vict., Ch. 100 and Section 1 of Garrotters Act, 1863, 26 and 27 Vict., Ch. 44).

Sir James Stephen spoke of the last-named Act as an Act

> "so capriciously worded that if a man beat a woman about the head with intent to rob her, he may be flogged, but not, if his object is to ravish or murder her."

But the point is answered by the decision in *R.* v. *Smallbone* (1898), 33 L.J. page 124 (cited in Halsbury's *Laws of England,* Vol. IX, under Article . 787.), where a person convicted of attempting to choke a woman with intent to commit a rape on her was sentenced at the Hampshire Assizes to two whippings and 7 years' penal servitude.

Whipping is also authorised in certain cases tried before Courts of Summary Jurisdiction under the Summary Jurisdiction Act, 1879, (42 and 43 Vict., Chap. 49, Section 10). There are two other Acts under which flogging is still allowed. The first is the Prisons Act, 1898. By this Act, a convict cannot be whipped for any prison offence except mutiny and gross personal violence to an officer or servant of the prison. No Governor of any Prison can, however, order a flogging which must be approved by the Board of Visitors and confirmed by the Secretary of State in the case of an offender over 28 years.

The other Act is known as the Naval Discipline Act, 29 and 30 Vict., Chap. 109, Sections 52, 53 and 55. Previously, the system of flogging in the naval service was much more severe than it ever was in the army, because the captain of a man-of-war was at once judge and jury. In the army, there was but one Act for the government and discipline of its separate corps, which authorized flogging for a long series of years. Even at the beginning of the 19th century, court-martial sentences of 1000 lashes were very common for mutiny and other grave offences even in time of peace. But in deference to public opinion, corporal punishment was abolished by the Army Act, 1881, and summary punishment provided as a substitute. This consists of hard labour, personal restraint

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of being kept in fetters, and in its severest form, of being attached to a fixed object in such a manner as to be kept in a fixed position for two hours at a time. Soldiers are still liable to a corporal punishment, limited to 25 lashes, when in military prison for an offence against the prison rules and for highway robbery with violence.

In the navy also, the days of reckless and indiscriminate flogging are now past: no sailor may now be flogged without a Council of Inquiry being held by the Captain and his two lieutenants. The actual orders and regulations of the Admiralty absolutely prohibit the hasty inflictions of punishment and restrict the amount in all cases. By a Circular issued in 1854 it was enjoined that flogging should only be inflicted for insubordination and other heinous crimes and only for second or future offences. Boys cannot be flogged with the cat. Although flogging has not been totally abolished in the navy, it is now allowed under numerous restrictions.

III

Youthful Offenders

At Common Law the instrument to be used for whipping and the number of strokes are left to the discretion of the person who inflicts the punishment. When a sentence of whipping is pronounced by justices, the order must specify the instrument and number of strokes. If the offender is under 14 years of age, the number of strokes must not exceed 12 and the instrument must be a birch-rod. Under the Garrotters Act of 1863, a Court may direct a person convicted of robbery to be privately flogged—not more than three times. If the offender is under 16, the number of strokes at each whipping must not be more than 25; and, no matter what the offender's age, the number must not be more than 50 in any case. In Scotland, no offender above 16 years of age can be whipped for theft or any offence against person or property.

In England, a male person under 16 years may be whipped under the following Acts:

(*a*) Larceny Act (24 and 25 Vict. Ch. 96). Such offences are simple larceny or any felony made punishable by the Act like simple larceny (Section 4); simple larceny after a conviction for felony (Section 7); simple larceny or any offence punishable under the Act; like felony after any two summary convictions made punishable summarily under the Act or under the Malicious Damage to Property Act. (Section 9).

(*b*) Offences against the Person Act (24 and 25 Vict., Ch. 100). Such offences are injuring or attempting to injure persons by explosive or corrosive substances (Sections 28-30); unlawfully and maliciously putting things on a railway etc. with intent to endanger the safety of railway passengers (Section 32).

(*c*) Malicious Damage to Property Act (24 and 25 Vict., Ch. 97). Such offences are setting fire or attempting to set fire to houses etc. (Sections 1-8).

(*d*) Criminal Law Amendment Act (48 & 49 Vict., Ch. 69). Such offences are unlawfully and carnally knowing or attempting to have carnal knowledge of any girl under the age of 13 (Sec. 4).

(*e*) Punishment of Incest Act (1908, 8 Edw. VII, Chap. 48).

IV

Proposed Abolition of Flogging

In our day the tide of public opinion has turned against the use of the whip and many hold that this mode of punishment ought not to be practised even in the interests of justice, as its tendency they affirm, is to harden and debase the criminal. On the other hand, there are others who think that the lash is the appropriate and only efficient punishment for certain crimes, and, with some natures, the fear of the lash is likely to have a more powerful influence than any other punishment. Nobody in our day would, however, advocate a return to the process of whipping the crimnal through the streets at the cart's tail; yet the sentences for robbery with violence and sexual crimes are usefully strengthened by the addition of a flogging to the usual imprisonment with hard labour. At present, however, there is a tendency to sacrifice justice to mercy and to deal very gently and humanely with criminals, and it is a question whether this excessive tenderness may not in the course of time be followed by disastrous consequences.

Most of the judges of our time are very reluctant in punishing an offender with whipping and think that the present sentences of whipping are due rather to the idiosyncrasies of the particular judges than to any prevalent belief among the public or the Press as to the efficacy of whipping in its severer form. Justice Hawkins (afterwards Lord Brampton) came to this conclusion: "You make a perfect devil of the man you flog." This was perhaps the idea which inspired Sir Samuel Hoare to propose the abolition of corporal punishment in Clause 32 of his recent Criminal Justice Bill. One has yet to see in what shape the Bill is finally placed in the Statute Book.

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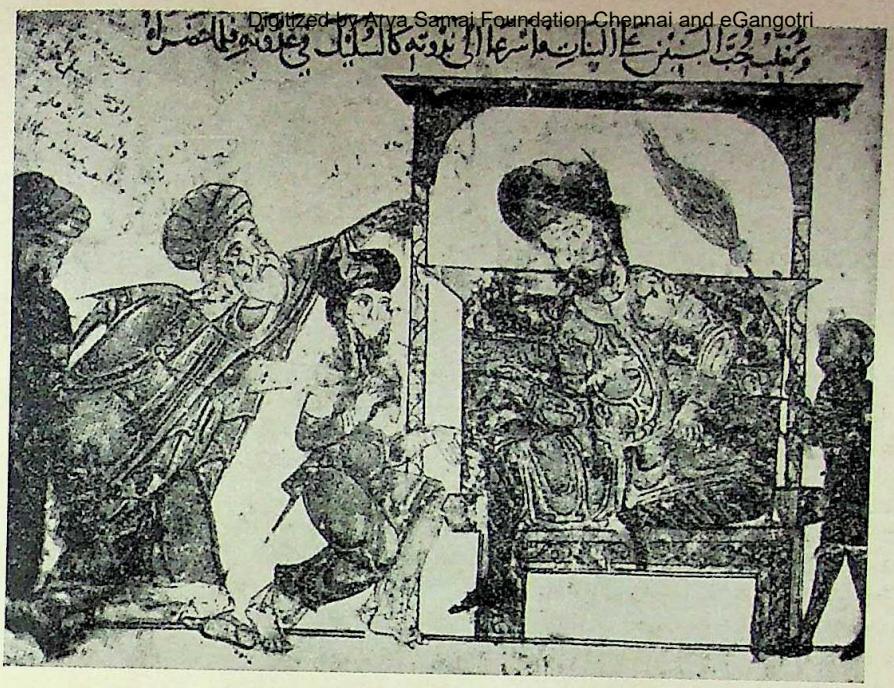
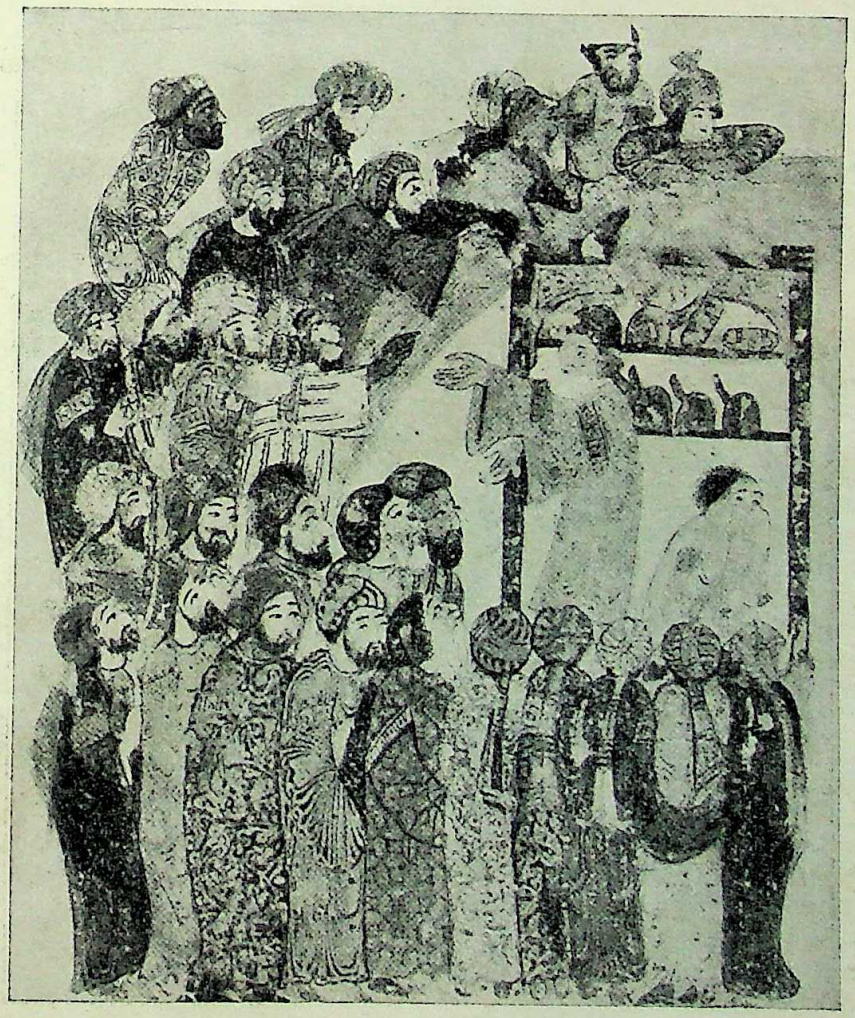


Islamic Art
The Bagdad School

Abu Seid accusing a young man before the Wali



[See "Foreign Periodicals"]

Abu Seid playing the barber, and onlookers

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Abu Seid disguised as a poverty-stricken old woman

Colour-bearers of the Caliph

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INDIAN PERIODICALS

The War Comes

After 25 years war has broken out again in Europe. No less important than the problems of security and defence is the task of continuance of the tenor of human life for millions of civil population who are not engaged in actual warfare in this country and in every other country. Writes *Science & Culture* editorially :

The lessons of the last War provide a pointer to what may be in store for us, the people of India, in course of the present struggle; specially if the expectation that the present war will continue for three years comes unfortunately to be true. It may be recalled that during the last War, prices of all commodities gradually soared up and the supply of many essentials of life, for which India depended on foreign countries, was very much disturbed. The price of textiles, one of the fundamental necessities, of human life, soared up so high that many people in the villages could not buy few pieces of *Dhoti* for years. If the present war also continues for three years, as is expected, cloth supply may not be affected, because within the last 25 years India has forged ahead in this line but even of this we are not quite sure, if Japan swells the rank of belligerents. Textiles, however, are but one of the essentials. The war threatens to cut off the supply of other commodities no less essential, *e.g.*, machineries, chemicals and metals necessary for many manufacturing processes, for locomotives and other transport materials, for telegraphic and telephonic and radio goods, papers, scientific instruments, glass apparatus, etc. many of the manufacturing concerns of the country have to close down on account of lack of supply of essential materials and apparatus.

The Government of India takes a resolution.

During the Great War, this situation became so acute that the Government of India was forced to express the Secretary of State as follows :

"After the War, India will consider herself entitled to demand the utmost help which our Government can afford, to enable her to take her place, as far as circumstances permit, as a manufacturing country."

The motive behind the resolution was clearly to create for India autarchy in all essential industrial commodities and on paper it was accepted by the Secretary of State for India. Though nearly 20 years have passed, the amount of autarchy achieved has been negligible.

In spite of successive Commissions, Committees, Advisory Councils and new Departments of Government practically nothing has been done to substantially establish industrial autarchy for India.

What were the lessons of the Great War on other countries ?

But how different was the reaction of other countries to the last War, the effect of which was felt not only by India, but by all the belligerent as well as non-belligerent countries. It revealed for the first time the extreme amount of dependence of different countries upon each other for even the most essential commodities of life. This condition was the result of the Industrial Revolution and the principle of Free Trade, which was its necessary corollary. It is admitted that Germany was forced to her knees not so much by allied victories on the field, as by the naval blockade which deprived her of many of the essential materials required for the manufacture of armaments and cut down her food supply. On account of the unrestricted submarine warfare, England too was at one stage in danger of being starved to submission. Even neutral countries did not escape the effects of general chaos. Countries like Switzerland, and Sweden prior to the War depended for their fuel and power supply mostly on imported coal either from England or from Germany. During the War both these supplies were either totally cut off or seriously interrupted, and the people had to bear great hardships. In Sweden the interference with the import of foodstuffs and green vegetables was very keenly felt.

Almost all the countries without exception after the War began to think of autarchy or self-sufficiency in the production and supply of materials essential for human life, as well as for those commodities necessary for defence and offence.

In other words, the tendency was to return to pre-Industrial Revolution system of economics. But this was rendered extremely difficult as the requirements of modern civilisation were much more multifarious than in any previous century. Planning for a new economic system became the order of the day. The amount of success achieved by different countries has been variable, but in most European countries so much progress has been made towards autarchy that it is expected that the present war, even if it develops into a world conflagration, will not affect many countries as disastrously as it did on the last occasion.

Japanese Influence on Western Life

Shio Sakanishi of the Library of Congress in Washington, D. C., observes in *The Aryan Path* :

In 1880 Basil Hall Chamberlain introduced to the English-speaking public translations of the Japanese classical *tanka* with its thirty-one syllables and the

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more modern *haiku* of seventeen syllables. This was soon followed by a series of translations of Japanese poetry in French which attracted the attention of the Imagists whose ideal was to free the verse-form from convention, to give symbolic value to their images and to suppress undue personal emotion. The clarity of outline and of image, the extreme brevity and the power of suggestion in Japanese poetry proved their inspiration. Dissatisfied with English poetry, as it was then written, F. S. Flint, T. E. Hulme, Ezra Pound and others proposed to replace it by the Japanese poetic form and wrote dozens of *haiku* as an amusement. Hulme especially, who was a philosopher as well as a poet, appreciated the vigorous mental discipline which the Japanese poets imposed on themselves in order to record accurately their sense experiences. Only by a concentrated effort of the mind can a poet distil these sensations into pure poetry, which in turn must give birth to a train of other poetic thoughts.

The first poet who actually experimented with the five-line form of the *tanka* was Adelaide Crapsey.

Her *cinquain,* which began to appear in the summer of 1909, was the result of her study of William Porter's translation of an old Japanese anthology entitled *Hyaku-nin Isshu* or "One Hundred Poems by One Hundred Poets," which had appeared earlier in that year. The clarity and sharpness of the imagery and the restrained melancholy of the Japanese *haiku* are echoed in her *cinquain.* For example, Miss Crapsey's poem,

> Well and
> If day on day
> Follows, and weary year
> On year . . . and every day and year . . .
> Well ?

reminds one strongly of Onotsura's *haiku,*

> Days and years spread their beauty . . . and
> We watch them . . . and
> The flowers turn and fade . . . and

John Gould Fletcher's *Japanese Prints,* which was published in 1918, was the outcome of his interest in and admiration for Japanese poetry and colour prints. In the preface he urges that Occidental poets should follow the spirit rather than the form of Japanese potry. Amy Lowell, who admired Fletcher's poems, published in the following year *Pictures of the Floating World,* a collection of poems on Oriental themes. The title itself was of course taken from the generic name given to the popular colour prints which depict the world of fleeting pleasures, and, as Glenn Hughes writes, "Miss Lowell succeeds admirably in attaining the compression as well as the psychological values of her models." Ezra Pound's *Cathay,* published in 1915 and his rendering of the classical *No* drama from Fenollosa's notes were also significant. In fact a majority of the Imagists manifested an unusual interest in the poetry and painting of the Orient and found inspiration in them. Although, strictly speaking, their movement came to an end in 1917, their influence can be traced in the more vital and intellectual poetry of T. S. Eliot and other post-war poets of both England and America.

The *No* plays were translated originally by Fenollosa and completed by Ezra Pound in 1916 with an introduction by Yeats.

Yeats at the time was experimenting with dramatic forms in his effort to establish the Irish national drama. When one of his plays was acted by a student of the Japanese *No* dance without stage-setting or lighting, he was tremendously impressed by the expressive quality and emotional intensity of the performance. It is the dramatic form from which the so-called stage manner is most completely excluded. Since both expression and movement are reduced to a minimum, it is impossible to create on the stage an elemental beauty unless one has an elemental sensation and a genuine emotion. The dancer of *No* plays recedes from his audience, but that distance or separation is at the same time intimate and binding. "He recedes," writes Yeats, "but to inhabit, as it were, the deeps of the mind." Indeed, the masks, the chorus the rhythmic pause at moments of intensity all give beauty and emotional subtlety which the Western stage has lacked, and Yeats wrote that it was now time to copy the East and to live deliberately.

Soil Erosion and its Control in Central India and Rajputana

Wherever man has exploited virgin soi promiscuously for agriculture, severe deteriora tion due to erosion in the soil's capacity t maintain populations has resulted. Erosio effects may sometimes be very drastic an beyond economic reclamation. Y. D. Wad write in *Agriculture and Live-stock in India* :

Natural resources can best be preserved human use by means of preventive measures. T soils of Central India and Rajputana are no exceptio to this. Evidence of rain wash is seen everywhere th the monsoon-affected regions of Central India and th submontane agricultural tracts of Rajputana. In add tion, the latter are exposed to wind erosion and san drift.

The black cotton soils of Malwa and the hea soils in the other tracts in Central India crack freel Rats and other rodents burrow holes and undergrou passages. Human-beings and cattle leave foot trac All these causes as well as the irregularities of soil su face produced during previous agricultural operatio are very suitable for providing *foci* which may indu concentrated flows of accumulated rain-water.

The surface soil is in the form of loose crumbs varying shapes and sizes, overlying, in a comparative thin layer, a compact substratum. The sharp and i termittent heavy showers of rain, especially in the ear part of the season, quickly saturate and make the loo layer mobile owing to the inability of falling rain penetrate the underlying soil zones as rapidly as reaches them. The water so laden with the fertile co ponents of the highland rushes on to the low-ly areas washing and scouring field after field.

It may be pointed out here that the greater t volume and speed of running water, the more seve will be its erosion damage. Channels are formed co mencing as small washouts which develop into gulli Surface soil disappears and the soluble chemicals a leached out. The rich humus-laden upper soil lay being removed, raw sub-soil is continually exposed a has little time to mature and become efficient in cro ping capacity. A very large proportion of agricultur

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d in these tracts consists of such immature d types.

Hence it is absolutely essential to stop water run-g into fields from outside and to regulate its speed en it accumulates and flows inside them. The con-uction of a drain which will not be capable of carry-r off the normal run-off is wasted labour and hence is simpler to utilise the natural storm-water channels r this purpose. Their capacity to deal with the ex-cted volume of water is already proved. The sides d floors of such streams should be kept covered with eir natural vegetation. Abnormal obstructions in ese streams due to silting or blocking by water-borne aterial should, however, always be removed. The osion in such natural water channels is reduced to e minimum provided the volume of water, they are pected to deal with, remains constant. Any increase the quantity of water delivered in them should be ken into account and due allowance made by suitably reasing their carrying capacity. It is necessary to pect the working of the drain periodically. This is st done while they actually flow during storms.

—

Franklin Roosevelt

Descended on both sides from wealthy tch stock, and owning a large estate on the nks of the river Hudson, Franklin Roosevelt med destined for the quiet and comfortable of a country gentleman. His youth and ly manhood, indeed, were spent after the hion which tradition had laid out for him. lings and passions which till then had re-med dormant were to flare up in all their nsity and transform his life to the very s. Dhram Bir Vohra gives a brief sketch his life in *The Twentieth Century* :

The most dominant among the forces which med the development of Roosevelt in his younger were his joy of life and his relish of a fight.

In 1900, the year when he joined Harvard, his agenarian father died, and he was left to the er care of his mother. Three years later, at the of twenty-one, he married a cousin of his, called nor Roosevelt, and joined the Columbia Law ol, still undecided as to his future.

During these years, however, another member of Roosevelt family, related to Franklin as an uncle, making his phenomenal ascent to the Presidential e. This was Theodore Roosevelt, a man who, h displaying a character almost the very opposite ranklin's, must inevitably have produced a deep ssion on his young nephew's mind. Further, the that the two were set in opposition to each other eir traditional political allegiances, Franklin being ocrat and Theodre Republican, invested Theodore's with a peculiar significance about Franklin.

the 1910 elections, the Democrats had no apparent of success, but Roosevelt accepted his nomina-by them as Senatorial candidate. Touring the personally, he made direct social contacts with ters and impressed them so well with his per-y that despite the Democratic tradition, he won right victory.

At the age of 29 Roosevelt was installed Senator for New York. The favourite of Fortune continued to achieve further successes.

At the 1913 elections for the Presidentship, he figured as one of the most enthusiastic of Wilson's supporters. This identity of interest impelled Franklin to throw himself heartily on the side of Wilson, and it was not a little owing to his efforts in the election campaign that Wilson became the holder of the highest office in the ocuntry. As a reward for his support, Franklin was offered in turn the posts of Collector of Customs for New York Port, Assistant Secretary to the Treasury, and Assistant Secretary to the Navy. The former two he rejected straightway, but was only too glad to accept the last. His father had taken him on trips to Europe and allowed him to see things for himself. Now those first impressions of life in the Old World were extended and made precise by his official trips—to form a nucleus for his foreign policy later on.

On his homeward journey from Europe, Roosevelt learnt from Wilson of the proposed League of Nations.

The idea was so well adapted to Roosevelt's cosmopolitan outlook and he was so fascinated by it that he undertook to popularize it on his return to the States. But a short time later, while on a pleasure cruise, he was struck down with infantile paralysis of the lower half of his body. Fortune had, to all appearances, deserted her erstwhile favourite. It was Roosevelt's first experience of misery—an experience, moreover, of such grim severity that it revealed to him an entirely new aspect of life. Henceforward, he became, consciously and deliberately, a champion of the poor.

Eventually, when his discovery of Georgia warm springs had effected a partial cure, he emerged a different man altogether; his youthful and supple features had passed into a powerful, determined maturity; his entire aspect became, not sombre, but purposeful, bespeaking a man not only of action but of decision.

After having thus reformed the features and the character of Roosevelt, Fortune again took charge of his public activities.

In the first place, she sent him a sincere and devoted friend, in the person of Louis Howe. Fortune threw another gift in the path of her favourite, her instrument this time being Alfred Smith, Governor of New York. Roosevelt, a sincere admirer of Smith, had in the past given him vigorous support in his election campaigns and had in 1924 helped in his being nominated candidate for the Presidency. Smith was now once more aiming at the Presidency (having been defeated in 1924) and as a reward for Roosevelt's past support invited him to stand as gubernatorial candidate for New York. Roosevelt agreed, and the year 1929 saw him duly installed Governor of New York State.

But in America, even Governors have no great power to enforce their will. So Roosevelt had to be content with nothing better than a repeated enunciation of his ideals; it was only rarely that he could achieve anything concrete. However, his opportunity soon arrived.

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By 1932, after 4 years of Governorship he had become a full-fledged national figure, and was nominated by his party as President candidate.

As of old, his fighting spirit came to the fore, and he plunged into the campaign with the zest of youth. Once more, he set himself to travel all over the country, meet his voters in person, and tell them about his plans for them. Nature had now made it impossible for him to make dramatic, informal appearances among the peasants whom he loved, but the force of his personality and the straightforward sincerity of his utterances were potent enough to bring him a brilliant victory. The hand of Fortune, however, was obvious not so much in the victory itself as in the occasion of it. For America, along with the rest of the world, was in the travail of the slump. It was this particular situation which enabled Roosevelt, in his inaugural address, to ask for special powers, and which prompted the country to grant him these powers.

Had Roosevelt been obliged to function after the traditional fashion, he would certainly have not found it possible to accomplish much. But equipped with the powers of an autocrat, he proceeded at once to put his long-cherished ideas into practice.

Within a month of his inauguration, the banks, the railways, agricultlre and trade were in his hands. Then, despite the warnings of the orthodox economists, he devalued the dollar—a step, which, purely from practical considerations, he had conceived to be essential for national welfare.

Next he ventured upon the perilous task of subduing the industrialists. Hitherto, every means had failed to wring the slightest concessions from these over-mighty men; but Roosevelt called a conference of the representatives of six leading industries, and by nothing more drastic than friendly persuasion, got them to sign a Code of Fair Competition for Trade and Industry, by which the security of the small businessmen and the factory-workers was vastly strengthened, thus affecting a real revolution in American industry. Having acquired a measure of control over the workings of industry, he prcoeeded to levy heavy taxes on its fabulously rich exponents, using the money thus collected for unemployment relief and fosterage of agriculture. By such means did the born aristocrat direct all his policy to the uplift of the poor.

Problems Before Religions

In the course of an article under the above caption in *The Prabuddha Bharata* Kaka Kalelkar observes :

We talk of emancipation of the slaves. But have slaves been really emancipated ? Slavery as such may be non-existent but social and economic exploitation exists everywhere and the exploited people are the slaves. A so-called Christian nation made aggressive war on another Christian nation in the interests of expansion, exploitation, and empire. The League of Nations could not prevent it. Could a Parliament of Religions prevent such wars ?

Efforts are being made in every religion to interpret ancient texts in modern light. Each religion, therefore, is grdaually trying to develop its own canons of interpretation. Instead of confining ourselves to textual criticism and textual interpretation we had better accept the aid of anthropology, sociology, art, the theory of evolution and, above all, living, spiritual experience, in order to throw light on the doctrines and disciplines that constitute the religions of today.

When we talk of religions in plural, we think of the established religions like Hinduism, Islam, Christianity. But under the shell of these established religions new religions are being evolved on different bases altogether. The religion of humanity is one complete scheme of life offering satisfying solutions for all the problems of life. Art is another religion offering to harmonise life and solving problems of human development. Legislation is, perhaps, the most popular and powerful religion of the present times.

But my only hope lies in the slow establishment of the religion of education, not the education that is controlled by the ministers of education but the education that is fostered by the as-yet-few prophets of a better life—a life of the spirit. This education seeks to educate the whole man both individual and social, national and international. Viewed from this point Jnana, Bhakti, and Karma are not so many alternative modes of culture; they are merely the facets of the jewel of Sadhana which is our work for self-education.

It seems humanity is waiting for a new orientation and a new faculty for reviving the religious spirit. Religions, if they are to thrive and vitalise mankind, must follow the spirit of the age and give a new lead to life.

The Novel as an Instrument of Propaganda

That the novel having attained to the position of one of the principal forms of literature, is an art, none will feel inclined to deny or dispute. And yet it is perfectly true that this fine art of fiction is also a very able and effective instrument of propaganda of any type. In an article in *The Hindustan Review* M. A. Mazumdar makes the following remarks :

The most outstanding and illustrious example in modern times of the use of the Drama as a medium of propaganda is afforded by the celebrated British dramatist George Bernard Shaw. That incorrigible Irishman has most successfully transformed the stage into a veritable pulpit from which to administer to the bungling and blundering world, with loud vehemence his peculiarly strong and sane preachments. He has converted the dramatic art into a trumpet through which to blast out his social, economic, political, religious, military, historical, philosophical, mythical, metaphysical and scientific views. He has made his theatre tutorial, his drama didactic, his play propagandist. And Shaw is not single in this. A host of dramatists have not failed to do what he has done. A most notable instance is that of John Galsworthy. Galsworthy, too, has, of course while keeping himself

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hin the strict limits of the art, endeavoured to ose through his plays the many sordid evils the dern society and civilization are heir to, and to eminate his own reflections on and remedies for m. Witness 'The Silver Box,' 'Strife,' 'Justice,' and other plays of his.

But the Drama is sorely hampered by tain insurmountable obstacles and limitations Novel is happily free from.

Now about the range of the Novel. There is etically no limit to it. The Novel embraces the man life, and the whole of human life. And its ge is as vast as the human life. There is no subject problem of life but comes within the scope of the vel. The Drama has to give a brightly and solidly al representation to every subject it touches, and cannot be done in all cases. Its scope, therefore, ery much restricted. But the Novel can take up question or problem in the world clamouring for or solution, and lend it a potent and appealing ginative treatment. It may be utilized for social aganda, for economic propaganda, for political aganda, for religious propaganda, for any earthly of propaganda.

Glaring and instructive examples of what a uine novel can achieve in the field of propanda are numerous.

The profound influence of John Lyly's 'Euphues' the Elezabethan literary style; of John Bunyan's rim's Progress' over religious thought; of Jean ques Rosseau's 'Emilie' over the established theories tional education; of Robert Bage's 'Hermsprong,' iam Godwin's 'Caleb Williams,' and Mrs. Inch-'s 'A Simple Story' over the contemporary social, ical, and economic thought and situation; of amin Disraeli's 'Sybil' over the lot of the British iring class; of Charles Dicken's 'Oliver Twist' the squalid condition of Victorian slums and work-ss; of the same writer's 'Nicholas Nickleby' over yrannical treatment meted out to helpless pupils he Victorian school-master; of Victor Hugo's 'Les ables' over the awful French galley-slave system; rs. Harriet Beecher Stowe's 'Uncle Tom's Cabin' the American Negro slavery; of H. G. Wells's Brittling Sees It Through,' and E. Maria rque's 'All Quiet On The Western Front' over otions of War; of Sir Arthur Conan Doyle's Sher-Holmes novels on the modern police methods; of innumerable other novels in countless other ers is too well known to need any detailed men-Indeed, the Novel is possibly the best and most ntial instrument of propaganda we possess at nt.

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The Urgency of the Cattle Problem of India

India is an agricultural country and the economic welfare of the country depends to a large extent on the welfare of its cattle population. Observes K. A. S. Rao in the *Financial Times* :

It is computed that the total population of the cattle is now about 315 millions, that is only 16 millions and odd, less to vie with the human population of this country. And, the pressure of this huge amount of cattle on the fodder and other food-availabilities is really very great, and when the consideration that the cattle that are not really useful for work, or are not economic, either in their milk-yield, if they are cows, she-buffaloes, and milk-yielding goats and sheep, and such others, are to be allowed to graze and eat away all the grass and fodder, the diminution in the economic wealth of the land on this count is disastrous indeed.

In this connection it is interesting as also illuminating for us to quote of a recent experiment that was conducted at the village of Sitapur regarding the cattle-economics, of which Dr. Radha Kumud Mukherji has referred to in his recent book, *Food Planning for our Hundred Millions*. We quote from this book, in extenso—"Since 1891 the total cattle population increased in the village from 338 to 357 : cows and buffaloes increased from 101 to 196; plough-bullocks and buffaloes from 120 to 330. On an average 209 buffaloes are used in cultivating 100 acres.....Not only the majority of the buffaloes are superfluous, but out of the total of 142 cows 114 are found unproductive; 21 of these give only ½ a seer, 5 yield up to 1 seer and only 2 over 1 seer of milk per day. Out of 54 cow-buffaloes, only 3 are unproductive, 4 yield milk up to 1 seer, 30 between 1 & 2 seers, 9 between 2 & 3 seers, and only 1 over 3 seers a day." This is indeed, a sorry state of things.

The question is how to get over this problem.

One answer is to see that the future breeding is so conducted as to yield only the good sort of cattle, which it would be economically worth their while to be kept up, and, another answer is that such of the cattle which are not useful either as milkers, or as draught-animals, to be used either on the plough or on some transport work, and which are yet sufficiently healthy to be utilised for the preparation of meat. But, here the religious sentiment comes in, and this is really hard for the Hindus to counteract, and hence, as far as it can be said the only feasible plan of getting over this over-population of the cattle, is to restrict the future growth through proper breeding.

Good Breeding also reduces the loss due to disease among the cattle, or poor types are more prone to be attacked and they succumb easily too. It is estimated that during 1937 India lost 318,955 heads of cattle.

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FOREIGN PERIODICALS

Women in Industrial Welfare Work

Welfare work has often been described as essentially a woman's profession. Luise Frankenstein attempts, in a paper contributed to *International Labour Review*, to determine the extent to which women are employed in industrial work.

Specialised Occupations

Health

The number of women engaged in specialised health occupations, and working within the field of industrial welfare, is very large.

Women have long acted as medical and infants' nurses in Industry....When duties inside the undertakings are assumed, the nurses' functions include first aid in cases of accident, partial responsibility for health conditions, supervision of eating and washing rooms, and the training of workers in matters of health.

Other specialized occupations connected with health are those of midwives and monthly nurses in factory lying-in hospitals. Women doctors are also engaged by many large undertakings for their female employees.

Education

Specialists belonging to the educational profession are also commonly employed in industrial welfare work. When attention began to be paid by employers to health questions, educational work was instituted as well. The women who first looked after and taught children in nurseries and schools for miners' and factory workers' families were, of course, not properly trained. But today large number of qualified kindergarten and other teachers are employed. Specialists in scientific subjects, manual training, cooking, dressmaking, the care of infants, gymnastics, etc., teach the children of employees of undertakings in every continent. It is not only in countries where public education is undeveloped that employers provide schools for the children of their workers.

Teachers are also employed in adult education schemes as a part of industrial welfare work.

The librarians of factory libraries must also be mentioned among the specialised employees engaged in educatonal activities as a part of industrial welfare work.

Finally, women are occasionally responsible for the vocational training of employees.

Complex Occupations

The performance of special duties in industrial welfare work repeatedly leads to their combination with other duties. But practical needs have led to the development of a new type of occupation, a complex type, the characteristic feature of which is that, unlike those described above, it consists in the performance of various distinct functions. This is the profession of industrial welfare worker, a profession closely related to that of welfare workers in general but deriving special characteristics from its preoccupation with problems of employment.

The occupations take different forms, but it is characteristic of them all that they in some way combine functions of social welfare and of education.

In industrial welfare work women have opened up for themselves a field of activity in which, though they are not alone, their share is extraordinarily great when compared with that of men. In many countries—for instance, in Germany and Italy—the training for this profession is specially adapted to women's needs. In other countries industrial welfare work has not deliberately been reserved for women to the same extent but it is in practice a woman's profession, and the men who engage in it are the exceptions.

In France, for instance, the profession of safety engineer has not become established, but that of woman supervisor has spread, and the activity of women in this field has become characteristic of all welfare work done in French undertakings. The position is similar in the Netherlands, Belgium, Sweden and Switzerland, where male welfare workers are seldom found.

Women do not so completely dominate the profession of factory welfare worker in Great Britain and the United States.

Duties of Welfare Workers

The profession of industrial welfare worker takes two main forms. The first is that of the social worker who attends to the needs of the families of employees but has no place in the undertaking itself.

The other type is that of the factory welfare worker who has nothing whatever to do with welfare institutions outside the undertaking. Her field of action is inside the works, where it is her duty to promote the well-being of employees at the workplace itself. She attends to the provision of better ventilation and lighting rest rooms for breaks in work, dressing rooms, washing facilities, etc., and to improving the appearance of the workplace. Reports on the activity of individual welfare workers indicate that women tend to show particular initiative in this field. Welfare work inside the undertaking also includes the selection and initiation of new employees, supervision of juvenile and women workers, first aid in cases of accident, and the promotion of a good atmosphere in the undertaking.

The services of these women are also used for the adjustment of disputes, particularly in times of unrest when the welfare workers are regarded as mediators between employers and workers. In France, the woman supervisor's importance to the undertaking from this point of view has been emphasised in the last few years. In the United States, too, reference has often been made recently to the valuable part played by welfare workers in the establishment of good relations between employees and management.

In the English-speaking countries, the appointment of welfare workers inside the undertaking has been favoured for many years, and in other countries too,

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is method is gradually spreading, because it is garded as a particularly effective means of increasing e productivity of labour.

Industrial welfare work includes a variety of ccupations which offer rich possibilities of employent for women. It is hard to say in which of its anches women now play the most important part; d it is impossible to predict what new duties they ill undertake in the future. Women's work is articularly prominent wherever the stress is laid on e social welfare of workers and their families. It ay be stated with confidence that both in the ountries where industrial welfare work is highly eveloped and where women have already obtained a m footing in the occupation and in the countries ill in process of creating the economic and technical nditions which necessitate industrial welfare work, e services of women in this field are indispensable.

The Bagdad School of Painting at the Exhibition of Islamic Art in Paris

Ernest Kühnel writes in *Pantheon* :

The great surprise of the exhibition held at the bliotheque Nationale in the summer of 1938 was the lection of illustrated manuscripts of the library itself. der the former somewhat narrow-minded manageent these were only accessible under irksome restricns even to art investigators; the attitude adopted by present management is entirely opposed to this and ost exemplary. Among these works attention was efly attracted by the paintings of the school of niaturists at Bagdad of the 13th century. The texts strated may, in the main, be classified in three oups—translations of Greek treatises on natural ence (Dioscorides, Galenus, etc.), Ibn Muqaffa's dently very popular Arabian edition of Bidpai's du fables ("Kalila and Dimna"), and finally the akameat," a very widely spread collection of tales verse of the beginning of the 12th century, by Hariri. Among the three editions of the "Makameat" bited, that of 1222 is the oldest one known. In the e in which Abu Seid drags a young man before the i with the accusation of having murdered his son in which the youth—in reality the supposed victim deludes the governor that the latter declares himready to exonerate him from the charge of blood. the old man's sweeping gesticulations are vigorusupported by the dramatic disposition of the folds (see e). Another episode shows how Abu Seid disguised poverty-stricken old woman with two wretchedng children—hired for the purpose—appears before oup of Bagdad poets and awakens their compassion the beauty of his words (see plate). In the Hariri iteen years later (1237) from the Schefer Collection ry independent Seljuk-Islamih style of painting is ined; this is no doubt mainly due to the personality e artist entrusted with the script and illustration h 99 pictures) of this edition de luxe. We even know ame, set down in the colophon at the conclusion of work —Yahya ibn Mahmud from Wasit, an artist eative genius of high rank who went his own way complete independence and in whose work, both respect to colour and to composition, the whole reached its apogee.

No. 47 of the "Makameat" narrates in a delightful er how Abu Seid plays the barber and mimics a y blood-letting scene with his son, in which the sympathizing onlookers finally become the real victims (see plate). Master Yahya forms this scene with an abundance of excellently observed details to a harmonious picture. In the great variety of the types, colours and patterns of the garments, etc., his works represent cultural documents of the greatest value; we especially mention the painting of the troop of colour-bearers from the Caliph's bodyguard with tymbals and heralds' trumpets, banners, pennons and standards, indisputably one of the most brilliant achievements of this miniature-painter (see plate).

The third Hariri manuscript, from the monastery of St. Waast contains 77 miniatures and belongs to the same Seljuk-Islamic school, betraying scarcely any foreign influence, but is much coarser than the edition of 1237, less rich in figures, and almost without accessory details; it was probably executed at a provincial workshop at a slightly earlier date, about 1230.

The amazing assurance in the treatment of animal motifs met with in the above-mentioned manuscripts is probably due to the thorough schooling which the miniaturists had undergone in the course of the centuries in the illustration of Bidpai's fables. Of the two manuscripts of that group at the Paris National Library one may be set at about 1225 on account of a certain relationship in style with the Hariri of 1222 visible where human figures with a slightly Byzantine touch are employed. The other edition is a little later in date, there is however no cogent reason to assign it to the beginning of the 14th century as E. de Lorey does. Mongolian influence is, it is true, clearly perceptible yet not decisive, and both in aggregate effect and treatment of detail the 13th century Seljuk line is still adhered to. Here too, we note the peculiar contrast between naturalistic representation of animals and decoratively formalized foliage.

How to Look at Pictures

Frederick Laws observes in the *News-Chronicle* :

First of all, forget everything you have ever been told about Art with a capital A. Next shut your mouth and open your eyes. And if you don't like what you see, keep your mouth shut and go and look at something else.

It is unusual for adults to use their eyes properly. To a child things seen are always new and surprising. A kitchen chair can be a vision—something to stare at and to dream about. An artist can keep that freshness of sight and put that vision on to canvas. To the ordinary person chairs are invisible; they are things to sit on, not to look at. Van Gogh's discovery that an inexpensive, inartistic chair can be fascinating and beautiful is a shock to people who normally wear blinkers.

There are two ways of dealing with people who see visions. One is to decide that the visions are not really there and that the people are mad or drunk, and the other is to treat the seer with honor and be grateful for a chance to look through his eyes. The classic retort of the artist to the lady who complained that she never saw the subject of his picture looking like *that*, is final and unanswerable : 'No, madam, but don't you wish you could ?'

Painters admittedly are difficult people. They use their own special languages of paint for reporting their visions, and as soon as the folks outside invent gram-

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mars for explaining the vision away they change the code. They cannot explain themselves in words ending in 'ism,' and what is more, they won't. There is no short phrase book which will make pictures talk intelligibly to you. You have to know the language of the eye as a child knows it, or remain silent and puzzled. You cannot look at pictures through the spectacles of Books About Art.

Modern painting is difficult to see because the last generation but one of painters forgot their job in an attempt to make art respectable and fashionable among the blind. The Victorian painter gave the public what it wanted, and what it wanted had nothing to do with art. We came to expect a queer thing called Realism or the Imitation of Nature, a stereotyped prettiness, and a high moral tone. Our expectations are still satisfied at the Royal Academy. But there is a growing suspicion that the Academy is a dreary museum of fake antiques. There have been a number of painters who were mainly interested in the odd things light can do to shape and color. They called themselves impressionists, and after some eighty years we are beginning to tolerate them.

Out of the mass of movements and theories some things have become clear. Artists are not tame sensitized plates in one-eyed boxes. Painting has never had any truck with the brand of truth favored by photography. Pictures which tell a story or point a moral are under suspicion. Their subject and their argument may conceal dullness of vision or cheapness of design.

In order to 'understand' modern painting, the best way is to try to paint yourself, suggests the writer. The next best way is to look at a great many pictures humbly, silently and in search of pleasure.

Look at what you like until it bores you. Good taste is largely a matter of being bored by rubbish and everyone has to grow out of liking rubbish. Everyone, too, has his own particular blind spots, so don't worry about being bored by Raphael or Renoir if there are one or two painters whose work you whole-heartedly enjoy. The connoisseur is a person who knows what he likes, and can distantly admire or ignore what he doesn't.

Air Raid over Poland

Patrick Maitland, a British journalist in Poland, relates his experience during the first air raid over Warsaw, in a broadcast talk published in *The Living* Age.

During the first air raid over Warsaw, I quivered in my shoes. I tried to be brave and foolhardy by going on with my shaving, but had to give up feebly. I then ran downstairs, and it's funny how quickly you can run downstairs when you are a tiny bit—well—shall I say scared?

But I saw a group of Poles standing calm and collected, I thought I must instantly assume the British-lion expression of stolid courage. But their clear eyes saw through my pretence of being unafraid and we all laughed one of those nervous, perfunctory apologetic little laughs that people laugh when they have nothing better to do. Then somebody whispered the words, 'It's gas'! We all had gas masks under our arms, but instead of putting them on, we just ran out to try to learn if it was true.

Now, three days after it, we feel like old hands here. We have had eight or nine raids a day since Friday morning [September 1], and really we feel a little bit proud of ourselves, may be too proud anyway, I can promise you, unless you are very different from us over here, that rather queer feeling somewhere between the heart and stomach, that feeling which reminds me somewhat of a merry-go-round, the rather odd feeling that one first gets when the sirens screech their warnings—well, it passes off after a day or two.

APPEAL FOR POLISH SUFFERERS

The sufferings of Polish war victims and refugees, especially of children and women who are homeless, destitute and torn by misery and starvation, need not be elaborated. Bengal has already expressed her deep sympathy for helpless victims of aggression and proved her loyalty to the cause of righteousness. We appeal to the public to raise some fund for the Polish Relief Committee which has now established a branch in Calcutta and earnestly hope that our province will generously contribute its share to relieve human distress.

Rabindranath Tagore
Nisith Chandra Sen
A. K. Fuzlul Huq
H. H. Burn
M. Azizul Huque
Allen Elliott Lockhart
Harold Graham
Syama Prasad Mookerji
Ramananda Chatterjee

We hope this Appeal will meet with a generous and ready response, which it eminently deserves.

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A STRANGE WAR

By GOPAL HALDAR

A CLEVER cartoonist in the Bengali press, "Piciel", gives a typical expression to the attitude of the average Indian to the War when he draws a picture of the Western Front with the guns of the Maginot and the Siegfried Lines serving as perches for the singing birds,—the whole scene bearing the apt query: 'War or Stay-in Strike?' Even the British Premier referred to this feeling in his speech at the Mansion House Lunch on November 9:

"This is the strangest of wars which, in the form it has been hitherto waged, must seem to be no war at all, but rather a sort of siege. We do not know how long this phase would last, or whether at any moment it might be changed into a violent conflict."

Many strange things have happened even within this short time; but strangest of all is perhaps the feeling of boredom that has come over all. This was least expected.

War News

This feeling of light-heartedness has certainly been increased by the lack of vast and violent conflicts which, we dreaded, would stagger humanity, the moment the guns went off. Except in and about Warsaw, there has been less carnage so far than feared. The 'excitement of fear' is on the wane. Hence, the reaction from it—a sceptical mood about it. But this mood we owe not a little to the news about war. Never has war news been planned and served so strangely, as Mr. Vernon Bratlett in the *News Chronicle* pointed out weeks ago.

The news has been so unexpectedly dull. The same enthusiastic story about the courage of the pilot of a British aeroplane or the captain of a British ship appears in every paper. The same forecast that Germany cannot last because she has no fats or no friends.

Everything a little overdramatised. Everything a little unconvincing because of the tendency to white-wash all that is British and to blacklead all that is German. And instead of keeping our spirits up, a lot of it quite frankly bores us.

But that boredom is one of the encouraging signs. We have been bored because, although we recognise that some control of public opinion is inevitable in wartime, "we believe there has been too much of it."

Hitler for "Five Year War"

But war-news is dull, because—another strange thing—Hitler would not strike immediately. A period of waiting has thus ensue As the War broke out, it was feared that the w would be shortened by Hitler and the Germa advocates of a *Brietzkrieg* or 'Lightning Wa to such an extent as to deprive Britain of t time to mobilise the resources of the Empi behind herself. Time, by all calculation, wou favour Britain and France. They would, th declared, prolong the war, with a blockade Germany, to three years. The Polish 'sharin out' with the Soviet and the German-Sov alliance were understood to release the Germ army from the dreaded necessity of fighting two fronts and thus to enable it to pay quick a undivided attention to the West this time unl that in 1914. Time was against Hitler, and reports immediately told of the big concent tion of the German forces behind the Siegfi Line and of the imminent attack on the Magi fortifications. A 'Peace Offensive' alone deemed to have postponed the terrific explo about to burst forth. Then the floods in Rhine and severity of winter were explaine have barred the way of that mechanized ar The sea and the air—both mostly in so fa Britain in concerned, it should be noted,— nessed the activity of the Germans; but the a had to report almost an unbroken dispatc 'All Quiet on the Western Front'. There wa reconnaissance and air photography and o sional raids on advanced posts to cap prisoners in order to ascertain the nature of preparations awaiting the invading force either party behind the Line. Vast centration of Nazi troops in Basle and areas up to Lake Constance on the borde Switzerland and on the frontiers of Belg and, particularly, on that of Holland, set t small neutral countries feverishly mobil their defensive forces. It was anticipated a similar effort as that of 1914 would be to violate the neutrality of the nations, for the same end, but on a larger scale. addition to Belgium, Holland and Switzer were to be the victims of the German ag sion,—Holland to serve as the base for Ge 'U-Boats', and for the German 'bombers' 'fighters' against Britain; the other two f "double enveloping action" on the e Maginot Line itself. A peace appeal

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ween Wilhelmina and King Leopold was taken be inspired by the German Fuehrer and ued under duress by the monarchs. But ange as it would appear, the German Dictator turned down the Peace Appeal almost ceremoniously and challenged his enemies to Five-Year War. The German air-arm has oved its capacity to some extent; though a s of 15 raiders, British air efficiency and, tly, the winter fog force it now to quiescence. far, the "U-Boat" has proved to be the st potent factor :—the sinking of the *Royal* t in the Scapa Flow is a record; that of *Courageous* and a destroyer speak of skill of the German U-Boatsmen; the ent mine activities are also dangerous; and *miral Scheer* and *Deutschland* are also free in Atlantic still. But German shipping is pped and Britain still sails in seven seas, hough Germany threatens to build up a new ntinental System' with the Scandinavian and stern European Powers against Britain. The hrer has asked his Field-Marshal Goering plan a Five-Year War. Thus is every preception or pre-vision regarding the German ve in the War—a Lightning War necessitat- by the German economic condition, by the ration of the blockade, by the preparations Germany as against her enemies, and, lastly, the relief from pressure from the East ed now,—is proved false, and, strangely ugh, it appears Germany plans a prolonged paign, and is not so perturbed by the kade.

Diplomacy Active

The period of the two-and-half months of ing is a record, however, of the fitful acti- s that are pursued by nations on the omatic front. This has in fact made this into the strangest of wars, as Mr. Chamain puts it. War, which is the pursuit of objective by "other means", tests diplo- y no less than military strength. ng the last war Britain thus persuaded and won over America. British diplomacy he eve of this war seemed to be going bank- It now appears to have recaptured its dexterity. In its pursuit of 'appeasement' y it had allowed a Berlin-Moscow Pact. As war started it saw the Soviet approaching Near East through the Balkans. and wing the Baltic. For the time being Britain to read in all this a community of interest een the Soviet and the British as against r. British diplomacy, however, set to n and the three recent significant moves

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on the chessboard of diplomacy—the Franco-British-Turkish Pact, the failure of the Soviet-Finnish Talk and the revision of the U. S. A. Neutrality Act—all redound to the credit of that diplomacy. Even as the war came certain circumstances worked in favour of Britain, as we saw; *e.g.*, Japan and Italy left the German bond of friendship. While Hitler now opens obligingly the way to Balkans for the Soviet, Italy settles down more and more to neutrality and sheds her pro-Nazi leanings. A change of ministry in Rome sends three pro-German ministers to retirement and Signor Gayda in the *Giornale d'Italia* at last openly reminds all that the Balkans—the Yugoslavs, Hungarians, Bulgarians, and, of course, the Albanians need not be mentioned,—are the special care of Italy and the Soviet influence in the area will be vigorously resisted by the new saviour of the Balkans. The Turkish Treaty checked the Soviet influence, no doubt; but it is also viewed with disfavour by Italy. For, she has nursed the desire to be superior to Britain in the Eastern Mediterranean; has her own avowed ambitions on the Suez and on the Arab peoples on the Mediterranean, and has acquired the Albanian coast and fortified the naval base in the Dodacanese Islands with that end in view.

Anglo-Franco-Turkish Pact

But the Treaty signed between Turkey and Britain and France at once strengthens the position of Britain against all other Powers who have any interest in the Balkans, in the Eastern Mediterranean, in the Near East and the Islamic World in general. Turkey held the key to all these—and a strong Kemalist Turkey had put an end to the efforts of others to possess that key for themselves. Soviet Russia had disowned the Czarist ambition of establishing herself in Constantinople and appearing in the Mediterranean. More than all others the Soviet acted as the good angel for the Turks. It was therefore expected that M. Sarajoglu, the Turkish Ambassador, invited to Moscow, would make a new settlement helpful to both the Powers. The fall of Poland had enabled the Soviet to block the door of Nazi expansion in the Balkans and across the Straits to the Near East. Stalin now had replaced Hitler, and Bolshevising of the Balkans and penetration of the Bolshevik influence in the Near East and beyond was the natural dread of the Powers, Britain and Italy, who had so long been weaving their ambition in the regions. Russia in fact had been so much out of the picture that at the Montreaux Agreement in 1936, when British and French shipping in the Mediterranean was being harassed by unknown 'pirates', they had readily welcomed the Turkish proposal of giving the Soviet unlimited passage to the Mediterranean Sea while a passage of limited tonnage for themselves satisfied Britain and France. The Agreement then off-set Italian danger and gave Britain a passage to Rumania where British capital had big stakes. The Soviet emergence in the Balkans, however, this September changed this politics. But in Moscow long talks,—apparently as Germany desired and Russia no less approved,—for persuading the Turks to close the Straits to the British navy entirely were watched with anxiety by other Powers. The talks were of no avail. It was answered by British diplomacy with this new Turkish Pact to be followed by big loans from London for Turkish developments. This definitely brings the Turks in the British war orbit and thus defeats at one stroke the German plans, the Soviet ambition, and, lastly, the Italian menace. Britain has gained her first victory at Ankara after the declaration of the War.

Finnish Deadlock

After clearing the Baltic sea-board of all traces of the Nazi influence implanted by Hitler with care during these years, the Soviet as expected, invited Finland to a conference in Moscow to settle the outstanding question between the two countries, specially with regard to the defence of Leningrad and the Finnish fortification of Aaland Islands. It was clear that the Finnish anti-Soviet forces, which like those in Latvia, Esthonia, etc., had treated Russia with scant deference, would now similarly sign their death warrant in Moscow and agree to Soviet overlordship in the Sea of Finland as in the Eastern Baltic. But a break to Moscow method had come with its failure in Turkey, and here too now the Soviet proposal and Finnish counter-proposals have proved too divergent to meet. M. Tanner, the Finnish delegate, returned on November 13 to Helsinki. the negotiations were not broken-off, Helsinki assured, wildly preparing for defence. M. Erkko told the foreign journalists that Finland was not likely to make further concessions to the Soviet demands. And the Moscow Press replied on November 17, that the Finnish ruling classes had refused Soviet understanding and betrayed the Finnish masses at the encouragement of Britain. "The Soviet will find ways and means of getting what is necessary from Finland for

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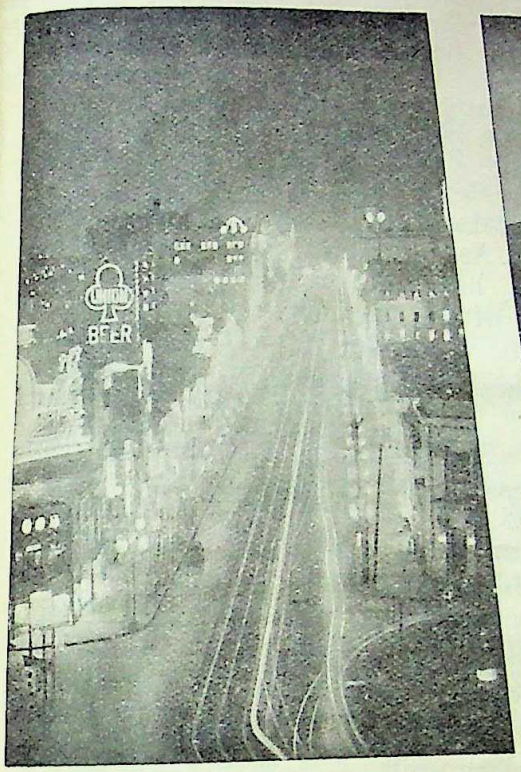

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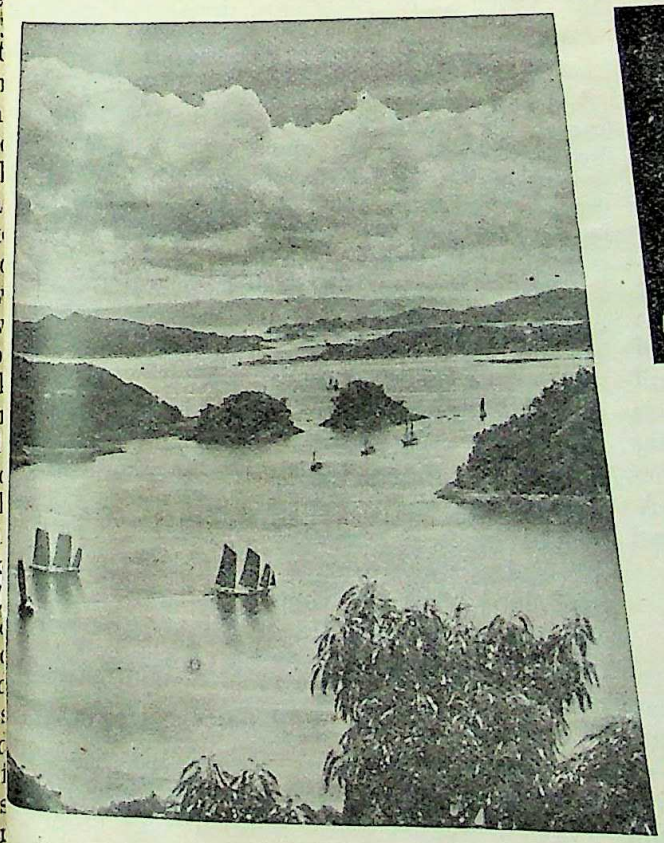

Nowhere else can you find an ideal vacation-land such as Japan, where West and East blend in perfect harmony; where the old is preserved intact by everything New in civilization, and unrivalled land—and sea-scapes.

BOARD OF TOURIST INDUSTRY, JAPANESE GOVERNMENT RAILWAYS

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the defence of Leningrad." M. Erkko is also probably mistaken if he thinks that 'the means and ways' will be war. The Soviet can put sufficient pressure by peaceful method to attain its objective as far as Finland is concerned. And Stalin is not to enter war unprovoked. Peace assures him sure victories. For the time being, however, Soviet diplomacy has met in Finland with a set-back.

American Neutrality

But by far the most significant triumph for British arms has been gained in the U. S. A. by the Neutrality Bill which has been carried into law in the Houses. This enables the Americans to sell arms to the belligerent Powers. Of course, the measure is primarily inspired by the necessities of American economic life, which is fighting to save itself under Roosevelt administration. The War, as the last one, opens now the era of industrial expansion for America, and, therefore, for the ending of unemployment and other evils which are become the feature of this American life. So, in spite of his sincere desire for peace in Europe and the firm determination to keep out of the War, and, against the 'Isolationist' policy of Senator Gotha, and others, President Roosevelt has to revise the law to permit trade in arms and supplies with the belligerent nations. This would mean, as has been aptly put, 'cash and carry' for the nations at war. And Germany has neither: her barter method of foreign purchases would not help her in the matter here, nor does she possess the means of transport by the open seas against her enemies; nor would the neighbouring neutrals, even under her threat, be able to carry for her the requisites; for the British 'Navicert', *i.e.* certificate of permission, allows the neutrals only the amount of goods they imported and consumed in their normal years. So, the American measure has been hailed in Britain and France and immediate orders have been placed in the U. S. A. for more than a thousand of the new and best fitted aircrafts.

American Potentiality

The Allies industries have potential resources of a very great degree; and they can now in addition avail themselves of the American supplies. The productive capacity of America is almost unlimited, as the last war showed. Thus, in the *Manchester Guardian* Dr. Fritz Sternberg gives the figures in millions of tons for some countries in 1918:

	Total for Great Britain France and Germany million tons	Total for U S. A. million tons
Coal Extraction ..	418	615
Iron-ore Extraction ..	39	71
Pig-Iron Production ..	22	40
Steel Ingots Production	24	45

Recent figures of production for Germany and U. S. A.—and Germany, it should be borne in mind, has been producing her maximum at the cost of the consuming power of her population—are of greater interest and importance:

The pig-iron production in the United States in 1937 amounted to 37,200,000 tons. In 1938, especially the first half of the year, there was a severe depression, and the production for the year fell to 19,080,000 tons. The German pig-iron production for the two years amounted to—

1937	15,088,000 tons
1938	18,506,000 „

In an emergency the Americans have only to make good the set-back of 1938 and repeat the 1937 figure of 37,200,000 tons—in other words, only to make use of the capacity for production already existing in 1937 to *increase* their production of pig iron by the whole amount of Germany's annual production.

Similarly with steel ingots. The American and German production in the two years was—

Steel ingots produced in the year	United States tons.	Germany tons.
1937	50,300,000	20,280,000
1938	28,290,000	23,330,000

Here, again, without building a single new blast-furnace the United States production of 1938 can be *increased* almost by the whole amount of the German production. These figures are sufficient to show the decisive difference between the potentialites of industrial mobilsation in the United States and in the European countries.

This vast supply is now practically at the command of the Allies by the Neutrality Act. Its implication is clear. But a larger possibility opens, as the Act is relaxed, for drawing in America slowly on the Allies side—and British diplomacy will be fully vindicated in that case.

The German reply to this, the inevitable defeat that the American supplies to the Allies would mean, is probably the ruthless and indiscrimintae mine warfare that has opened with the third week of November. For, as in 1914-18, her hope again lies on the seas as her diplomatic defeat appears to be complete.

Soviet Policy Nothing Strange

German diplomacy recorded its biggest score with the German-Russian Non-Aggression Pact of August last. Ribbentrop's stocks soared so high that the Fuehrer did not even hesitate to gamble blindly on it more and more. This

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Soviet friendship cost Germany at first that of Japan and Italy; then the loss of the most covetable slices from Poland, and the practical suzerainty over the Balkans and Baltic. Russian supplies would compensate for all, the Fuehrer calculated; and even a more helpful alliance with Russia was hinted as Ribbentrop returned from Moscow finishing the Polish deal. The world wondered about the Soviet policy. The strangest of wars had but opened its first strange chapter, and Soviet foreign policy became the object of unending speculation as an enigma, riddle, mystery, etc.

The main lines and grounds of Soviet policy were clearly laid out by M. Stalin in his address at the 18th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union on 11th March last. He said he refused to be fooled by the story of the Imperialist powers that Nazism and Fascism had designs on Soviet territories. The conflict was between the 'Haves' and 'Have-nots' for a re-division of the world, for colonies and raw materials. The Soviet would stand for peace, for non-aggression, for strengthening its own forces, and socialistic reconstruction.

What the Soviet leaders say is meant to prove that capitalism and imperialism are satanic. In the same way others say that Stalinism and Bolshevism are satanic.

The Soviet occupation of Poland then puzzled its friends and enemies because they had paid little attention to the Soviet fundamentals and to Soviet realism. This has been explained in *the New Statesman And The Nation* by Prof. J. B. S. Haldane :

> The Soviet policy is based on an objection to two things, capitalism and war, which the rulers of the Union, and the vast majority of its people, believe to be intimately connected. They want to see other countries adopt Socialism. Further, they believe that attempts to bring Socialism about by constitutional means would be countered by Fascist revolution in most countries where parliamentary government exists, while in Fascist countries Socialism could only be established by revolution from the Left. Hence they hope to see revolutions in other countries.

The War opens the way for it, which the Soviet must pursue with cautious determination, as in Poland.

The relief said to have been given to the peasantry of the Polish portion of the territories and the progress of socialization launched by the Soviet have borne testimony to the success of the Soviet policy. White Russians and Little Russians have joined their brothers in the Soviet Republic within which they are said to have decreed their own incorporation. The effect of it on the German-ruled Poland, bombed and bleeding, starved and drafted for mili-

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tary service, can be foreseen clearly. Tyranny in Poland has had its roots cut off by the Soviet—tyranny of the Polish brand that was there and tyranny of the Prussian brand that is there. Both are equally doomed by the Soviet occupation.

But is not that also tyranny ?

SOVIET REVIEWS WAR

How true Soviet policy remains to its own objectives becomes evident from the recent speeches in November, at the anniversary celebrations of the 1917 Revolution, of the Soviet politicians, particularly of M. Molotov, the Commissar for Foreign Affairs, and M. Dimitriev, the hero of the Reichstag Fire Trial, and the present Secretary of the Communist International. Berlin is said to have hoped for military help from Moscow. M. Molotov promised on October 31 none to it, but soundly reprimanded the Allies for their rejection of the German peace proposals, called Britain and France war-mongers, reminded that Poland "an ugly offspring of the Versailles Treaty", was a dead issue, and that Germany cannot be written off:

"Though the war for the 'destruction of Hitlerism' is camouflaged as a fight for 'democracy' the motive of Britain and France do not lie in any ideology, but in their profoundly material interests as mighty colonial powers.

"It is the fear of Germany's claims to these colonial possessions that is at the bottom of the present war —a fear that has become substantially stronger lately as a result of the collapse of the Versailles Treaty. It is the fear of losing world supremacy that dictates to the ruling circles in Great Britain and France a policy of fomenting war with Germany. Thus the imperialist character of this war is obvious to anyone who wants to face realities and does not close his eyes to facts. One can see from all this, who is interested in this war for world supremacy, certainly not the working class. This war promises nothing to the working class but bloody sacrifice and hardships."

The imperialist policy of "Capitalist Powers" was then denounced in violent terms by M. Molotov in a speech at a meeting of the Moscow Soviet on November 6 :

M. Molotov declared that Capitalist Powers, unable to find any other way out of their internal difficulties, had driven more than half the world's population into a murderous war which was now trying to extend and spread over the whole world. It could not be said that the final limits of the war had yet been drawn; the contrary was true, although there might have been hitches such as the failure of the attempt to draw the Soviet into the war.

"We have shown that we rely on our own judgment and not on that of others," said M. Molotov and further added that the belligerent powers were now attempting to increase the number of their Allies by drawing neutral powers to their side and those efforts had met with some success. It was well-known what serious problems had been created in this respect by the Anglo-Franco-Turkish Pact. The struggle had developed and was drawing certain Balkan countries into the war as well as some Scandinavian and other countries. Britain and France were doing everything to foster and prolong the war in order to exploit it for strengthening their domination of the world and the colonial empire. It was also well-known that some powers were only using the pretext of neutrality as a mask for shielding their attempts to foster war from which they expected to derive huge profits at the expense of belligerent peoples and their sufferings and sacrifices and impoverishments. The war had become more violent as imperialistic powers had lost all hope of improving their internal situation and were, therefore, attempting to carry out a new partition of the world in favour of the strongest imperialist power."

M. Molotov's allegations and insinuations are plainly not unanswerable.

Whatever of the doubts remained regarding the Soviet Nazi relations were dispelled then by the Manifesto of the Comintern, which showed that the Soviet realism was not forgetful of Soviet ideology.

Germany with Britain and France was attacked in a manifesto issued by the Communist International on the eve of the 22nd anniversary of the Bolshevik revolution. The manifesto denounced the "bourgeois Governments" at war and called upon the workers in belligerent countries to rise against their Governments.

Surprise was caused by the fact that the manifesto was apparently addressed also to German workers. Italy too was accused of standing by waiting to join the winning side and "share in the spoil."

Reference was also made to "treacherous leaders of Social Democratic Parties who have hoisted the bankrupt banner of the anti-Comintern pact."

The manifesto declared that the ruling circles in England, France and Germany are conducting a war for world domination. Capitalist countries that had entered late into the arena of colonial expansion are fighting against the English, French and American world rule. They wanted to distribute in their favour the sources of raw material, food, gold and colonies. That was the real significance of the war which is unjust, reactionary and imperialistic.

It becomes evident then that the Bolshevik programme of World Revolution is not shelved but being acted on as the scope for it is offered and Soviet policy is up to the task. Peacefully it extends to German borders; places Germany with resources on a footing to fight the Imperialists for long; awaits coolly for the hour when the two parties will be exhausted to death; and Revolution will stalk from Warsaw to Berlin and Paris. And thence to the East, as part of the Soviet plan of world domination?

Then it will certainly prove the strangest of wars.

November 20, 1939.

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